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A History of Preaching

VOL. II.

A History of Preaching

VOL. II.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE REFORMATION
PERIOD TO THE END OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
1572–1900

BY

EDWIN CHARLES DARGAN, D. D., LL. D.

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PREFACE

After many delays and interruptions, the second installment of my proposed work on the History of Preaching is now sent forth. In the summer of 1907—when this volume was just begun—I left the professorship of Homiletics in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Kentucky, and accepted the pastoral care of the First Baptist Church at Macon, Georgia. The interruption of such a removal, the cares of a large pastorate, and other things, have combined to make unavoidable delays in completing my undertaking. I still cherish the wish and purpose to write the third of the proposed volumes—on Preaching in the United States—if life and opportunity be granted. Meantime this volume is sent forth, far longer after its companion than was first hoped, but with the prayer that it may be of some service to the great cause of Christian preaching.

E. C. D.

Macon, Georgia, September, 1911.

INTRODUCTION

In a former volume the author has traced the history of preaching from the time of the Apostolic Fathers to the death of John Knox, in 1572.[1] That volume treats four of the six periods into which, for convenience, the History of Preaching was divided. The remaining two periods, namely, the Dogmatic, from the death of Knox to the beginning of the Wesleyan revival, about the middle of the eighteenth century; and the Evangelistic or Missionary period, extending from the work of Wesley to near the end of the nineteenth century, were deferred for later treatment. There might also be added, to complete this scheme, a seventh period, beginning near the end of the nineteenth century and including the age in which we live, which might be called the Humanitarian or Social Period; but its study and characterization alike belong to the future historian.

It was intended to discuss in the present volume the Dogmatic and Evangelistic Periods after the manner of the former study; but the difficulties in the way of retaining that method now appear considerable, and a modification of the original plan is adopted. The great movements of thought beginning about the time of the Reformation, together with the growth and world-wide expansion of Christian peoples, bring in a great variety of modifying circumstances, and make the history of preaching far more complex than in any previous age. Furthermore, the variety of conditions—political, social, literary, and other—in the different countries of Western Christendom has introduced other elements of diversity into the history. A generalization which would fairly describe conditions of preaching in one country might be wholly inapplicable to another at the same epoch. It seems well, therefore, to employ a simpler framework than that originally proposed, and in the present volume the obvious but arbitrary division by centuries is adopted; and the subdivision by countries or languages will serve in place of one more logical perhaps, but less clear. The fragment of the sixteenth century remaining after the death of the great reformers is sketched in the first chapter. The main body of the work is devoted to a consideration of the preaching of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries in the various countries of Europe.

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[1] A History of Preaching; from the Apostolic Fathers to the Great Reformers, A. D. 70-1572. By Edwin C. Dargan. New York, A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1905.

These three modern centuries are of the profoundest significance in the history of human progress. Life has been more abundant, knowledge more comprehensive and varied, the processes of civilization more rapid and complex than in any period of human history. The Reformation in the sixteenth century set in motion forces which materially altered the course of things in all time following. That mighty epoch of turmoil and readjustment can not be sharply defined, either at its beginning or at its end, but, like all other revolutions, it is an age of transition in which causes and forces peculiar to itself become visible and emphatic, and powerfully influence subsequent times.

A survey of modern Occidental civilization in its more general aspects of necessity includes some account of political, cultural, and religious affairs. It is not requisite for our purposes to descend to more minute and accurate classifications and inclusions. These three great departments of modern national and social life (with their closely related or included activities) so interlace with each other that no one can be understood or properly studied without giving some attention to all. It follows that any particular subdivision of one of these more general departments must not only feel the influence of all the co-ordinate parts of its own department, but also that of the other two with their respective subordinate elements. So we shall have to consider preaching as a part of the great sphere of religion, and thus as subject to all the molding and modifying influences of religious progress; and we shall likewise have to take some cognizance of national affairs, and even international, in each particular country and time in which our studies may fall; and further, we must have in mind to some extent the progress and fluctuations of culture—especially in art, science, education, and literature—so far as these affect the preaching of the period and country under review.

Applying these principles to the preaching of the three modern centuries, the difficulty of writing a connected history is greatly increased by the largeness of the field and the complexity of its forces. But the task can no more be declined for a history of preaching than for an account of any other subordinate and yet vital part of the general history of mankind within this period. Preaching has been in close contact with all the other forces of civilization. It has played its part in the strenuous give-and-take of the modern life, and takes color from the times just as do other great particular movements. So when we take up the preaching and preachers of any country and age we shall have to keep in mind the general situation in all the other affairs noted, but only so far as may seem necessary to a proper understanding and estimate of the character and effect of preaching itself.

PART FIRST

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

PREACHING IN EUROPE AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

As we look back over the history of preaching from the point at which our present study begins, we can easily discern four great culminations of interest and power. Each was preceded and followed by an age of decline, but in the latter certain preparations and forces slowly gathered strength to produce the height of excellence which ensued. The first of these culminations was the originative period in the first century, when, after the voice of prophecy among the Hebrews had long been silent, the promised Messiah Himself appeared in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. The Founder of Christianity was Himself the first of its preachers; but He was preceded by His forerunner and followed by His apostles, and in the preaching of these the proclamation and teaching of God's Word by public address was made an essential and permanent feature of the Christian religion. After this glorious introduction there came an age of feebleness and obscurity in the Apostolic Fathers and their successors till in the third century, in the hands of the great teacher Origen and some others, public instruction in Christian truth and Biblical interpretation began to assume greater dignity and better form. When, therefore, in the fourth century Christianity was adopted as the religion of the Roman State it is no wonder that preaching rose to its second great culmination in the oratory and influence of John Chrysostom and his contemporaries East and West. After this a still longer period of decline came on, from which the

Greek Church has never recovered; and out of which Western Christianity only slowly emerged till, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the reforms of Hildebrand, the rise of Scholasticism, and the proclamation of the Crusades, together with minor causes, co-operated to bring in the third great culmination—the powerful Catholic preaching of the thirteenth century. Again decline, swift and fearful, followed. But in the decay and shames of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were heard occasional voices of mystics and reformers who called to the higher things of the Spirit and the Word, and called not wholly in vain. The Revival of Learning, the increase of power in the middle classes of society, and other external influences lent their aid to the forces of reform; and so in the sixteenth century the fourth great culmination meets us in the preaching of the Reformation. Once more the inevitable decline sets in, but it is neither so general nor so uniform as those of the past, being modified both in character and duration by those vast differences of nation, language, and creed which modern European Christianity presents. Thus, as we shall see, in two of the European countries—France and England—the decline was more quickly redressed than in the others; for in each of these lands a great epoch of preaching appears in the seventeenth century, while elsewhere there is no such power in the pulpit. But in the latter part of the sixteenth century, which, as an introduction to its successor, we are to consider in this chapter, the first falling off of reformatory preaching was manifest throughout Europe.

I. Lutheran Preaching After Luther

We naturally begin with preaching among the Lutheran Churches, both in Germany and the neighboring nations, after the death of Luther and his associates.[1]

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[1] P. H. Schuler, *Geschichte der Veränderungen des Geschmacks im Predigen,* 3 Bde., 1792; Lentz, *Geschichte der Homiletik,* Bd. II (1839); Schenk, *Geschichte der deutsch-protestantischen Kanzelberedsamkeit* (1841); C. G. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Predigt in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands von Luther bis Spener* (1872); Wilhelm Beste, *Die bedeutendste*

Luther died in 1546. Some of his co-laborers, who were also leaders in the great work of the Reformation, lived on beyond him; but the preaching of the Reformation in German lands reached its culmination in Luther himself and those who were more intimately associated with him. Very notable and very pathetic is the decline in Lutheran preaching in the latter half of the sixteenth century. There was a falling off in freshness. The first edge of the Reformation blade had been dulled. Those who followed the great leaders naturally enough imitated them and tried to hold the Reformation, both in its methods and spirit, to the ideas of the forerunners. There was also a loss in spiritual power. The first deep protest against the evils and abuses which it was the aim of the Reformers to cure naturally lost something of its vitality. Both preachers and hearers lacked the fervor of the first great appealing cause. The sermons are more commonplace and formal; the spiritual response not so clearly reflected as in those of earlier days. As a consequence there was also a falling off in the effects of preaching. It is impossible to assign any one cause for this marked decline; there is a cluster of co-operating causes which may be briefly stated.

(1) The decline must be assigned in part to the great law of reaction. Any great movement naturally has its ebb tide. The great reformatory wave under Luther and his fellow-workers had reached its crest and must retire. Along with this, or as part of it, must be reckoned the loss of leaders. Luther himself died just before the middle of the century. Of his immediate associates many lingered for varying lengths of time after him, but these one by one fell off, and with their departure the fresh vigor of the mighty movement was gone.

(2) We must also remember the troubles of the times. The unsettled state of the Empire and of Europe gen-

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Kanzelredner der älteren lutherischen Kirche von Luther bis Spener (3 Bde., 1856-1886); Rothe, *Geschichte der Predigt* (1881); articles on *Homiletik* and *Geschichte der Predigt* in the Herzog-Plitt-Hauck *Real Encyclopädie,* originally written by Christlieb, revised by Schian; John Ker, *Lectures on the History of Preaching* (1888).

erally for so long a period naturally interfered with the power of the pulpit. In some respects these troubles stimulated preaching, but in others the opposite effect was produced. In the very year of Luther's death the Imperial and Catholic side gained upon the Reformers. Wittenberg itself fell into the emperor's hands, and the cause of the Reformation on its military and political side seemed in a bad way. Many Lutherans urged compromise, while others insisted upon standing out even to martyrdom. Thus there was a division of sentiment among the leaders themselves, and all this naturally reacted upon the preaching.

(3) Still another cause of the decline is to be found in the theological disputes which prevailed alike between Catholics and Protestants, and among the Protestants themselves. It has usually been the history of an age of theological disputation that the first part of it stimulates preaching, but the continuance of discussion often degenerates into dogmatic hair-splitting and personal attacks, and so the spiritual power of doctrinal differences and convictions shows decay. This was eminently true of the Lutheran preaching toward the end of the Reformation period.

There was, first of all, the old-time quarrel between Catholics and Protestants. The stout blows which were exchanged among the contestants in the earlier life of Protestantism degenerated into a fist-fight, which brought little glory to either side. A pulpit of continual squabbling can never be one of great power. There was also much controversy between the Lutherans and the Reformed. This, indeed, began with the leaders themselves. On many points, especially that of the Lord's Supper, there was sharp and continued dispute between the Calvinists and Lutherans, and many of the strict Lutherans were exceedingly bitter in their denunciations of their brethren. And finally, to complete this sad story, there was, as already intimated, a good deal of quarreling among the Lutherans themselves. These differences were partly political, but also to some extent doctrinal. The line of orthodoxy was sharply drawn, and those who did not measure up to the strictest Lutheran views were harshly assailed. Later we shall see that among the preachers there were good and faithful men who deplored all these things and proclaimed with better spirit and effect the great principles for which they stood. The dark side is not the only side, but its darkness was very dark.

Something should be said in regard to the homiletical theory and methods which prevailed among the Lutheran preachers of this epoch. Naturally the Reformation gave considerable impulse to the study and teaching of the theory of preaching. Among the Humanists, both Reuchlin and Erasmus[2] had written treatises upon the art of preaching. The latter of these appeared in 1535, and was a very elaborate work, founded upon the commonly accepted rhetoric, but with application to preaching. It could never have been available as a text-book for instruction, though it contains many useful suggestions, and exhibits, both in its amplitude of learning and the excellence of its Latin style, well-known characteristics of the author. Among the Reformers proper, other homiletical books appeared. Luther himself wrote no homiletical treatise, but in his *Table Talk,* sermons, lectures, and other writings, he gave occasional and vigorous attention to many homiletical principles. Hieronymus Weller (d. 1572)[3] published a treatise on preaching which was a sort of compilation of Lutheran preaching and practice. Previous to this Melanchthon[4] had, as early as 1519, published at Wittenberg his *Three Books on Rhetoric,* which was afterwards published in different editions with some changes. This is a very brief outline of the elements of rhetoric condensed from previous teachers and is not of much permanent value, though it may have served the theological students at Wittenberg, for whom it was principally intended. Nicholas Hemming,[5] a Lutheran preacher at Copenhagen (d. 1604), wrote a book on the art of preaching. A contemporary of his, Aegidius Hunnius[6] (d. 1603), besides other writings, also published a work on Homiletics. None of these works can claim a high degree of value, but they indicate a notable fact in the history of preaching,—that theory usually follows practice. The great work of the Reformers in the pulpit led some of their successors to describe and enjoin homiletical principles which seemed to have made their preaching effective.

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[2] Reuchlin's treatise, *Liber congestorum de arte praedicandi,* published 1504, is of little value. Erasmus published in 1511 a popular and useful rhetoric, *De duplici copia verborum et rerum,* commonly mentioned briefly as the *Copia;* and in his famous Praise of Folly (*Encomium Moriae*) he stings the degenerate preaching of the age. But his great work is the one noticed in the text: *Ecclesiastes, sive Concionator Evangelicus,* Basel, 1535. *Opera,* Leyden, 1704, Peter van der Aa.

[3] See Lentz, Schmidt, and Christlieb, *opp. citt.*

[4] Bretschneider's *Corpus Reformatorum,* Vol. XIII, *Ph. Melanchthonis Elementorum Rhetorices Libri Duo.*

As to the methods of preaching, several characteristics require notice. In the post-reformers more attention was given both to analytic and synthetic form. The sermons of Luther and Calvin broke away with a certain joyous freedom from the trammels of the scholastic method. This was especially true of their expository discourses, which were verse-by-verse comments rather than orderly addresses. Yet traces of the rigid analysis of the schools inevitably appeared in the preaching of the Reformers; and the study of homiletics naturally tended to the reinstatement of this method. As is often the case in such matters, a needed improvement went too far. In much of the preaching of the period under review there is too much stiff and formal division of sermons. Another characteristic of the later reformatory preaching is that it becomes more theological and less expository. This was due to two things: (1) A natural advancement in theological thinking; (2) The prevalence of dogmatic controversy. Thus after the free expository methods of the earlier Reformers there arose a more topical and discursive style.

As to the spirit and thought of the Lutheran preaching after Luther, two tendencies must be carefully noted. These, of course, are to be met with at all times and are no more peculiar to the Reformation period than to our own, but the manifestation must necessarily differ with the times and their currents of thought. The two tendencies, however, were sufficiently manifest in this age. They are the scholastic or dogmatic on the one hand, and the mystical or spiritual on the other. The former is cool and critical, logical and severe. The latter is warm, emotional, sometimes obscure and vague, but usually devout and helpful to piety. It is gratifying to know that not a few preachers were of this kind, but still it must be said that all the Lutheran preaching in the latter part of the sixteenth century was too much under the dogmatic and polemic influence. The more spiritual tendencies had to strive hard for recognition in that stormy time of arid debate and theological intolerance.

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[5] Lentz, Schmidt, and Christlieb, *opp. citt.*

[6] *Id.*

Only a few of the more notable preachers require to be mentioned.[7] Of these we note first, Jacob Andreae (1528-1590). He was born of humble parentage in Würtemburg. He had, however, a desire for learning, and pursued his education in the schools, gaining academic training at the University of Tübingen. His pastoral life fell chiefly in the capital, Stuttgart, where he was highly successful as a preacher; but his labors were not confined to the city, for he was much in demand for outside work. He was a very active theologian, sharing in the doctrinal disputes of the times. He was noted as a debater, and was also a wise counselor among his brethren. He was also known and highly esteemed as a strong and eloquent preacher. Next we mention Martin Chemnitz (1522-1586). With Chemnitz we pass from south to north Germany, for he was born in the electorate of Brandenburg. He had the advantage of receiving his education at Wittenberg under Luther, Melanchthon, and others. He was very highly regarded by Lutherans, was a useful pastor in Brunswick, and in his latter life served as superintendent of the churches in that region. He was quite scholarly and learned, but was much loved as a man and popular as a preacher. We next name Lucas Osiander (1534-1604). He was a son of the famous Andrew Osiander of the preceding period, who was noted as a preacher and also as a stout theological debater of a somewhat harsh and contentious spirit. Lucas, however, inheriting his father's abilities, was of a gentler and more tolerant nature. He was educated by his father at Nuremberg, and pursued further studies at Königsberg. After preaching at several smaller places, he was called to one of the principal churches at Stuttgart, where his life was chiefly spent. He published many sermons which were much read in that time. It is pleasant to recall of him that he adapted himself to the common people and preached with acceptance and power.

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[7] Beste, Rothe, Schmidt, *et al.*

The last and most important preacher of this group was John Arndt (1555-1621).[8] There is something very winsome and attractive about this devout and lovable soul. He was the son of a pastor in Anhalt, where he was born. He was left an orphan quite young, but received kind treatment and an education at the hands of friends, at Halberstadt and Magdeburg. He was designed for the profession of medicine, but during an illness he was converted and his mind was led to theology and the pastorate. Upon deciding to enter the ministry he studied theology at Wittenberg, Basel, and other places. Here he took up the regular work of the pastorate. He was well fitted for it in training, character, and piety. He exercised his useful ministry at a number of places—Quedlinberg, Brunswick, Celle, and others. In that disputatious age his quiet spirit and tolerant nature exposed him to much criticism on the part of some extreme and violent men. As is so often the case, he was esteemed weak and compromising where he only meant to be loving and peaceful. He was sensitive enough to feel unkind criticism, but brave enough to bear it with a Christian spirit, and he pursued his own way regardless of clamor and unkindness. As a pastor he was very much loved. His heart went out in tender sympathy to his people, and his own sufferings and trials enabled him to sympathize with others. His preaching was decidedly mystical and pious in tone. The dogmatic and polemic elements are thoroughly subordinate to the devout and spiritual. This was a new tendency in those days, and it had a blessed influence upon a few at that time and upon many of later date. Indeed, in some respects Arndt is the fore-

[8] The same, especially Schmidt (S. 80 ff.), and Ker (p. 172 ff.). Also Schuler, *Gesch. der Veränderangen u. s. w.*, Bd. I, S. 160, who pays a high tribute to Arndt in his efforts to bring in a more spiritual tone in preaching.

runner, if not the founder, of the Pietistic movement which found its culmination in Spener and Francke in the next century.

Arndt published a number of sermons. They have been highly prized as pious literature, and are still read. They are indeed one of the classics of the spiritual life of his own and later times. His career and his writings and his influence all show the value and permanence of a really spiritual note in the preaching of any age, however this may be opposed to the leading tendencies of the time.

II. Reformed Preaching After Calvin and Bullinger.

Among the Reformed preachers[9] toward the close of the sixteenth century there was also a decline of freshness and power as among the Lutherans, and for similar reasons. The state of affairs in all the countries where there were Reformed or Calvinistic Churches interfered with preaching. In Germany, both Catholics and Lutherans opposed the Calvinists. In Switzerland the external conditions were more favorable; but in all the centers, both of German and French Switzerland, the loss of the great leaders was sensibly felt. In France the persecution of the Protestants, which had its beginning under Francis I, found its bloody, fearful consummation in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in August, 1572. From then on persecution raged along with civil and religious strife till the promulgation of the famous Edict of Nantes, by Henry IV, in 1598. The effects of that famous measure of toleration upon preaching, both Protestant and Catholic, fall to be considered in our study of the seventeenth century. All through the sixteenth century in France, Protestant preaching withered under the blight of intense and ceaseless persecution.

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[9] See Rothe, Lentz, Christlieb, *opp. citt.* See also Baird, *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre;* and the Church Histories. For Holland, J. Hartog, *Geschiedenis van de Predikkunde in de Protestantsche Kerk van Nederland,* 2d ed., Utrecht, 1887; J. J. van Oosterzee, *Practical Theology* (Eng. trans.), an introductory sketch of the history of preaching.

What was done had to be done secretly. The most and best of the preachers did their work in exile.

In the Netherlands external conditions were equally unfavorable. For this was the terrible age of Philip II and the Duke of Alva. The Dutch preaching of this epoch was of a primitive and rather rough character. Yet it had fallen into the slough of the new scholasticism, was tainted by pedantry and ruined by polemics. This tendency was rather encouraged than corrected by the founding of the University of Leyden in 1575, though that event was most important as the beginning of higher training for the preachers of Holland. There were few preachers of distinction, and the literary remains of the period are scanty and of little value. Van Oosterzee says that at the time of the Synod of Wesel (1568), which fixed the liturgy, it was found necessary to warn the preachers against "all hateful and offensive affectation or high-flown style." He complains that the disputes of the University were dragged into the pulpit, and that pedantic and tedious exposition of words and phrases was carried to a hurtful extreme.

It is scarcely necessary to mention by name the Reformed preachers of this epoch. At Geneva, Theodore Beza carried on Calvin's work over into the beginning of the seventeenth century. He was a diligent preacher and his work maintained the influence of preaching, both in the religious and civil affairs of Geneva. His assistants there and in the adjacent towns continued the work of former times, but with no great brilliancy or notable achievement.

At Zurich, after Bullinger came Ludwig Lavater (d. 1586)), Rudolf Walter (d. 1586), and John Wolf (d. 1571), all of whom are mentioned with respect by historians of the period as earnest, faithful, and prominent preachers. But their works have left no permanent impression, nor do they constitute any important factor in the history of preaching.

More important among the Reformed preachers the period is the name of Andrew Hyperius.[10] He was born at Ypres, in Flanders—whence his surname—in 1511. His mother was a woman of good social position and high character, and both parents sympathized with the Reformation movement. The father died while Andrew was young, but left careful instructions for the boy's further education, which he had carefully attended to before his death. Andrew was ambitious and eager as a student; he absorbed the best humanistic training of his time. Having attended the preliminary schools, he took his degrees at the University of Paris, but traveled and studied much in other countries, including England, where during a few months' sojourn he taught as well as studied. His sympathy with the Reformed views, and the consumption of his fortune in pursuing his studies, caused him to leave his native land and become a teacher elsewhere. He was thus led to Marburg, where he became professor in the University in 1542. It was here that he spent the rest of his life in preaching and teaching. He was a man of unblemished character, both in domestic and public relations, and his influence, both in the University and in the religious life of Hesse, was extended and wholesome. He produced a number of important theological works, but is especially distinguished for his notable contribution to homiletics. He wrote two books on this subject. The second of these is not of permanent value, being chiefly given to suggestions about the selection of subjects for preaching; but the earlier work, published in 1553, is one of the best and most influential treatises upon homiletics that has ever been produced. In it the evangelical spirit of the preacher goes hand in hand with the learning and thoughtfulness of the trained scholar. In style and arrangement it far surpasses the more voluminous—not to say tedious—work of Erasmus, to which, as well as to others, it doubtless owes something. The treatise consists of two parts. The first book deals with the general principles of rhetoric as applied to preaching, and the second gives a particular application of these principles to some of the special truths and topics with which the preacher must deal.

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[10] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, S. 53 ff.; articles in *RE;* and especially P. Biesterveld, *Andreas Hyperius voornamelik als Homileet.* Inaugural Address, 1895.

III. English Preaching After Bishop Jewel.

In England the latter part of the sixteenth century includes the closing years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.[11] There is scarcely a more brilliant epoch in English politics and letters than the close of the Elizabethan period. The adventurous expeditions of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher opened up great vistas of enterprise, which seized strongly upon both the imagination and the practical sense of the English people. The vigorous statesmanship of Burghley and Walsingham and their associates gave the English a foremost place in diplomacy and statecraft. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 gave world-wide and splendid renown to the English fighting qualities and secured for England her position of supremacy on the sea, which has never been vacated. The character and qualities of the queen herself, while open at many points to serious criticism, were such as to awaken the loyalty of her subjects and the respect of foreign powers. In philosophy the great name of Francis Bacon is beginning to be known, and English thought is henceforth a power of the first magnitude in the world's advance. In literature the supreme name of Shakespeare adorns this period, while among the lesser lights those of Spenser, Raleigh, Hooker, and others must be recalled.

Preaching in this wonderful period shows but ill in comparison, both with itself in preceding and succeeding epochs and with the great activity and power of the English mind in other departments of activity. How are we to account for this singular phenomenon? Several causes may be assigned. Preaching was depressed by the effects of the persecution under Queen Mary. Many of the best Protestant preachers had been slain or driven into exile, and in the earlier days of Elizabeth the restoration of Protestantism was exceedingly slow and cautious. Elizabeth herself was at heart more Catholic than Protestant, while for policy she had to

[11] Besides works and biographies of the preachers mentioned, see Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England* (Yale Lectures), Scribners, New York, 1900; Thos. Fuller, *Church History of Britain* (Book IX, 1580-1600); Marsden, *History of the Early Puritans.*

work with the Protestants. She did not approve of preaching, and discouraged it in a good many ways. One of the blots upon her reign is her persecution of the Anabaptists and other evangelical sectaries. In addition to these things, the political and ecclesiastical disputes of the times greatly absorbed the minds of the church leaders. Questions affecting the relations of Church and State were in hot dispute, and some who might have been able preachers, as, for instance, Archbishop Parker himself, were greatly taken up with other affairs. Yet, in spite of these depressing hindrances, preaching still existed and pursued the lines of development which had been begun in former times. In character it was much influenced by the controversial spirit. The rise of Puritanism and the disputes between Puritans and Anglicans were important forces in preaching. In style the extreme Puritanical method had not yet appeared, but the literary expression of the pulpit was not a little damaged by the fancifulness and literary conceits which were notable characteristics of much of the literature of Queen Elizabeth's time.

We may select for special mention a few of the better known preachers in both groups. Among the Anglican divines the most eminent name is that of Richard Hooker (1563-1600), the famous author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. His life was beautifully written by the genial old fisherman, Izaak Walton, who loved him very much. Hooker was educated at Oxford, where he made a good record as a scholar and became a fellow and professor. He was ordained in 1581 and preached some acceptable sermons at St. Paul's Cross. He was unwisely and unhappily married, and his domestic life was full of disappointments, which he bore with marked patience and sweetness of temper. In 1585 Hooker was made Master of the Temple in London, and it was while filling this incumbency that he fell into a controversy with his Puritan colleague, Walter Travers, who had the afternoon appointment as preacher at the Temple. The men differed widely in their theological and ecclesiastical views. The controversy inevitably had its unpleasant sides, but it resulted in one of the great contributions to English literature in Hooker's masterly treatise. This was the best defense of the Anglican position which appeared since Bishop Jewel's *Apology*, in the preceding epoch, and remains one of the classics of English literature. Hooker's noble style, clear thinking, and admirable spirit are known to many readers. The book was never quite completed, and some of it was published after his death. He had no doubt elaborated many of its thoughts in his sermons, and we can therefore form some idea of his style of discourse. As for the sermons themselves, not a great many remain, and they do not occupy a very high place in homiletic literature.

One of the most famous churchmen and preachers of this age was Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), but as his greatest fame and work belong early in the seventeenth century, under James I, he will more properly be considered among the preachers of that time.

Among the Puritan preachers in the latter part of the sixteenth century there were several men of power, two of whom at least deserve special notice. Henry Smith (1550-1593) was greatly admired by judicious men in his own time, and has left a good name behind him. Quaint and genial old Thomas Fuller praised him very highly and declares that his nickname of the "silver tongued" was "but one notch below Chrysostom himself." He received some education at Cambridge, and then studied with a Puritan preacher named Greenhan. He did not take a pastorate, but was elected in 1587 lecturer at St. Clement Danes, London. Here he achieved great celebrity as a preacher. Anthony Wood speaks of him as the "miracle and wonder of the age, for his prodigious memory and for his fluent, eloquent, and practical way of preaching." His sermons covered a wide range of topics and were marked by many of the literary traits of the times, abounding in quaint conceits and much imagery, but they were sweet and tender upon occasion, and must have produced a profound impression upon their hearers.

The other of these Elizabethan Puritans was William Perkins (d. 1602). He also receives high praise from Thomas Fuller, who says that "his sermons were not so plain but that the piously learned did admire them, nor so learned but that the plain did understand them,"—which is high praise for a preacher in any time. He gave some addresses at Oxford upon the duties of the ministry which afford a good idea of his own aims and purposes in the ministry. Using Isaiah's vision and call, he thus speaks of the burning coal taken from the altar and laid on the prophet's lips: "This signifies that the apt and sufficient teacher must have a tongue of fire, full of power and force, even like fire, to eat up the sins and corruptions of the world. For though it be a worthy gift of God to speak mildly and moderately so that his speech should fall like dew upon the grass, yet it is the tongue of fire; but it must be fire taken from the altar of God; it must be fire from heaven; his zeal must be a godly and heavenly zeal." Besides his sermons, Perkins is noted for having written (in Latin) perhaps the first modern treatise on homiletics by an Englishman. A translation was published in 1613, under the title, *The Art of Prophecying.* Perkins was a very learned and scholarly man, besides being plain in speech. His influence for good was very great, both in his own days and afterwards.

All these men show us that we can not dogmatize concerning the decline of the English pulpit in this age. While comparatively it was less great than in preceding or following times, and did not measure up to the literary splendor of its own age, it was by no means to be despised, either as a force in the national life or in a good measure of excellence and power within its own sphere.

IV. Scotch Preaching After Knox.[12]

Religious affairs in Scotland after the death of Knox were in great turmoil. There was a worldly and political party in the church, the inevitable result of the forces under which the Scottish Church came into being. Knox himself was forced by circumstances to associate the cause of religion with the political party opposed to

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[12] See Blaikie, *The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century;* Taylor, *The Scottish Pulpit;* McCrie, *Sketches of Scotch Church History;* Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland,* Vols. III-IV; *Works* and *Life* of Robert Rollock.

Queen Mary. The Protestant nobles, called Lords of the Congregation, had far too much influence within the church for its best spiritual interest. The young king, James VI, very early showed a desire to dominate the church as a part of the body politic, in which he desired to be absolute ruler. The organization of the church had been left incomplete at the death of Knox. Amid these difficulties it was given to one singularly great man to be the guiding genius in the maintenance and development of Scotch Presbyterianism. This man was Andrew Melville (1545-1622). Chiefly known as a reformer and educator, as the steady and unterrified opponent of worldly and royal encroachment, as organizer and leader, he was also a preacher of no little force and power. Preaching, however, was forced into the second place in his strenuous career.

A few of the better known preachers claim at least brief mention. There was James Lawson (d. 1584), the young colleague and successor of Knox at Edinburgh. Of course he did not measure up to the great reformer, but it is a distinction to say of him that he was Knox's own choice for his successor, and that he acquitted himself creditably in an exceedingly difficult position. Along with him should be named another who for a time had been a colleague of Knox at Edinburgh. This was John Craig (d. 1600). Like most of the Scottish preachers of the time, he had caught the fearless and outspoken spirit of their great leader. He had been a Catholic monk of the Dominican order and had studied much abroad. He had shown his courage in the time of Mary and Bothwell. He refused to comply with some desire of the congregation, and showed his independence by resigning. In 1580, James VI, the boy king, chose Craig for his court preacher. His ministry was greatly acceptable, both for its fidelity and its power. He kept his place until his death in 1600. We should also name here the learned teacher and author, Robert Rollock (d. 1598). Chiefly famous in these pursuits, he was also an esteemed and powerful preacher. The following paragraph from Dr. Blaikie's account of him gives some measure of the man: "In a way somewhat strange, Rollock became one of the ministers of Edinburgh. It was the practice for many of the people to assemble early on Sunday mornings in one of the churches called the New Church. How this came about, we are not told; all that we know is that the pious heart of Rollock was concerned to see them idle while they might be listening to the Word of God. With great self-denying zeal he began to preach to them, the hour of service being seven in the morning—a thing that had never been done in Edinburgh before. Rollock seemed to have no other thought than that of occupying usefully a portion of the time liable to be thrown away. All his brethren and fellow citizens were so impressed with his gift and so full of admiration for the man, that they persuaded him to undertake the pastoral office; and at length Rollock gave his consent. His preaching was attended with a remarkable degree of spiritual power and impressions, and the most learned and cultivated classes were as much impressed as the ignorant. Their minds were illuminated as with heavenly light, and their feelings wonderfully stirred up—the result of the clear and practical way in which the preacher presented the truth, and of the deep, sympathetic action of his own heart, moved by the Spirit of God, filled with the truths which he proclaimed." Rollock was a man of amiable and kindly temperament, thus quite a contrast to Knox. Blaikie compares him to Melanchthon in his relations to Luther.

Along with him should also be named a descendant of one of Scotland's most noted and famous families. This was Robert Bruce (1559-1631). He was educated for the law at St. Andrews, but deeply felt his call to preach the gospel, and gave up excellent worldly prospects in his profession. He had a deep spiritual experience, both of conversion and call, and his impassioned and earnest ministry gave every proof of the intensity and fervor of his personal convictions. Before he had quite completed his theological studies at St. Andrews, he was earnestly solicited to become successor of Lawson in Edinburgh. This, however, with good sense, he declined. During his student days he had shown great aptitude in expounding the Scriptures to his fellow-students and during the morning services in church. In 1587 he was called to Edinburgh and reluctantly accepted the place. For awhile he was in high favor with the young king, to whom he rendered services on more than one occasion, but his fidelity in opposing James' desire to restore episcopacy in Scotland cost him the monarch's favor. He was imprisoned for awhile in Edinburgh Castle, and on being released was forbidden ever to return to Edinburgh. He led a somewhat unsettled life as a preacher in his last years. The good men of his own time most highly esteemed him, both as a man and preacher. One of his contemporaries says: "He was a terror to evil-doers, and the authority of God did so appear in him and in his carriage, with such a majesty in his countenance, as to force fear and respect from the greatest in the land, even those who were avowed haters of godliness." And another says: "No man in his time spake with such evidence and power of the Spirit; no man had so many seals of conversion; yea, many of his hearers thought that no man, since the apostles, spoke with such power." He possessed two of the most necessary pulpit gifts, a thorough knowledge of Scripture and a searching application of it to the consciences of his hearers.

V. Catholic Preaching After the Council of Trent[13]

The latter part of the sixteenth century witnessed some improvement in the quality and power of Catholic preaching. This was due to several causes, of which three may be mentioned as the most prominent.

(1) There was in a general way the stimulus of rivalry with the Protestant preaching. This, of course, had its seamy side in the prominence of the polemic spirit, but nevertheless the very existence of Protestantism and the emphasis which it placed upon preaching the pure Word of God, had a decided and helpful effect in improving both the taste and the Scriptural quality of Roman Catholic preaching. This influence was felt all through the sixteenth century, and while not espe-

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[13] See the Church Histories; Canons of the Council of Trent as quoted in various authorities on preaching; and Zanotto, *Storia della Predicazione, passim.*

cially prominent toward its close, still has to be reckoned with as one of the forces in the Catholic preaching of the time.

(2) More particularly we must count the effect of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Among the many Canons passed by that distinguished body, some related to matters of practice and discipline, including preaching. It will be remembered that Cardinal Charles Borromeo, of Milan, was one of the leading theologians in the Council, and that he was especially interested in toning up the quality of Catholic preaching.[14] Doubtless there were others who agreed with him, and so it is easily seen how important the new interest in preaching should appear in the eyes of that body. The Council laid it down as the first duty of a bishop to preach; it regulated also the preaching of the friars; it passed rules for the reformation of certain abuses and for the better education of the preachers. There can be no question that the actions of the Council on these subjects were effective in producing a decided improvement in Catholic preaching. Some Catholic writers have been disposed to assign to this influence alone the marked improvement of the Catholic pulpit in modern times; but, while it is one of the causes, it can not be considered the only one. The influence of Protestantism can not be discounted.

(3) We must also take account of the founding of the famous Society of Jesus.[15] One of the purposes of Loyola in establishing his order was to promote preaching, though its main purpose was to strengthen the papacy and counteract in every possible way the work of the Reformation. Preaching, as one of the principal means of instructing the people and meeting heresy, naturally was much emphasized in the order, and many of its members, from the time of its founding and on through its checkered history, have been among the most distinguished preachers in the Roman communion.

Yet when we come to discuss the principal Catholic preachers toward the end of the sixteenth century, we do not find many who have any particular claim to distinction. The greater preachers of this century belong rather to its middle period than immediately at its end. There was something of a lull in power among Catholics, as well as among Protestants in the evening of the Reformation epoch. A few Italian preachers are mentioned by Zanotto as having attained some distinction. Among these were Joseph of Lionessa (d. 1612) and Lorenzo of Brindisi (d. 1619). In Germany and France the case was somewhat similar, where Jean Boucher, who preached before both Henry III and Henry IV, is at least worthy of mention as a notable French preacher of his age. For piety and earnestness, both of life and preaching, mention should also be made of the well-known St. Francis of Sales (1567-1622).

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[14] See my *History of Preaching,* Vol. I, pp. 525, 528, 545 ff.

[15] The Church Histories; Taylor, *Loyola and Jesuitism.*

A general survey of the Christian pulpit at the turn of the sixteenth century, as has been already pointed out, shows decided symptoms of reaction and decline. Neither among Protestants nor Catholics was there the height of intellectual force, spiritual fervor, and popular success which the earlier and middle periods of the century witnessed in the pulpit. We must turn our faces toward the dawning seventeenth century, when in at least two of the European countries, France and England, a great classic period in the history of preaching arises.

CHAPTER II

Preaching in Southern Europe During the Seventeenth Century

The general historic importance of the seventeenth century in Western civilization is readily conceded; but its points of commanding interest for human progress are shifted from Southern and Central Europe to France and England. In each of these two countries there is also a great age of pulpit eloquence, while elsewhere there is weakness. Decadent Spain and distracted Italy wither under the blight of triumphant bigotry; free thought is suppressed or expelled. Divided Germany suffers for thirty years in the first half of the century the horrors of civil war, and lies prostrate all the century through. In France the monarchy, and in England the people show their strength; and on vast colonial fields in America and India these two great nations are getting ready for their titanic struggle through the next century, with the odds apparently in favor of France. Literature in Italy and Germany has little to show for itself; in Spain the bloom is reached, but is ready to shatter out. In France literature reaches its classic zenith in the reign of Louis XIV; and in England the great Elizabethan age is worthily extended in the masterpieces of the tumultuous revolutionary period. More particular notices of events and conditions, with their influences upon preaching, will better come under each country as we proceed.

I. Portugal

But for one man the little country of Portugal would claim no consideration in a history of seventeenth century preaching. Four hundred years before this time she had given to the world the great Franciscan, Antony of Padua, who was born and educated in Portugal, though his main residence was at Padua in Italy. In this age another Antonio comes on the scene, and the work and influence of Antonio Vieyra add one more celebrity to the pulpit annals of a country singularly destitute of such distinction.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century Portugal lost her political independence, being brought under the dominance of Spain, and it was not till 1665 that the Spanish yoke was thrown off and the house of Braganza established a new dynasty and government. An alliance with England cost the country disastrous concessions that further weakened its political importance throughout the seventeenth century. Portuguese literature was distinguished during the sixteenth century by the splendid work of Camoëns in his *Lusiad* and *Sonnets;* and there were a few other authors of some distinction; but the seventeenth century has little of literary worth. There were besides our preacher, Vieyra, only a few writers on religious subjects who had much influence. In religious affairs Catholicism, with the Inquisition, was dominant, and the Jesuits were strong. In Brazil and other possessions there was opening and stimulus to missionary endeavor, and this gave some life to religious activity; but on the whole neither religious nor other conditions in Portugal were favorable to the development of pulpit eloquence.

Yet a few preachers are mentioned by Catholic writers as entitled to favorable notice. Zanotto[1] names, among the Jesuits, Luiz Cardeyra (d. 1684), who published some sermons; and Emmanuel Reys (d. 1699), who was auxiliary bishop of Lisbon, an eminent preacher, who published four volumes of sermons; also Simon da Grazia (d. 1682), prior at Goa, and author of notable panegyrics on the saints. These are scarcely known beyond their church and country; but, as we have seen, there is at least one Portuguese preacher of the century whose fame is wider than these limits. This was Antonio Vieyra (1608-1697).[2] Like his mediæval namesake, Antony of Padua, he rises far above the average, and has a secure place among the great preachers of all time. And he was more of a Portuguese than the earlier Antony, who did his best work in a country and language not his by birthright. Vieyra spoke and wrote in Portuguese, and his works did much for that language, being even yet esteemed among its classics.

Vieyra was born at Lisbon in the early years of the century, but was taken by his parents to Brazil when seven years old. Henceforth his time was divided between the homeland and her great colony. He was carefully educated in the schools of both the parent land and Brazil. In 1625 he took the vows of the Society of Jesus. The characteristic Jesuit training and traditions were his. He became proficient in learning, in diplomacy, in knowledge of human nature, in facile and elegant speech and writing, in persuasive and moving eloquence. Called to Portugal, he was made preacher at the royal chapel at Lisbon by John IV, who greatly admired and loved him. Entrusted by his sovereign with important political duties, he showed himself an adept in diplomacy. But he loved Brazil and the mission work there, and could not be induced to remain always in the home country. Back and forth between Portugal and Brazil his life was spent, with one intermission of importance, when he discharged a preaching appointment of some months in Rome. He lived to a great age, notwithstanding his ceaseless activity and great labors, and died, as he wished, in Brazil.

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[1] *Storia della Predicazione,* p. 317.

[2] Zanotto, *l. c.;* Neale, *Mediæval Preaching,* on Vieyra.

Besides his published sermons, Vieyra produced a number of other works. His writings are among the classics of the Portuguese language, and his work for education and literature in Brazil is reckoned one of the foremost influences for culture in that land. Selections from his sermons are accessible to English readers in Neale's *Mediæval Preaching*. From these and a slight glance at his sermons in the original a fair idea of the general character of these discourses has been obtained. In contents and theology they are Catholic, of course, and yet with a trace of evangelical teaching not to be expected from a Jesuit of that age. Indeed, it has been stated that in some quarters the sermons are among books forbidden to be read by the clergy, because of their tendency in this direction. The moral tone, for the most part, appears to be unexceptionable. The style is wordy and elaborate, according to prevalent taste, and hardly seems to justify the very high place accorded to it. The knowledge of human nature is keen, the application direct and pungent. There do not seem to be any oratorical flights, such as we find in the French school, nor the quaint and stately dignity which we find in the English classics of the century. But there is a loftiness of thought, a seriousness of purpose, a carefulness and elegance of expression which make the sermons worthy of high consideration in themselves, and, when compared with those of the preacher's Spanish and Portuguese contemporaries, easily of the first rank.

II. Spain

The condition of affairs in Spain during the seventeenth century was not favorable to pulpit eloquence or effectiveness, but a number of preachers are named by Catholic authors as worthy of distinction among their compeers, though none have attained to anything like world-wide fame.

After the defeat of the famous Armada sent against England in 1588, the power of Spain distinctly declines, and the whole of the seventeenth century is witness to that. Philip III (1598-1621) was a weak and fanatical prince, whose favorite, Lerma, mismanaged the revenues, drove out the remnant of the Moors and their descendants, and made other mistakes harmful to the prosperity of the country. Misfortunes continued under Philip IV (1621-1665). The Netherlands were finally abandoned; Portugal successfully revolted; insurrections occurred in the horribly mistreated Italian dependencies, and war with France led to disastrous defeats. Under Charles II (1665-1700) there was no change for the better; another ruinous war with France occurred, troubles in Italy continued, and with this king the proud House of Hapsburg became extinct, making way for the terrible wars of the Spanish Succession and the establishment of the House of Bourbon in the next century.

The religious situation was what might be expected from the triumph of the Inquisition,—the expulsion and persecution of heretics, the dark fanaticism and corrupt lives of the monarchs and their favorites. The Roman hierarchy had had its way, but at fearful cost to the country and to the Roman Church itself as a force for true religion.

But the dark outlook presented by political and religious conditions is somewhat relieved by the glory—even though a fading glory—of Spanish literature during the seventeenth century.[3] When the century opened Cervantes (d. 1616) was famous and still at work. *Don Quixote* is not his only, though his most important, title to fame. Other romances, short or long, lyrics, and some dramas, came from his pen and produced a large following of imitators. Another remarkable literary genius of the century was Lope de Vega (d. 1635), whose especial, but not sole work, was drama. He stirred up many followers. But the chief poet of Spain is Calderon de la Barca (d. 1681), who is held to be one of the greatest of dramatists, especially in tragedy. Besides these great masters, whose fame belongs to all countries and times, there were a number of less known and yet nationally influential writers in all the walks of literature. Among the lesser poets and ballad writers one has, in spite of talent and worth, an unenviable name as having corrupted taste. This was Gongora, who introduced and practiced a bombastic and inflated style, which he and his followers called *cultismo;* but it is also known from him as Gongorism. This affectation was contemporaneous in Italy; and there is dispute between Spanish and Italian critics as to where the chief blame of its introduction belongs. Likewise the same phenomenon appeared in English literature under the name of Euphuism. This wretched folly spread from poetry into prose and vitiated all the literature of the time. Even the masters who satirized it felt in some degree bound to yield to the current of taste. There were a few notable historians in the early part of the century, as Mariana, Sandoval, and Herrera; and later Solis was esteemed the most important. There were collections of proverbs, some treatises on grammar and rhetoric, and on politics. Ticknor mentions with some approval a treatise on *The Idea of a Christian Prince,* by Faxardo, which had some vogue and usefulness. There were also some religious and practical treatises of various degrees of merit, but none of great power or lasting influence. The tyranny of both Church and State was not favorable to the cultivation of eloquence; and the mediæval character of the Catholic Church in Spain, with its elaborate ceremonial sacerdotalism, acted as an additional drawback to pulpit power.

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[3] Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature,* Harpers, 1849; 3 vols., Period II.

The preaching of the age is thus described by Ticknor:[4] "After the beginning of the seventeenth century the affected style of Gongora and the conceits of the school of Ledesma found their way into the churches generally, and especially into the churches of Madrid. This was natural. No persons depended more on the voice of fashion than the preachers of the court and the capital, and the fashion of both was thoroughly infected by the new doctrines. Paravicino at this period was at the head of the popular preachers, himself a poet devoted to the affectations of Gongora; a man of wit,

[4] *Op. cit.,* vol. III, p. 127 f.

a gentleman and a courtier. From 1616 he was, during twenty years, pulpit orator to Philip III and Philip IV, and enjoyed as such a kind and degree of popularity before unknown. As might have been expected, he had many followers, each of whom sought to have a fashionable audience. Such audiences were soon systematically provided. They were, in fact, collected, arranged, and seated by the friends and admirers of the preacher himself,—generally by those who, from their ecclesiastical relations, had an interest in his success; and then the crowds thus gathered were induced in different ways to express their approbation of the more elaborate passages in his discourse. From this time and in this way religious dignity disappeared from the Spanish pulpit, and whatever there was of value in its eloquence was confined to two forms,—the learned discussions, often in Latin, addressed to bodies of ecclesiastics, and the extemporaneous exhortations addressed to the lower classes; —the latter popular and vehement in tone, and by their coarseness generally unworthy of the solemn subjects they touched." Ticknor adds in a footnote: "Capmany, in his five important volumes devoted to Spanish eloquence, has been able to find nothing in the seventeenth century, either in the way of forensic orations or pulpit eloquence, with which to fill its pages, but is obliged to resort to the eloquent prose of history and philosophy, of ethics and religious asceticism."

On the other hand, the case does not seem quite so desperate when we look over such a list of names, with brief comments, as is given by Zanotto in notes to two of his chapters on the history of preaching in Italy. He mentions briefly contemporaneous preachers of note in other lands, and his list for Spain during the seventeenth century is fairly full. In all he names forty-seven Spanish preachers who published sermons during the century; and these are noted with various degrees of commendation. It is to be supposed that his list is not exhaustive, for it is singular that he does not include Paravicino, who is particularly instanced by Ticknor, as quoted above. Among the more important of those mentioned by Zanotto are the following: Francesco Blamas, of the Philippine Islands, who came to Spain and showed himself quite an orator, afterwards went as missionary to America, and left some sermons in the Spanish language; Francesco Labata (d. 1631), who enjoyed much celebrity, and published, besides many sermons, a sort of homiletical help for preachers; Diego Baeza (d. 1647), who had "great renown" and put forth many sermons on the feasts, on funeral occasions, and for souls in Purgatory; Juan d'Armenta, of Cordova (d. 1651), who was director of several colleges and "passed among the more eloquent orators;" Emanuele Naxera, of Toledo (b. 1624), who had a famous career as preacher for thirty years and left, besides theological works, a number of volumes of sermons, some of which were thought worthy of translation into Italian; Antonio de Lorea (d. 1688), who was much praised for his easy eloquence; the Augustinian, Pedro of St. Joseph, who was called the "painter" from his skill in that art, but was also a preacher of note.

III. Italy

The condition of Italy during the whole of the seventeenth century was deplorable in the extreme. It was an age of darkness and slavery. From the firm establishment of the Spanish power over almost the entire peninsula under Charles V, Italy entered her prison and remained until quite recent times—to use the well-worn phrase—"only a geographical expression." Virtually only Piedmont, under the House of Savoy, and Venice, in the rapid decline of her former greatness, were free from the dominant Spanish misrule. A rapacious line of viceroys wasted the domains which they professed to govern. Futile uprisings in Naples and Sicily only tightened the hateful manacles and increased the sufferings of the people. A feeble line of fourteen popes with difficulty held together the States of the Church. The decayed scions of ducal houses rotted in their sloth and vices in the provinces and cities made famous in former times. Genoa, inwardly corrupt, was the football of contention between Spain, France, and Savoy—by turns a prey to all, and no more strong or great. Venice passed through exhausting wars—which in her declining wealth and power she could ill afford to wage—with her own countrymen, with Austria, and with the Turks. Here alone were there any remains of Italian greatness and independence; and how great was the fall even here! In Savoy, in contrast with the ducal houses of Italy proper, the ruling family showed some strength and held power with a vigorous hand. Piedmont was already becoming, under this famous House, the hope of Italian independence and unity. But that day of realization was far in the future and unsuspected even by the most far-sighted.

Moral corruption accompanied political degradation. Vice of every description flourished among rulers and people. Rapacity, lust, cowardice, instead of being held down, were in the ascendant; cruelty, oppression, and violence were the pastime of the strong; and subserviency, treachery, and hate were the refuge of the weak. Religion had no happier fortune. The Inquisition had snuffed out the spark of reform; the salt had lost its savor, and there was no seasoning for itself. Some of the popes enriched their families—notably the Borghese and Barberini; one, Paul V, tried to revive the high pretensions of mediæval times, only to be successfully resisted by Venice and haughtily humiliated by Louis XIV. Freedom of thought was suppressed, and Galileo was forced to recant. Superstition abounded where vital religion decayed. This was seventeenth century Italy.

As to the literature of the time, Sismondi[5] gives a fearful picture of decay. He mentions and discusses a few writers of more or less prominence, but none of any real greatness. Guarino, Chiabrero, and others wrote some true lyrics. The name of Marini is notorious as corresponding to that of Gongora in Spain, for he it was who introduced in Italy that inflated and bombastic style which marks this era of decadence. Imitators there were in abundance. More worthy of mention is the senator of Florence, Filicaia, who wrote some excellent lyrics with a patriotic flavor and purpose. In this time arose opera—music and the stage using poetry only as an inferior aid. The critic's depressing summary is as follows: "Enfeebled Italy produced during a century and a half only a race of cold and contemptible imitators, tamely following in the paths of their predecessors; or of false and affected originals who mistook an inflated style for grandeur of sentiment, antithesis for eloquence, and witty conceits for a proof of brilliant powers. This was the reign of corrupted taste; a taste which strove, by a profusion of ornament, to disguise the want of native talent, and which maintained its authority from the time of the imprisonment of Tasso until the appearance of Metastasio in the zenith of his fame," that is, from 1580 to 1730.

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[5] *Literature of Southern Europe,* Bohn's edition, vol. I, p. 440 f. Cf. also Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana,* on this period.

Experience teaches us that under such conditions it would be vain to look for a high degree of pulpit power. Preaching was influenced for the worse by its environment, and fell in only too easily with the faults of the age. It is not a pleasant picture which the faithful and candid pen of Zanotto[6] draws of Catholic preaching in Italy during the seventeenth century, especially its earlier part. From his careful study the following account is chiefly derived.

Although there were some true and good preachers at the opening of the century, such as Joseph of Lionessa and S. Lorenzo of Brindisi, yet it was true that "sacred eloquence in general followed worse than ever the deplorable perversions of literature, which especially showed their follies in the academies." The foreign Spanish rule cramped liberty of utterance in the pulpit. If the preachers attacked too boldly the existing evils they were likely to be denounced as criticising the government under which these evils flourished. Not only the preachers themselves, but their hearers also, felt these restrictions. Some came to hear for their spiritual benefit, but many only formally, and some as eager critics. Connected with this there were allied and derived evils which deplorably affected the preaching of the time. In an apt phrase Zanotto describes it as "heroicomic." Unable to lay its hand upon the real faults and needs of the age, it sought for capricious novelties and strained effects. While this wretched affectation marred all contemporary literature, it is at its worst in preaching, which depends for its best character on reality and propriety of feeling. Some of this bombast was due to the Spanish influence, with its pride and pompous language; but some also to reaction from the severe classicism of the preceding epoch. The defects of that classic revival were perpetuated; its uses were perverted. Speaking of these bombastic preachers, our critic observes:[7] "That which an ancient orator would have signified with a simple metaphor became in their hands an interminable harangue which served finely to form an exordium. So it happened that the introductions have often only a very subtle connection with the body of the discourse." Some of the more important preachers in the first part of the century, and before the improvements introduced by Segneri led to something of real reform in pulpit methods, must now be noticed.

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[6] *Storia della Predicazione*, capp. VII, VIII, so often referred to, and to which I am largely indebted. He naturally gives most attention to Italian preachers.

Of Luigi Giuglaris (1607-1653) the eminent historian of Italian literature, Tiraboschi,[8] says that in him was condensed the quintessence of the seventeenth century style. He had some sparks of real genius, was certainly brilliant, and had a large following; but he exemplified the faults of the age. Honored at the court of Savoy, he was for five years entrusted with the education of the prince Charles Emanuel, for whom he wrote a book of instructions which compares most favorably with the infamous similar work of Machiavelli in the former age. Indeed, Zanotto says it is more solid and important than his sermons. In this Giuglaris shows some oratorical merits: puts his proposition well, holds to his main point, and knows how to make a connected argument. He has much doctrine, exhibits boldness and a dramatic action which attracts attention, and on the whole has a good outline and order of discourse. But his preaching is marred by the current conceits and blemishes, as the following example, given by Zanotto,[9] shows.

It is taken from his Advent Sermons, the one for the third Sunday in Advent; but leaving the gospel for

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

[8] *Op. cit.*, adduced by Zanotto.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 212 ff.

the day, he branches off into a discussion of the instability of earthly goods with a view to teaching a sound humility. The title of the sermon at once suggests the manner of treatment: "The Anatomy of Our Nothingness." For a text he forces to his use the reply of John the Baptist to the deputation from Jerusalem (John 1:19-21), putting his emphasis on the words, "I am not—" *i. e.,* nothing! In the introduction the preacher pictures a learned surgeon with a fresh cadaver upon the table and his dissecting knife in hand. He distinguishes the four greater parts of the body: head, chest, stomach, and members—which include all that remains. Then he subdivides each of these four greater parts into a number of others, mentioning for the head alone twenty-one subdivisions. He then proceeds to give some account of the history of anatomy, mentioning that Averroës distinguished in the human body 529 muscles and 248 bones, of which Galen makes 300. He then compares the humors of the body to the four classical rivers, adding that the numerous veins correspond to the provincial streams. All this rubbish he puts together in order to reach his subject, which he thus sets forth: "As the physicians are accustomed openly to make these anatomical investigations, having for that purpose from the authorities the body of some condemned criminal, in order that the causes of diseases may be ascertained and there be no mistake in the application of remedies; so, while we all are professing to cure our own selves, now from the bruises which envy makes, now from the frenzies caused by choler, now from the paroxysms of wantonness, our nature shows itself with all minuteness, in order that remaining from such an anatomy entirely convinced that we are nothing, we may, with frequency every day taking the cordial of humility, treat medicinally all our diseases at the root." As the surgeon must strip his cadaver, so must we strip away in our self-anatomy all clinging and superfluous garments; the nobleman laying aside his nobility, the merchant his riches, princes and pontiffs the crown and purple, the miter and cloak. He goes on to enumerate and discuss, first in the order of nature and then in the order of grace, the evils, passions, and faults which oppress this poor humanity. Under the order of nature he recurs to his fourfold division of head, chest, stomach, and members, drawing illustration from their various diseases. He gives especial attention to diseases of the brain, beginning with an attack on the literary man, and passing in review poets, rhetoricians, philosophers, lawyers, physicians, and other intellectual workers, showing the vanity of their craft, that he may reprove their pride.

Of the same sort, but even worse, was Emanuele Orchi (d. 1649), a Capuchin monk of Como. In him the exaggeration and bombast, both in thought and language, of the current method have an extreme representative. A volume of his sermons was published after his death, and in the preface the editor remarks, as if expressing the general opinion, that these discourses were not only esteemed worthy of publication, but of world-wide admiration. But this extravagant praise is singularly yet sanely modified in the further remark that they should not serve as models for imitation, for the reason that their "excessive floridity of style is diametrically opposed to that end of the conversion of souls which, after the honor and glory of God, ought to be the sole object" of preaching. Orchi, according to the prevalent custom, bestows great and elaborate attention on his introductions. For example, in a sermon on pride he devotes a long and labored introduction to a minute description of a peacock. Thus:[10] "Behold, sirs, the peacock in love with himself, who, beholding his tail spread in full circle, presents to our sight the remarkable perspective of its full-eyed pomp, and with mute speech addressing those whom he seeks to win, says: 'Hast thou seen that some labored embroidery of the industrious needle, in a finely woven fabric entangling gems amid delicate labyrinths of silk and gold, overcomes by the wealth of art the treasures of nature? Hast thou looked upon some gracious painting of a famous brush on smooth canvas, how, representing to the life a well-proportioned figure in delicate lines, it surpasses with the semblance of a shade the reality of a body? Now, if thou dost compare either of these to the—I know not whether I shall call it embroidered picture or pictured embroidery—

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[10] *Id.*, p. 217 f.

of my full-eyed circle, the art of Pallas will seem insipid to thee, and thou wilt esteem as commonplace the school of Apelles; and it needs must be said that with reason I seem to myself a happy bird as I carry on my head, in these delicate plumes of needle and brush, a triumphant crown—the clearest token of the splendid victories of my tail.'" And more of the same sort of foolish dilating follows till the silly bird is described as suddenly catching a look at its ugly legs and dirty feet, when, smitten with shame, it drops its spread tail and slinks away. Thus, he says, there is always some check to human pride. Would that the preacher could have learned his own lesson!

Besides these two leaders there were many other preachers who carried this faulty method to excess. Among them was one, Salvatro Cadana of Turin, theologian and councillor to the Duke of Savoy, who is described as having "a veritable mania" for strained antithesis and paradoxes. In many the folly of the age appears in the titles chosen for sermons, whether singly or in collections. Thus Maria di Simoni, a Capuchin of Venice, called his series of Lenten sermons: "Seraphic Splendors of the Dark Sayings of the More Celebrated Academicians Relucent Among the Shades of Vague Hieroglyphics." Antonio Cagliardi, of Milan (d. 1688), an Augustinian who lived much at Venice and was dear to the rulers and people of that Republic, called a volume of his sermons, "Spiritual Sweetmeats for the Unforeseen Needs of Evangelic Speakers"—apparently a sort of *homiliarium* for lazy plagiarists. Some of the preachers sought whimsical epithets or descriptions for the saints whom they celebrated in panegyrics. Thus one eulogizes St. Catherine of Siena as "The Sacred Earth of the Pharos," possibly meaning the foundation of a heavenly lighthouse; another speaks of St. Augustine as "The Adam of Grace"—which is not so bad; and a panegyric on St. Gaetano bears the title, "The Treasures of Nothing," and much more of the same sort.

Zanotto mentions some more or less eminent Spanish preachers who also preached in Italy, among whom was Didaco Alvarez, a Dominican honored by Pope Clement VIII, and author of a *Manual for Preachers.* Likewise there were Italians who preached in Spain and returned with renown to Italy. Especially notable among these was Nicolo Riccardi, of Genoa (d. 1639), who preached before Philip III and was called by him a "monster" on account of the enthusiasm created at the Spanish court by his style of eloquence; and his discourses were actually published as the "Sermons of a Monster!"

On the other hand, things were not all dark for preaching. Along with these faults of style there was, in the rhetorical structure of sermons, some improvement over former times. Nor was the vicious method of the age accepted without contemporary censure and desire for better things. There were those who criticised, some with satire and some with pain, the absurdities and unrealities of the current manner. There were preachers who knew better and wished for better things, but, as Tiraboschi says, felt obliged to yield somewhat to the taste of the age in order to get a hearing; and doubtless even those who were in earnest and sought to use better methods were unconsciously influenced more than was wholesome by their environments.

Among these men of better purpose and spirit Zanotto praises Girolamo da Narni (d. 1631), scion of a noble family and piously brought up, a Capuchin, who preached in the principal cities of Italy and much at Rome. He was much loved and praised for his good life as well as for the force and fervor of his sermons, some of which were honored by a translation into French. Another preacher of the better sort was Luigi Albrizio (d. 1665), a Jesuit of Piacenza. The example quoted by the historian from the conclusion of one of his discourses does not lack force, real appeal to the conscience without artifice, and a downright and direct moral earnestness. Still another was Tommaso Reina (d. 1653), a Jesuit of Milan, who did not wholly escape the faults of the times, but was highly and justly esteemed for force and earnestness. He had considerable homiletical skill, and knew how to attract and retain attention. In a sermon on Temptation he discusses, with not a little power, the case of Absalom, as thus:[11] "Now comes the impious Absalom, all haughty and full of pride, aspiring to the kingdom of his father, and therefore with sacrilegious and parricidal arms opening the gap to his uncontrolled passions. Already he imagines himself seated on the paternal throne, covered with purple, crowned with gold; already he appears to himself to be receiving the homage of the people, the tributes of vassals, the presents of princes, the congratulations of his household, the embassies of foreign powers. Already his government is formed, he promulgates the laws, he establishes the sanctions, he rewards, punishes, pardons, condemns, elevates, deposes, ennobles, disgraces, enriches, impoverishes. What doest thou, unhappy one? Whither does thy impiety lead thee? Whither wilt thou be carried by thy mad ambition? Against thy father wilt thou at length lift up sacrilegious and rash arms, and plot death for him who gave thee life? At length to reach the kingdom wilt thou reach the height of all wickedness, putting underneath thy feet the laws of God, of men, of nature? Unfortunate in every way, be it that thou gain the victory, be it that thou lose. If thou win, thou shalt be impious; if thou lose, thou shalt be disgraced."

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[11] *Id.*, p. 234.

Toward the middle and end of the century a reaction from the excesses of the earlier school began to appear. The greatest leader in this movement was the elder Segneri, who is regarded as the restorer of Italian pulpit eloquence. But before him Daniel Bartoli (d. 1685)[12] inveighed against the corrupt taste and hurtful abuses of the pulpit, comparing the fantastical preachers to Nero, who during a scarcity of provisions at Rome had a ship to come from Egypt laden with sand to sprinkle on the floors for the games, thus aggravating the sufferings of the eager and hungry populace when they discovered sacks of sand instead of grain. His sharp strictures had some effect, especially among the preachers of his own order, the Jesuits, from whose ranks the leading reformer of Italian preaching arose.

Paolo Segneri (1624-1694),[13] descended from a noble Roman family, was born of pious parents at Nettuno,

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[12] *Id.*, p. 254.

[13] *Quaresimale del padre Paolo Segneri della Compagna di Gesù,* due vol. G. Silvestri, Milano, 1827. This work also contains a life of the preacher, and his own introduction, in which

May 21, 1624, the eldest of many sons. His intellectual power was early manifest, and his father gave him good educational advantages. He was sent to a Jesuit school at Rome, where his diligence in study and earnestness and purity of character attracted the favorable regard of his teachers. One of these, afterwards Cardinal Pallavicino, later made of the Latin form of Segneri's name the telling anagram: *Paulus Segnerus—purus angelus es.*

While engaged in his studies, and from an early bent to oratory, Segneri determined to become a preacher, and sought admission to the Society of Jesus. This step was at first opposed by his father, but the earnest youth, by quiet persuasion and patience, at last gained the parental consent, and was received as a novice in 1637. He pursued the studies and other training of his novitiate with great zeal and success; indeed, so severe was his application that he became ill, and his malady resulted in a permanent deafness, a lifelong drawback to his work. Paying special attention to oratorical studies and practice, both in writing and in speech, he became so proficient as to be often deputed to preach even before leaving school. Already he began the preparation of his famous *Quaresimale,* the series of Lenten discourses which remain his most distinctive work.

Upon completing his studies he at once entered upon the work of preaching, being sent by the authorities to various places. In 1661 he gave the Lenten sermons at Piacenza, and in the same year the Advent sermons at Fermo. He wished to go as missionary to India, but his deafness and his special talents for pulpit work at home led his superiors to refuse his request; but they allowed him to alternate his Lenten and other more formal preaching with "missions" or evangelistic meetings in the homeland. In this work he was devoted, laborious, and successful throughout a period of twenty-six years, during which he extended his labors in all parts of Italy, endured many hardships and privations, and finally wore

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he gives his views of preaching. Zanotto (p. 256 ff.) has an informing discussion of Segneri, but perhaps is more appreciative than judicial. See also Micocci, *Antologia della sacra Eloquenza Moderna,* who in the beginning of his work has a fine critique of Segneri and several others.

out his strength. He usually began about Easter and continued his missions on into the fall, when he would rest awhile till sent out somewhere to preach the *Quaresimale.* This notable series was first published in 1679. Other volumes of sermons and some highly valued apologetic and devotional writings came from his pen. Age and weariness were already telling upon him when, two years before his death, he was appointed apostolic preacher at the papal court. In a short time, however, he resigned; and died, greatly loved and honored, at Rome, in 1694.

There is but one voice as to the purity of Segneri's character and the earnestness of his convictions; and these shine out in clear light in his sermons and other writings. He has been called by admirers in his own land and church "the restorer of sacred eloquence," and "the father of modern pulpit eloquence" in Italy. It is certain that he introduced among his countrymen a new epoch in pulpit work and set a better example in preaching than had been in vogue for a long time. In the preface to his *Quaresimale* he gives his views of preaching, and they are sound and just. He attacks the current bombastic style, showing how it detracts from the power of the pulpit and is unworthy of the purpose of preaching, which is to save and instruct people, not to astonish and entertain them. So he says, "I have rather made it my duty to imitate Christ, who never cared to draw the people to heaven by any other road than the royal one of veracious reasons." Another point on which he insists is that of careful preparation. Incidentally, he disapproves of light and humorous discourse. His sermons exemplify his principles, for they are serious, thoughtful, carefully prepared, based on thorough study of Scripture—with which he shows great familiarity—loyal to church authority and tradition, and earnestly devoted to the spiritual good of his hearers. They also exhibit knowledge of human nature, the fruit of much observation, without bitterness or cynicism. He attacks with courage and fidelity the current vices and faults, but without coarseness or abuse. His homiletic method is rather that of the classic orators and the ancient fathers than that of the scholastics. Logical analysis is not obtrusive, but there is good arrangement and progress of thought. The introductions are usually quite studied and elaborate, but not far-fetched or strained for effect. Argument abounds and is cogently put. Frequent illustrations, gathered alike from observation and reading, enliven the discourse without being drawn out into wearisome detail. The style is lofty, diffuse, highly wrought, intense; but, while lacking flexibility and ease, it so far surpasses in directness and power the overwrought manner of the time as by contrast to seem simple and severe. It was the unusual merit of Segneri's preaching that drew the crowds to hear it, for he had no special personal endowments to attract or to please. His voice was undistinguished, and his deafness prevented his hearing himself so as to prevent or correct certain faults of utterance; it also led to a monotony of tone in delivery.

The first of the famous Lenten sermons does not take a Scripture text, but the breviary's call to penitence, "Remember, O man, that thou art dust, and unto dust shalt return." The introduction, after a few opening sentences, appeals to those who would dismiss the warning as commonplace, and proceeds: "You know it? How is it possible? Say; are not you those who just yesterday were running about the city keeping festival, some as lovers, some as madmen, some as parasites? Are not you they who were dancing with so much alacrity at the entertainments? Are not you they who were immersing yourselves so deeply in debaucheries? Are not you they who were abandoning yourselves with so much unrestraint backward to the customs of foolish heathendom? Moreover, are you they who were sitting so joyfully at the comedies? Are you also they who were speaking out from the theater-boxes with such warm applause? Answer! And are not you they who, all full of joy in that very night preceding the sacred Ashes, passed it for yourselves in jests, in diversions, in revelings, in laughter, in songs, in serenades, in amours, and please God that it was not even in more unseemly amusements? And you, while you are doing such like things, know certainly that you also have to die? O blindness! O stupidity! O delirium! O perversity!

I was thinking to myself that I had brought with me a most invincible motive to induce you all to penitence and to weeping, in announcing death to you; and perhaps there may be for me even here some divine messenger, conducted through clouds, through fogs, through winds, through bogs, through snows, through torrents, through ice, lightening for me every labor by saying that it can not be that I shall not win some soul by reminding sinners of their mortality. . . .

"Ye angels, who sit as guardians by the side of these, my so honored hearers; ye saints, who lie buried under the altars of this to you so majestic basilica; you from this hour I suppliantly invoke that at every time that I shall ascend this pulpit ye will entreat for my words that weight and that power which they could not have from my tongue. And thou chiefly, O great Virgin Mary, who canst with truth call thyself parent of the Divine Word; thou who, greatly thirsting for it, didst by good fortune conceive it in thy bosom; thou who, fecund with it, didst for the common good bring it forth to light; thou who, from its being hidden and imperceptible as it was, didst render it known and tangible even to the senses; effect thou that I may know how to treat it every day with such reverence that I shall not contaminate it with the profanity of empty formulas, that I shall not adulterate it with the ignominy of facetious jests, that I shall not pervert it with the falsity of forced interpretations, but that I may transfuse it into the hearts of my hearers as pure as it came forth from the hidden recesses of thy bowels! I come unprovided with any other support than a most lively confidence in thy favor. Therefore do thou enlighten the mind, do thou guide the tongue, do thou direct the bearing, do thou weigh all my speaking in such manner as may turn out for the praise and glory of God, may be edifying and useful to my neighbor, and to me may serve for obtaining reward and not be turned into matter of condemnation."

The sermon proceeds to press home the uncertainty of life with great variety of argument and illustration, and with genuine fervor of feeling and of interest in the hearers. Yet, notwithstanding all Segneri's earnestness, there is some artificiality, even in his preaching, which can not but be felt. But on the whole, for solidity of argument, dignity of style, power of imagination, depth of feeling, and loftiness of aim, to Segneri must be accorded a place among the truly great preachers of history.

The reform of preaching was further pushed on by those who admired and followed Segneri. Among them was his successor as apostolic preacher at Rome, Francesco Maria Cacini (1648-1719).[14] Born of good family at Arezzo, he early became pious and studious, and was admitted to the order of Capuchins at fifteen years of age. His talents and zeal brought him quick advancement, and his oratorical gifts were soon recognized and employed by his superiors. He spent some time in France, and was doubtless influenced by the great preaching of the age in that country. Notwithstanding his reluctance, he was appointed Segneri's successor as chief preacher at the papal court, and filled the place with such credit that he was made a cardinal in 1712, retaining in his great office the simplicity of a monk. In his youth he naturally inclined to the faults of the age, but under the influence of Segneri he soon threw off the extremes of bad taste and became an influential leader in the reform of pulpit method. He published a number of sermons, which had considerable reading and influence. Some critics have ranked him even higher than Segneri.

Another notable preacher of this school was Paolo Segneri the younger (d. 1713), a nephew of the more famous man. Though dying at forty years of age, he left a name behind him not unworthy of his illustrious uncle, like whom he was greatly successful in the conduct of missions.

Of course there were those who refused to follow the new path of improvement and kept on the old way of exaggeration, unreality, and bombast. Among these was Carlo Labia, a Venetian by birth, archbishop of Corfu, who published, about 1700, a book on preaching in which he defended the current methods. From the accounts it appears to be itself quite extravagant in style and tone. There were also others of this school; but it could not last. The better method and spirit established themselves firmly, and so Italian preaching faces the eighteenth century with a more hopeful outlook.

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[14] Zanotto, p. 284 ff.

CHAPTER III

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PREACHING IN GERMANY AND NORTHERN EUROPE

While the general conditions of preaching during the seventeenth century were much the same throughout Europe, there was great difference in the particular characteristics of the pulpit in every European country. This difference becomes very noticeable when we pass from the preaching of Spain and Italy to that of Germany and Northern Europe. The change is as great as that of climate and people. The survey of the present chapter will take in the German, Swiss-German, and Scandinavian lands; and in these we shall pass under review the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed pulpits. But before dealing with these more specific aspects of the subject, it will be helpful to a better understanding if we take a general survey of the conditions and characteristics of preaching in the time and regions named.

I. GENERAL SURVEY OF CONDITIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS

During the first half of the century (1618-1648) Germany was desolated by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, and the neighboring lands were necessarily involved in the troubles. Not only during its terrible continuance, but for ages after its close, that ruinous conflict laid waste all things German. The following extracts, quoted from a competent German historian,[1] will suffice for our purpose. Menzel says: "Germany is reckoned by some to have lost one-half, by others two-thirds, of her entire population during the Thirty Years'

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[1] Menzel, *Geschichte der Deutschen,* quoted in *Historians' History of the World,* Vol. XIV, p. 385.

War. . . . The country was completely impoverished. The working class had almost totally disappeared. . . . Immense provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay entirely waste and uninhabited, and were only by slow degrees repeopled by foreign emigrants or by soldiery. The original character and language of the inhabitants were by this means completely altered. . . . Science and art had fled from Germany, and pedantic ignorance had replaced the deep learning of her universities. The mother tongue had become adulterated by an incredible variety of Spanish, Italian, and French words, and the use of foreign words with German terminations was considered the highest mark of elegance. Various foreign modes of dress were also generally adopted. Germany had lost all save her hopes for the future."

Amid such general wreck and ruin it could not be expected that literature would flourish; and German letters during this period show the baleful effects of the time. A critic[2] well says: "The conditions of pure literature were almost wholly wanting. Had a man of high genius arisen, the buds of his fancy must have faded for lack of light and air." The corruption of the language by admixture of foreign elements, the foolish imitation by some German authors of the bombastic Italian school, by others of the flippant French manner, added to the waste and moral deterioration of war, laid a withering blight upon literature. The quantity was small, the quality poor. Some leaders, mostly among the nobles and scholars, strove against the prevalent corruptions, both by forming societies whose patriotic design was to purify and preserve the German language, and by producing a literature which, both by criticism and example, should protest against the extravagances and corruptions which were rife. Among these writers was Martin Opitz (d. 1639), whose poetry—not of a very high order in itself—was yet distinctively German, and led the way to better things. Far more worthy of mention is Paul Fleming (d. 1640), who died all too young, but left behind him both love lyrics and sacred hymns which exhibit true poetic genius and depth of feeling. The dramatists and court poets of the period fall very low in servile imitation of foreign styles and in coarseness. Of romances a few appeared, which, though valuable for throwing some light on the times, are commonly marked by poverty of thought, corruption of language, and coarseness of material and expression. The best of them is the *Simplicissimus* of Grimmelshausen (d. 1676), in which the author described much of his own varied experiences during the great war and produced a work of some enduring merits. No important historical work is mentioned by the critics, but it was during this century that Pufendorf (d. 1694) produced and published (in Latin) his great works on jurisprudence, with some historical treatises. Of philosophical writers, Jacob Boehme belongs rather to the preceding age, though he lived till 1624. The great thinker Leibnitz (1646-1706) wrought his powerful work during the seventeenth century, but he wrote chiefly in Latin and French. His famous pupil, Wolf, belongs to the next era.

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[2] James Sime, article on German Literature, *Encyc. Brit.* For the slight account of German Literature in the text I am indebted chiefly to various articles and compends based on German sources. See especially *A Brief History of German Literature*, by G. M. Priest, New York, 1909, chap. IX; and the studies and examples of German literature in the *Warner Library*.

Deferring for the present any consideration of sermons, we find in this period some other religious writings of more or less importance. Theological controversy raged, and a number of polemic and dogmatic treatises appeared. The study of Hebrew and Greek found expression in many famous and important works, including those of the two Buxtorfs. Nor was practical theology wholly neglected. Several treatises on the art of preaching belong to the period, but they are without value, being given over to a dry and mechanical method. In fact, all theological writing of the period—dogmatic, exegetical, and practical—labors under the weight of pedantry and suffers with the dry-rot of scholasticism. It is mostly written in Latin and therefore can hardly be credited to German religious *literature* at all, however important in the history of German religious thought. In the region of devotional literature a different and far better state of affairs comes to view. This is especially true of hymns.[3] Indeed, some of the classics of German hymnody were produced during this terrible era of suffering and trial. Of didactic and devotional writings there is a fairly good number. The notable preachers, Arndt and Schupp of the earlier time, and Spener and Francke of the later, wrote some treatises of both contemporary and enduring influence and value.

The preaching of the age[4]—to speak here only in a most general way—shared both in the evil and good which characterized the times. The reaction and decline which already set in after the Reformation proceeded on the lines which have been previously indicated. Harsh polemics and narrow dogmatism prevailed among all the warring sects and opinions. The din of dreadful civil strife did not altogether drown the angry controversies of the pulpit. Besides this, the scholastic trend of former times kept on its hurtful course. Dismal dialectics and sapless pedantry often dried up the springs of spiritual refreshment which should have flowed from the pulpit. Surely, if ever the people needed at the hands of a relgious ministry instruction and comfort, it was when war and strife and demoralization were laying everything in ruins. It seems almost incredible that so much of the preaching of that sad time should have been so misdirected. Along with polemics and pedantry we find in some of the sermons of the time that fondness for bombast and fanciful trifling which was a prominent feature of the literary expression of the age. Perhaps this was not wholly an evil—except in its needless exaggerations and extremes—since the pulpit of any time, to be effective, must catch the prevalent manner of expression as far as is consistent with the peculiar aims of preaching; and it is not wholly fair to judge such things as tone and diction by the standards of taste which prevail in our own times. Much that seems to us unworthy and foolish trifling, yes, even ridiculous conceit and affectation, must have brought some message to hearers and readers accustomed in other modes of oral and literary expression to excesses of artifice and fancy. Some such plea in mitigation may also be urged, though with far less sympathy, on behalf of the occasional coarseness and buffoonery which we find in many sermons of the age. This, we well know, is in nowise a peculiar characteristic of the seventeenth century; it is found in all the ages of preaching—our own not excepted. Yet it is true that in that time some preachers descended, in their satire and ridicule of evil and folly, to depths of vulgarity for which no excuse should be attempted. The better preachers of the time did not fail to note all these symptoms of decay nor to protest against the evils which they saw and deplored. One of the best of them, Christian Scriver,[5] exclaims: "Where to-day are the fiery tongues and the burning hearts of the apostles? Where is Luther's joyous spirit? Where are those who are intoxicated with the love of God, and proclaim the great deeds of God?" Indeed, Elijah is never alone, though to himself he often seems to be so. There is ever a remnant according to the election of grace; and even in this dark era of the German pulpit there were found preachers of a deeply pious and evangelical spirit. The influence of Arndt and others was felt in the earlier part of the century, even during the horrors of war; and the rescuing work of Spener and his Pietist followers in the latter part of the century marks a new epoch in German preaching. From this general view we pass to a more particular account of the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed pulpits in Germany and Northern Europe during the seventeenth century.

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[3] Besides articles, etc., on literature referred to in preceding note, see Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, the great authority on its subject in English; also other studies, as by Hatfield, Duffield, in this department.

[4] See Christlieb-Schian in *RE*, and works of Schuler, Lentz, Schenk, Schmidt, Beste, Rothe, and Ker, mentioned in note to Chapter I. In addition see Brömel, *Homiletische Charakterbilder* (for Spener and Gerhard); Nebe, *Zur Geschichte der Predigt*, 3 Bde., (for Spener and preceding conditions); Hering, *Geschichte der Predigt;* and others as more particularly noted below.

II. THE CATHOLIC PULPIT

Catholic as well as Protestant Germany was hurt by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War; and the preaching in the Catholic pulpits exhibits in its own way the wounds and weaknesses of the time.[6] Polemics, dogmatism, pedantry, fancifulness, bombast, and coarseness are found; but in some preachers also the better qualities, of which these were the perversions and excesses, together with sincere spiritual purposes and teachings, do not fail to find a place. Abbé Renoux, a French Catholic historian and critic of German preaching, remarks:[6b] "It (preaching) was forcing itself to become classic and to take rank among literary compositions; but, as with us in France, before reaching its goal it made false steps, often missed its way, taking without discrimination emphasis for grandeur, coarseness for simplicity, an undigested erudition for a knowledge of good taste." But these faults were, as among the Protestants, discerned and opposed by the better preachers. The leading influences for improvement came from the preachers of the religious orders, and especially the Jesuits. One of these, Father Scherer, wrote some good instructions for young preachers, directed against the faults of the age, and is quoted as saying:[7] "Preachers, whose business it is by divine grace to win many souls and convert them to Jesus Christ, ought never to forget themselves, for what would it profit them to gain the whole world if they lose their souls? They ought not to be like the carpenters who built the ark in which Noah entered to escape the flood and who found themselves swallowed up in the waters; they ought not to be like the bells, whose sound rings through the church, and which are suspended outside; nor like mile-posts, which show the road to others while they remain immovable." Later than this another noted preacher, Father Staudacher (d. 1672), well says:[8] "The preacher ought to speak of divine things by means of earthly things, and, as need may arise, interest by the charm and beauty of his discourse those hearers who without that would perhaps refuse to listen;

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[5] Quoted by Hering, S. 118.

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[6] L'Abbé G. Renoux, *Les Prédicateurs célèbres de l'Allemagne*, Tours, 1885; Johann Nepomuk Brischar, *Die Katholischen Kanzelredner Deutschlands seit den drei letzten Jahrhunderten*, 5 Bde., 1867; Joseph Kehrein, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kanzelberedsamkeit der Deutschen von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit*, 2 Bde., 1843.

[6b] *Op. cit.*, p. 227. [7] *Id.*, p. 230. [8] *Ib.*

he must soften and adorn his words as one gilds the edge of a cup which contains a remedy. So, since the preacher speaks of God to men, he must treat divine things humanly, and human things divinely."

Among the published sermons of the age a great number exist in Latin, but they were preached in German—or the substance of them at least. There are volumes[9] (unread by this writer!) of sermons by Matthew Faber (d. 1653), quite a noted Jesuit preacher of the day, a Bavarian; Philip Kisel (d. 1674), of Fulda, who preached with applause at Mainz, Spires, Wurtzburg, etc.; Michael Radau (1675), who, besides sermons, published a treatise on extemporaneous preaching; Philip Hartung (d. 1682), a Bohemian, who preached with great diligence in Moravia and Silesia, and published a volume which bears the title, *Conciones tergeminae, rusticae, civicae, aulicae,* which may be freely rendered, "Sermons of three sorts: for country, town, and college," and illustrates the variety of his labors and the peculiarity of his taste. A number of others, more or less noted among their co-religionists, are mentioned in the books; but two, Scheffer and Staudacher—whose views on preaching have been quoted—deserve somewhat fuller notice.

Michael Staudacher (1613-1672)[10] was a Jesuit father who enjoyed a high reputation for both earnestness and eloquence as a preacher. Born in the Tyrol, he received careful training and practice at the hands of the Jesuits. Several volumes of his sermons were published. He exemplified that mystic and poetic trait which is innate in the German mind and has characterized German preaching in every age. While he did not go to the fanciful lengths of some of his contemporaries, he was sufficiently under the spell of that movement of the age, as the following extract from one of his sermons will show. The sermon has for its subject a comparison of the risen Lord to a flower, and, after noting that the comparison is founded in Scripture, the preacher proceeds: "This celestial flower which was sown in the virginal conception to sprout at the nativity; which flourished in youth, and spread its perfume in the years of maturity; which faded under sufferings and withered in the tomb; this flower, I say, came forth anew, fresh and living, in the resurrection, it took on a new splendor, and its beauty is more ravishing than ever before. That tomb became a garden-plot where bloomed that most beautiful and precious of flowers, our Lord, our Saviour. . . . The birth of the flowers and their first germination comes to mind. As soon as the earth, on the third day of creation, was separated from the waters of the sea wherein it had been submerged, it began at once to become green and to cover itself with flowers and fruits; thus was it at the saving of the world; scarcely delivered from the yoke of death which had held it in bondage, it appeared with a thousand ornaments. In the same manner the divine tomb on the third day became a magnificent bed of flowers, whence arose the most beautiful, the most holy, the most rare, even Jesus Christ, glittering with immortality! . . . O! could I, O! could my hearers, breathe its perfume! O, that we might carry it in our memories, plant it in our hearts, water it with our pious tears, warm it with the fire of our love! Just as the bees direct their flight toward the roses, so may our souls take their flight toward its fragrant stem, thence to draw the dew of heavenly graces and the honey of veritable joy!"

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[9] Mentioned by Zanotto, p. 317 f.

[10] Renoux, p. 244 ss.; Brischar, Bd. II, S. 166.

Contemporary with Staudacher, though living a little longer, was another Jesuit preacher of renown, Victor Scheffer (d. 1717),[11] a Bohemian. He also was of the poetic and mystic type. In a sermon of his on the words of our Lord to the disciples regarding the persecutions which would overtake them, there is much of this strain, but it is too lengthily drawn out to be very effective. But the earnestness and piety of the preacher are in evidence, as a brief extract will show. Quoting Augustine, he has compared the heart of his hearer to a barque vexed by storms here on the sea of earthly experience, and says: "Pious hearers! you to whom this world is a sea of sufferings, I wish to suggest to you a means of consolation. It is included in these words, 'I have told you these things in order that when the hour is come you may remember that I have told you of them.' *Sursum*

[11] *Id.* p. 247 f.

corda! Upward, Christian hearts! Your heart is your barque; it is upward it must tend, or you will never find repose; it is there that are to be found the mountains of Armenia, where rests the true ark of the divine Noah, the cross of Christ; it is from this side that you must direct your flight, O dove of Noah, for in this valley flooded with tears as of a deluge, you will find no refuge; the dove floats in the air like a barque on the waves; the barque must be empty of water if it would land; and the birds have received that instinct of nature that they shake off the dust and the mud when they rise into the air; adieu, earth! they say, as they mount to the skies. O, faithful Christian, lighten your ship: that is, put out of your heart the lusts and the desires of the false earthly goods here below if you would reach port. Adieu, earth, he will say; adieu, vile clay; and he will mount toward the skies."

Another Jesuit preacher of this time was Gerhard Pauli (1648-1715),[12] who was born near Paderborn in Westphalia, and received the Jesuit training at Vienna. Designated as a preacher in 1667, he gave the festival sermons at several prominent places, and attracted notice by his oratorical powers. At first he adopted the artificial and labored style then so common, and sought popularity; but he received a spiritual uplift and took a new line. He burned his fine sermons and began to preach in a simple, more spiritual and earnest way. This drew large crowds and resulted in great good. He had a fine, magnetic nature and gave his best to his preaching. He was called the "German Chrysostom" of his time. He wore out his strength in his work, was several times carried almost fainting from the pulpit, until his superiors finally forbade his preaching. His sermons were published after his death, and reading the extracts given by Brischar we find them clear, simple, appealing, perhaps too full of quotations, but strong in illustration and earnest in tone. A fair sample is as follows: "Historians relate of Phidias, the ancient artist, that he could make the most beautiful statues out of any material that came to hand. It was all one to him—gold or stone, silver or wood, iron or clay: in all he knew how to work the most lifelike images. Just such an artist should be our love. If God lays before her the gold of temporal fortune or the hard stone of varied need; if he sets before her the silver of human kindness or the iron of harsh persecution; so must she in all know how to set forth the lifelike image of a pure, divine love. Love and suffering, sickness and health, prison and freedom, poverty and riches, serve her equally well, because she is not working for reward. God alone she seeks, and beyond God nothing."

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[12] Brischar, II, S. 908 ff., and 915 f.

But leaving these and other men of less influence and fame, we must close our account of German Catholic preaching in the seventeenth century by a short study of the best known, and in most respects, the most important of them all, the Augustinian monk and court preacher at Vienna, Abraham of Santa Clara (1644-1709).[13]

The real name of this famous orator and writer was Ulrich Megerle (or Megerlin), but in accordance with monkish custom, when he entered the Augustinian order he abandoned it and assumed the appellation of Abraham of Santa Clara, by which he remains known. He was born June 2, 1644, in Kreenheinstetten, a little village of Suabia, now district of Moskirch in Bavaria, amid the mountains which shelter and supply the sources of the Danube. The father, Megerle, was a man of respectable standing and an inn-keeper. The little Ulrich among his children early showed the talents which afterwards made him famous, being studious, acute, and fond of speaking. His father cared for his education at the neighboring schools until the lad was twelve years of age. He was then sent to the famous Jesuit school at Ingolstadt, where for three years he studied with diligence and made excellent progress in the branches of learning cultivated there. After this several years more were spent at the celebrated school of the Benedictines at Salzburg, where he completed his academic education in 1662. He now became a novice of the Augustinian order, assuming the name of Abraham of Santa Clara, and passed the years of his novitiate at the convent of Maria-Brunn, near Vienna. After this long training he was made a priest in 1666—twenty-two years old—and began his notable career as a preacher.

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[13] See Kehrein, Bd. I, S. 77 ff. and Bd. II, S. 132 ff.; Renoux, chap. VIII; *Abraham à S. Clara, Judas der Ertz-Schelm;* Bobertag in Bd. 40, *Deutsche National-Litt.,* herausg. von Joseph Kürschner.

The first pulpit work of Father Abraham of Santa Clara was done at a convent of his order at Taxa, near Augsburg, whither he was sent to preach the festival sermons in the year 1666. His unusual gifts as a popular speaker at once attracted attention, especially his humorous and effective hits at common foibles and sins. In a year or two he was sent to be chief preacher at the Augustinian Church in Vienna, and, with the exception of an interval of seven years (1682-1689) spent at Gratz, Vienna was the scene of his labors to the end of his life, in 1709. Thus for about thirty years he was the leading preacher at the Austrian capital. His renown, influence, and opportunity were all enhanced by his appointment as court preacher in 1677 by the Emperor Leopold I—a position which he held to near the end of his course, when he was removed by Joseph I. During this time Bourdaloue was filling a similar position in Paris at the court of Louis XIV, Bossuet having preceded him for ten years previously.

There is inviting parallel and contrast between the two situations—the courts, the monarchs, and the preachers all coming in for comparison. Both courts were worldly and corrupt enough, as that is the way of courts. There was extravagance, show, insincerity, flattery, wickedness, in both. But at Versailles better taste prevailed in art, letters, and manners. There was also greater *prestige* and worldly glory. But none of these were wholly wanting at Vienna. The Hapsburgs have never been deficient in pride and pomp. As to the monarchs, there was much difference and little similarity. The one thing in common was absolutism and its accompaniments at once of tyranny and absurdity. Louis was unquestionably the abler man, Leopold perhaps the better—at least their faults were not the same. In his way, Leopold encouraged religion as well as art, as Louis did in his, with the advantage in sincerity on the side of the Austrian. But when the preachers are put alongside, what a difference! Perhaps it is unfair to

Abraham to compare him with both Bossuet and Bourdaloue; but it is in a measure inevitable. Bossuet was the ideal of oratorical art and taste; yet he sinned against art by excess of art, and against taste by nauseous flattery of royalty and worldly greatness. Abraham was rough, uncouth, even coarse, but he spoke his mind even at court and begged no man's pardon for using great plainness of speech; yet he, too, sinned by the excess of his virtue and descended to depths of vulgarity which no fair criticism can excuse. Bourdaloue, from the preacher's standpoint, was the best of the three. He did not soar with Bossuet, and he did not grovel with Abraham. He did not nauseate by flattery nor amuse by witty satire, yet he also was skilled in human nature and could bravely give reproof where it was demanded. Distinctly, therefore, Abraham falls below both of the famous Frenchmen. If his oratory be compared with that of Bossuet its power must be confessed, but, though given at court, it was oratory for the crowd; if his appeal to conscience be compared with that of Bourdaloue, its basis in thorough knowledge of the human heart must be conceded, but it is the appeal through mockery rather than reason, and awakens laughter rather than tears.

The course of Abraham's career at Vienna was marked by many events both of local and general importance, which he did not fail to turn to account in his work. Specially notable was the visitation of the plague in Vienna in 1679. During the scourge no one was more active, self-sacrificing, and useful than the great preacher. He played the man, and his excellent conduct increased his fame and influence. The change of rulers and the process of years and labors in due time brought about Abraham's retirement and failure in health. He accepted his retirement gracefully and wittily, remarking: "As for me, the court preacher hides himself under the gown of the monk, who scorns all the *prestige* of the world—even though he must sometimes wait his turn for an audience after a Jew! If this misfortune happens to a man of consideration, to an officer, without wounding him—since the Jews have elbow room now in every antechamber—I ought not to distress myself about it." But age and labors were wearing him out, and after a few years he succumbed. He died in great peace of soul December 1, 1709, grasping a favorite crucifix and with the name of Jesus upon his lips. He enjoyed through life the confidence and respect of his fellows, with the dislike only of some whom he reproved; and his fame rests secure amid the great preachers of his time.

Considering Abraham of Santa Clara as a preacher we see, from the brief account of his life, that the three principal conditions of high success were richly met in him: natural talent, suitable training, adequate opportunity. Besides the outfit of the oratorical mind and temper, he had the physical aids of an impressive figure, a fine face, and a good voice. He was, therefore, one of those rare and notable men in whom the main elements which go to make up the ideal orator are found. It is not surprising that he drew very large audiences and made instant and lasting impression upon them. Contemporary and traditional accounts testify with one voice to his power and influence; and were there nothing else to judge him by than these, his place would still be secure among the small group of the most effective preachers of history. That the world has not heard so much of him as of others, his equals or inferiors, is due to his situation in time and place. Had the Austria of the seventeenth century been the Germany of the nineteenth, his fame would have filled the world; or even then had a man of just his gifts and opportunities appeared in France or England he would have been, in his peculiar way, the peer of his mighty contemporaries in those lands; or had he lived in the thirteenth century and pursued the career of a popular traveling preacher, he would have been almost the twin of his famous fellow-countryman, Berthold of Regensburg. For he was a master of living speech; vivacity of action, rapidity of utterance, fluency of language, richness and variety of vocabulary, quick play of humor and imagination, keen insight into human nature, with wide acquaintance with both its general and local traits—all this, together with the native and trained faculty for magnetic extemporaneous discourse, went to the making of him.

But we are not left to accounts and descriptions alone for our knowledge of Abraham of Santa Clara. Though chiefly a powerful, popular preacher, he has, like many others, also left abundant published material by which the contemporary estimate may be critically tested. On the whole he stands the test as well as most. Leaving out all mention of minor works, of which there is some variety, the production on which his fame chiefly rests and by which he must be judged is his *Judas the Arch-Knave.* Originally a course of sermons, it has secured a recognized place in German literature as a religious satire upon human nature in general and its own generation in particular. It professes to be an unfolding of the origin, development, and character, and downfall of Judas Iscariot. But the account of Judas is extended far beyond the Biblical notices, though these are used fairly well, and is derived chiefly from the mediæval legends about the traitor, especially those found in the *Golden Legend* of Jacob à Voragine. It is needless to say how baseless and for the most part silly these are. In each discourse Judas, or that part of his real or supposed career which furnishes the text, is only the starting-point, a deal of other material—often irrelevant and remote—being lugged in. Of course there is the usual homiletical application to the times and audience of the preacher; and this is the main point of value and power. The first sermon in the collection exhibits his method as well as any. Judas was the son of Reuben and Ciboria, of the tribe of Dan, dwellers at Jerusalem. Before the birth of Judas his unhappy mother had a frightful dream to the effect that she should bring into the world a great criminal and scoundrel, who would bring disgrace and woe upon his family and others. This brings up the subject of dreams, which is the topic of the first sermon. Dreams are of three sorts: (1) Those which arise from natural causes; (2) those which are suggested by evil spirits; (3) those which are sent of God. The first are briefly discussed and illustrated. The second class comes in for fuller treatment and gives the preacher occasion to discuss all manner of wickedness as arising from the suggestion of the devil in the dreams of evil men. Some curious and some foolish cases are alleged as instances. It is admitted to be hard sometimes to say positively whether the dream comes from Satan or not. The third class of dreams finds illustration in the cases of Joseph and others mentioned in the Bible, and in many legendary ones. But here again caution must be observed, for it is not easy to tell every time whether the dream has certainly come from God, as, for example, in the case of Pilate's wife; though the preacher would place that under this head. Application is made, by way of digression, of how God uses little, common things such as dreams to draw us to Himself, and more directly, in the conclusion, to urge the duty of disposing the mind aright to receive in sleep any suggestion which God might thus make. If a good dream then comes, be sure to follow its leadings.

Abraham had much varied reading, though not much deep learning. He was no great theologian or thinker; and his use of Scripture is often forced and fanciful. Scherer says that he represents the Romanism of his day, not at its best, but at its commonest, being polemical, proselytising, and unfair, and pushing the peculiar tenets of his Church to their extremes. Catholic critics are naturally less severe in judgment; but they also notice his obvious faults of manner and spirit. As usual with preachers of the impressionistic and popular type, his virtues are often his defects; the exaggeration of strength is weakness. This exaggeration, however, was on the side of seeing with keen vision the evil of his age and hitting it with the club of the giant or piercing it with the rapier of the wit. Abraham, like many others of his sort in all ages and lands, was often irreverent and coarse beyond any need or excuse. He was a satirist and humorist in the pulpit. He did good, no doubt, but would have done more had he been more serious. He may have been less famous, but more lastingly useful had he chastened his scurrility into decency and subdued the wildness of his wit without prejudice to the keenness of his insight or the strength of his wisdom. He was one of the best of his kind; but his kind is not the best.

III. The Lutheran Pulpit

The general characteristics of the preaching of the seventeenth century found sufficient and varied illustration in the Lutheran pulpit, both in Germany itself and in the Scandinavian lands.[14] The close of the Thirty Years' War by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 gives a convenient division point for all the history of the period, and not less than in other departments for that of preaching also. Yet, as is well known, the Peace only came as the result of exhaustion to all parties, no side gained the ultimate victory, many questions were left unsettled; and while actual warfare ceased, the ravages and desolation and utter demoralization which accompanied and followed the strife left their marks on every element of the religious life, preaching included. Still, the lessons of the war were not wholly lost, and peace gave to the pastors better opportunities for their work; so that it is natural to find on the whole some improvement in all the work, and particularly in the spiritual life of the pulpit toward the end of the century. This improvement is justly regarded by German historians of preaching as epochal in the work of Spener and his followers, Francke and others, under whom arose the great movement known as Pietism. But the germs of this influential spiritual movement were already existent and more or less active in the devouter preachers of the first half of the century, chiefly those who had felt the touch of John Arndt's refined and gentle piety. We may note, therefore, but need not insist upon the middle of the century as a divisional point for our history.

A more appropriate line of cleavage than that of date would seem to be that of spirit and method in the pulpit; and the preachers throughout the century can be grouped according as they signalized in their pulpit work any one or two of those four marked features which are prominent in the age as a whole: polemic dogmatism, scholastic pedantry, fanciful or sensational impressionism, or genuine and earnest spirituality. Now, it is evident to the thoughtful student at a glance that it is far easier to detect and describe these trends or habits of the pulpit of the age than it is accurately to locate any individual preacher in a rigidly defined group distinctively marked by one or another of these features. A man may belong on the whole to one group rather than another and yet give evidence of one or more of the other tendencies in his preaching. Thus John Gerhard certainly falls among the spiritual preachers, but he was at the same time a sharp polemic theologian; and J. B. Carpzov is the very essence of stiff and formal pedantry, and yet his sermons were also given over to strained efforts to strike the fancy; and even such devoutly earnest men as Valerius Herberger and Heinrich Müller yielded too much to the spirit of the age in its demand for the show of erudition and the display of imagery. Nor would it be fair even to those men who were swept away by one or more of the extreme faults of the age to say that they were wholly without regard to the spiritual good of their hearers in their work.

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[14] See literature given in Note 4.

In regard to these features of the age another remark must be made. As stated above—dogmatism, pedantry, impressionism, and spirituality—the account stands three faults to one virtue; and this on a general view is not unjust to the Lutheran pulpit of the seventeenth century. But it is only fair to keep in mind that the three faults noted are but extremes or perversions of pulpit virtues, one-sided or degenerate manifestations of qualities that never can be spared from an effective presentation of truth; that is, courage of conviction, ample knowledge, popular appeal. And on the other hand, it must be sadly remembered that the indispensable virtue of pious devotion may sometimes itself degenerate into a narrow partisanry, which, by ignoring or discrediting the real worth underlying the extremes it attacks, becomes itself a fault.

The Lutheran polemic against Romanism had lost indeed its freshness and power, but none of its asperity. The old strife between Lutherans and Calvinists over the questions which divided them still resounded in the pulpit; and the stricter and more liberal parties of Lutheranism continued to pay each other the compliments of a warlike age.

In respect of the refinements of scholasticism and pedantry we find abundant examples, not only in actual sermons, but also in the homiletical principles that were taught and practiced in this unhappy epoch. There appeared a number of dry and stiff treatises on the art of preaching, published in Latin, and unfortunately read as well as written by preachers. They fall into a particularity of distinction and precept which is tedious in the extreme. Thus the limit was reached in a work of J. B. Carpzov the elder, who specified a hundred different "modes" of preaching.[15] Another treatise kindly reduced the number to twenty-six! But even John Gerhard, one of the best preachers of the time, in advocating a still simpler method, distinguishes and expounds eleven "modes," as follows:[16] (1) The grammatical, (2) the logical, (3) the rhetorical, (4) the histrionic, (5) the historic, (6) the ecclesiastical, (7) the catechetical, (8) the scholastic, (9) the elenctic, (10) the mystical, (11) the heroic. He admits that these are merely technical distinctions which may be variously modified and combined in practice, but he seems to think of them as workable and valuable guides in the composition of sermons, and that under his so much simpler system the more elaborate schemes of other homilists may be reduced. Doubtless all such strained and tedious homiletical theories broke down under their own weight in actual practice, and failed of complete exemplification in preaching; but it is unfortunately true that they did not utterly fail of recognition.

Besides this absurd theory, it must be owned that many sermons of the age are stuffed with undigested erudition. Schmidt remarks:[17] "To what a general dominance this taste attained is evidenced by the circumstance that even the better and the best men of that time were not able wholly to escape it, as, for example, Valerius Herberger fairly overwhelms his hearers with a crowd of stories gathered from all quarters, and in one sermon brings over the souls of his hearers in motley variety the names of kings and emperors, of warriors and scholars, of celebrated men and women." And Nebe[18] satirically exclaims: "Churchly oratory discards Scripture; this logic and polemic can not minister to edification. A man of learning stands in the pulpit before the poor people! And one step down a steep plane leads further still. The whole range of learning and of knowledge presses into preaching and in all the languages of the world demands hospitality!" Besides this ruck of learning there is a wild riot of fancy. Illustrations, fables, stories, conceits, images, strained comparisons, overdriven metaphors, seek in vain to redress the grievance of pedantry and popularize in some degree these heavy discourses. This trend did not indeed reach its acme of excess till the next period, but it was well under way.

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[15] Schmidt, S. 122.

[16] *Id.*, S. 123.

[17] *Op. cit.*, S. 125.

[18] *Gesch. der Pred.*, II, S. 95.

Some titles of collections and single sermons as well will illustrate both the more restrained and the more extreme practice of this method of preaching.[19] One of the better sort of preachers put out a book with this title, "The Heavenly Lovekiss;" another, "Holy Treasury of Pearls;" another, "Bitter Oranges and Sour Lemons;" another, "Pale Fear and Green Hope in Sleepless Nights." One tried to distinguish himself by the use of paradox in his titles, as for example, "Splendid Poverty," "Salted Sugar," "Heaven in Hell," "The Only-begotten Twin," and the like. Dr. Carpzov at Leipzig gave a course of sermons extending over a whole year, in which he compared our Lord to the various kinds of hand-workmen, a cloakmaker, a lantern maker, a welldigger, and even a brandy burner! Another spoke of the devil as a great ban-dog, and showed: (1) How he bit first Adam and then Christ in the leg; and (2) how Christ drove him back to hell, his kennel. The same, on another occasion, described our Lord as a chimney-sweep, and discussed: (1) The sweeper himself; (2) the flue; (3) the broom. Another discoursed upon sin under the likeness of a hole in one's sock, that begins small but constantly gets bigger. The collection in which these choice specimens find place was called, "The Spiritual Oil-Room," and is said to have passed through thirteen editions.

Finally, on this dark side of the subject, it must be regretfully stated that for the benefit of the less learned and gifted brethren a multitude of helps were provided to cram them with raw information on short notice and supply unlimited illustrations on every possible subject. But we must not think that along with these sad exaggerations and perversions there were no good preaching and preachers. Some of the better men must have at least a brief notice.

Notable among his contemporaries and highly esteemed in later times was Valerius Herberger (1562-1627).[20] He was born and brought up at Fraustadt, a quiet town in southeastern Prussia, and here also he spent his life as pastor. His father was a furrier by trade, but withal a man of some talent and a writer of devotional poems. The boy was early left an orphan, but was kindly nurtured by a childless aunt, who sent him to school and intended him for a shoemaker. But the good pastor in Fraustadt—who was also his godfather—told young Valerius that his father had prayed and predicted that he would be a preacher of Jesus to his fellowmen. Thus the youth's heart was trained to his future lifework. He was prepared for his ministry by studies at Frankfort-on-the-Oder and at Leipzig. Called to a position as teacher and then deacon in his native town, he served awhile in these offices, becoming pastor in 1596. Declining various calls to other places, he served the rest of his life as pastor in his home town, where he was much beloved and useful to the end. Herberger's life was consistent with his calling. He lived purely and unselfishly among people who had known him from childhood. During a great conflagration his courage and prayers were a help to the community, and during a visitation of the plague his self-sacrificing and brave ministrations were an inspiration and a solace to his people. His life was inconspicuous, but he had his share of trials and sorrows in those terrible days of strife, and his ministry was a blessing, as his end was peace.

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[19] Instances gathered from several of the authors mentioned.

As a preacher Herberger was devout and spiritual. He eschewed angry polemics and sought to win by love and persuasion. He was no deep thinker, nor an erudite scholar; but his thought was sane and Biblical, his spirit earnest, and his method winning. His published sermons lived long after him and were useful in the homiletical and spiritual literature of his own and succeeding times. Their chief fault, as we now see it, was overindulgence in the fancies and conceits which marked the pulpit vogue of his age, leading to forced exegesis, artificial structure, and affectation of style—common faults of this tendency.

A man of a very different sort was John Gerhard (1582-1637), born at Quedlinburg of parents of good

[20] Schmidt, S. 86 ff.; Hering, S. 120.

social standing and carefully educated in common and higher schools. He at first studied medicine to oblige a kinsman, but through sickness was led to a deeper religious life and turned his thought to theology. He studied at Jena and Marburg, and was probably influenced by Arndt. His devotional turn was early shown by the production in his young manhood of perhaps the best known and most valued of his numerous writings, the *Meditationes Sacrae.* Already notable for both learning and piety, he had many and frequent calls during the early years of his life, and indeed was much sought after always. But his work was done as pastor at Heldburg, in the duchy of Saxe-Coburg (1606-1616), and as professor in the University of Jena (1616-1637). His chief distinction is as a theologian and defender of the Lutheran faith. His writings were very numerous, and as a theologian he was ranked even by Bossuet as next after Luther and Chemnitz.[21] Yet he is also entitled to consideration as a preacher, not only because after his pastorate and while professor he continued to perform active and notable service in the pulpit, but because of his homiletical teaching and influence. The defect of his sermons was their heavy erudition—often loaded down with quotations from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for which practice he made this naïve excuse:[22] "Next to the sermon I have busied myself to speak in the words of the fathers, and yet these words not always turned into German, because in their own tongue they have a stronger emphasis than in our German." He could not lay aside the professor in the pulpit, yet he was truly concerned for the spiritual welfare of his hearers. As Schmidt well says, "While he was not always sufficiently considerate of the capacity of his congregation, yet he held their needs strongly in view, and correctly recognized that a fruitful application of the gospel to the heart and the life of the congregation must be regarded as the chief requisite of every sermon."

Less able and celebrated than Gerhard, but somewhat like him, was Conrad Dannhauer (1603-1666), professor and pastor at Strassburg.[23] He was a bitter opponent of the Calvinists in the Palatinate, his sermons were loaded with learning and strained fancies, but were not devoid of spiritual aims and effects, and his influence was felt by men who learned to avoid his faults. In this connection may also be mentioned Paul Gerhard (1606-1676), a cousin of John, but in every way a different man from his more learned and famous kinsman. His was a sad life, for he was driven from place to place, now by the war, and now because he was not acceptable to the rigid orthodoxy of some leaders who thought more of the letter than of the spirit. Severe personal afflictions also befell him, and he described himself as "a divine tossed in Satan's sieve." But he was a loving and faithful pastor in the several places that he served, a devout and tender preacher, whose influence was pure and sweet against both the rabid polemics and the barren scholasticism of his time. Yet it is not in his sermons, but in his tender and still cherished and widely useful hymns that his chief significance and his enduring influence are to be found.

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[21] Schmidt, S. 97. [22] *Id.*, S. 99, note. [23] Hering, S. 122.

The most notable of the preachers after Arndt whose work fell within the first half of the century was the beloved John Valentine Andreae (1586-1654).[24] He was a grandson of Jacob Andreae, a stout and famous preacher of the earlier Lutheranism, and was born at Herrenberg in the duchy (now the kingdom) of Würtemberg, where his father was pastor, August 17, 1586. The father soon moved to Königsbrunn, where John Valentine enjoyed the best school advantages, and later completed his academic and theological studies at the University of Tübingen. After graduation he traveled as instructor and companion with some young men of noble family in Germany, Swizerland, France, and Italy. For a time he served as tutor at Tübingen with the purpose, as he says in his interesting autobiography, not only to take care of his now widowed mother, but also "daily through teaching to learn." Next to theology he loved mathematics. Besides the church fathers and Luther, he read much in Erasmus and Hyperius. Altogether he had acquired a manysided and liberal culture when, in 1614, he was ordained and began his ministerial work at the town of Waihingen. He served here for six years, meeting with much success and many trials preparatory to the greater ones that were to follow. Würtemberg suffered terribly during the Thirty Years' War, and Andreae was one of the pastors whose work felt keenly the disastrous effects of the conflict. His second pastorate was at Calv (1620-1639), during the height of the struggle. These were years of losses, sufferings, and desolations. Recalling his more peaceful days at Waihingen, where he had some leisure for writing, he says that at Calv he "hung his pen on the willows of Babylon." In 1639 he was made court preacher at Stuttgart, a larger field of influence, but a position whose responsibilities and inherent difficulties were aggravated by the terrible demoralization in church and court following the war. He says his work was like a fight with wild beasts "where victory brings as little honor as defeat brings shame." But toward the end of his life, owing to the good-will of his prince, he was appointed to easier places, first at Bebenhausen, and then at Adelberg, where he died soon after settling, in 1654.

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[24] Schmidt, S. 100 ff.; Hering, S. 121.

Andreae was a man of lofty and pure character, clear and penetrating intelligence, well rounded culture, and devout spirit. He fell upon evil days, and his righteous soul was vexed almost to despair, but his work was not in vain. He wrote, lived, and spoke with power and effect against both the moral corruptions of the people and the ruinous faults of the pulpit, that is, especially, the harsh polemics and the sapless pedantry which marred and almost nullified the preaching of the age. Of course, he was made to suffer for his convictions, but he did not fail of recognition in his lifetime and later. Spener wrote of him fifty years afterwards as one whom even then for the good of the Church he could wish to call from the dead; and Herder much later still described him as a "rarely beautiful soul" and as one who "blossomed as a rose among thorns."

Contemporary with Andreae, but in far northern Germany, were Joachim Lütkemann (1608-1655), professor and preacher at Rostock, and Balthasar Schupp (1610-1661), pastor at Hamburg. Both of these rose superior to the dogmatizing and pedantic tendencies of the age and preached with spiritual fervor and force. Of Lütkemann, Hering[25] says that he entered on his duties as professor with the motto, "I would rather make one soul blessed than a hundred learned;" and of Schupp, that his effective combination of humor and piety made him like the famous Geiler of Kaisersberg, although more spiritual than he, and "the most popular preacher of morals of the seventeenth century."

Among the men who labored after the peace of 1648, amid the desolation and sorrowful corruption of that age, a few of more than average force and influence deserve mention. Among the preachers of scholastic tendency none had any commanding influence in the pulpit; but the two Carpzovs—John Benedict the elder and younger—professors and preachers at Leipzig, were both men of note. The father (d. 1657) was pastor of the Thomas Church in Leipzig for about fifty years, and also served as professor in the theological faculty of the University. Something has already been said of his homiletical teaching and practice. His two lines of work interfered with each other, and he did not attain to great eminence in either. But he was not all theologian and homilist. One witness at least testifies[26] that "whoever has known the man more closely will acknowledge that he bore in his heart a true piety which also showed itself in many ways." J. B. Carpzov the younger (d. 1699) followed in his father's path, both as professor at Leipzig University and pastor of the Thomas Church. He was like him also in method and spirit. He was involved in controversies with Spener and others regarding Pietism, and the more spiritual method of preaching which that great movement introduced.

Far more important for the history of preaching are the preachers of the rising Pietist tendency, which traces its origin back to Arndt and reaches its height in Spener and Francke. In the latter part of the seventeenth and first quarter of the eighteenth century this more spiritual movement marked almost a revolution in both the theory and practice of German Lutheran preaching. At least some of its leaders must receive consideration.

Heinrich Müller (1631-1675)[27] was born at Lübeck, whither his parents had fled for a time from Rostock during the Thirty Years' War. They soon returned to their own city, and in Rostock the delicate youth received his home care and school education. He pursued University studies also at Greifswald, and on returning to Rostock he became a preacher and pastor, though also doing some work as a teacher and lecturer. His work was short, for he died in his forty-fourth year, after a long illness, during which it was said that his sick-bed was "for many members of his congregation a most blessed pulpit."

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[25] *Op. cit.*, SS. 122, 126.
[26] *RE*, III, S. 145.
[27] Schuler, Thl. II, SS. 10-14; Schmidt. S. 106 ff.; Hering, S. 123 f.

Notwithstanding his bodily ailments and pressing public duties, Müller was a busy and fruitful writer. Numbers of sermons and other devotional writings flowed from his active pen. His quality as preacher was of a highly spiritual and awakening order. He appealed fruitfully to the feelings and the conscience, and sought not in vain to lead his hearers to a living and working faith in the Saviour. Profoundly pious himself, and keenly observant of the life of the age, he attacked with power and success the formalism of the time and led many to a deeper spiritual life. In his early years he was ambitious of pulpit distinction and yielded to the taste of the time for a pictorial and flowery style of preaching. While he never entirely corrected the exuberance of his fancy, he became more and more chastened in style and sought earnestly by clear, winsome, and at the same time popular method of speech to enforce the truth. His influence, both during life and after, was greatly felt in promoting a truly spiritual pulpit eloquence.

Very much like Müller in type was the equally notable Christian Scriver (1629-1693),[28] whose principal work was done as pastor at Magdeburg, where he served for twenty-three years. His first pastorate was at Stendal, his last (very short), at Quedlinburg. His life was uneventful, his ministry spiritual, devoted, and full of fruit. He was greatly beloved during life, and his sermons had many readers and wholesome influence after his death. Hering says of him: "His utterance is in flow and fullness quite the clearest and most pleasing among the voices of contemporaries, and if not of compelling, yet of charming, force." He was rich and apt in illustration, and while a man of peaceful disposition, he earnestly and ably attacked the ungodly and immoral life of the times. His admirably Biblical and evangelical preaching was fortified and commended by a blameless and lovable character.

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[28] Hering, S. 125. See also Schuler, II, SS. 14-20.

The wave of spiritual development in German preaching reached its height in the great Pietist, Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705).[29] He was born in Rappolsweiler, Upper Alsace, January 13, 1635, of pious parents, who from his birth devoted him to the service of God. To his good birth and early Christian training were added excellent gifts of mind and traits of character. Others besides his parents interested themselves in the training and progress of the promising boy, so that he enjoyed the best opportunities, both of religious and scholastic culture. His studies in the usual branches of learning, as well as in theology, were pursued chiefly at Strassburg, where he enjoyed the instructions of Conrad Dannhauer and Sebastian Schmidt, both eminent theologians. Under a learned Jew, Spener took up the study of Hebrew and pursued it with diligence and success. He had a fancy for recondite subjects, looking into the Talmud, and as a side line devoting some attention to genealogy and heraldry. He traveled and studied in Swizerland (Basel and Geneva) and in France. He had a genuine thirst for knowledge, was always a diligent student, and therefore became a very learned and broadly cultured man.[30] After teaching a short while at Strassburg and Tübingen, he was, without his own seeking and reluctantly,[31] installed as a preacher in Strassburg in 1660. He loved to preach, but partly from natural disinclination and partly because of fondness for study, he greatly shrank from pastoral care. Notwithstanding this he was made pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1666, where he served for twenty laborious years and was then, at the earnest solicitation of the Elector of Saxony, transferred to Dresden. Here his activity and usefulness both in preaching and writing continued; but attacks and criticisms annoyed him, and finally he broke with the Elector, whose faults he firmly rebuked. His position becoming intolerable, he accepted a post of honor at Berlin in 1691. In this, his last office, he was relieved of pastoral cares, but continued to preach regularly and superintended the affairs of his district. His fourteen years of service here were on the whole peaceful and fruitful. In January, 1705, he celebrated his seventieth birthday with his family, but in less than a month (February 5th) he passed to his reward.

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[29] All the authorities on German preaching give much attention to Spener. Particularly valuable are the discussions of Brömel, Bd. I, S. 128 ff.; Nebe, Bd. II, S. 93 ff.; and Schmidt, S. 136 ff. See also Schuler, *Gesch. der Veränderungen des Geschmacks,* Theil II, who devotes much space to Spener's reforms; and Ker, *Lects. on the Hist. of Preaching,* p. 183 ff.

[30] Brömel, Bd. I, S. 128 f.

[31] Schmidt, S. 137, note, says: "Spener never in his whole life applied for a place, but accepted the various calls that came to him almost always with reluctance and only when convinced that it really was a divine call."

Spener is rightly held to be one of the most remarkable men of the German pulpit. Gifted with a strong and versatile intellect, an eager thirst for knowledge, and trained both by school discipline and the studious habits of years of patient industry, his scholarly outfit was adequate to the extraordinary demands upon it. Pure and pious from childhood, sincere and devoted in service, diligent and laborious in work, of blameless character and lovable disposition, he was eminently qualified for the preacher's task. But in two respects he fell short of the highest pastoral success: he was awkward, shrinking, and reluctant in the personal work of the pastor, though recognizing its importance and trying to discharge it as a duty; and his preaching, with all its excellent qualities, was lacking in rhetorical form and finish and was often heavy and dry. In his reaction from homiletical abuses he was too careless of true homiletical form, and yet he was a great preacher and a great teacher of preachers. It was his lofty spiritual conception of his office that made him a leader of men in spite of his dislike of personal work; it was the spirit, content, and aim of his preaching that made it powerful and effective in spite of its oratorical faultiness.

As early as 1676 Spener published an edition of Arndt's sermons, to which he prefixed an introduction with the title *Pia Desideria.*[32] These "Pious Longings" were for the following six things, as summarized by Ker: (1) Wider circulation and study of the Word of God; (2) Co-operation of pastor and people for prayer and edification; (3) The principle that in religion knowledge is not enough, but life as well; (4) Love and wisdom rather than argument in dealing with unbelievers; (5) A theological training which should emphasize heart and life as well as learning; (6) A method of preaching which should aim at conversion and edification—a true spiritual life both in origin and outcome. Spener's earnest opposition to the pulpit faults of his times was characteristic and constant.[33] He deplored and withstood the evil tendency to homiletical over-refinement, the stress on form rather than content; he criticised both the pedantry and the excess of fanciful ornament in preaching; he reacted against the doctrinal polemics and hard intellectuality of the age. In his own preaching, however, he went too far away from good form. He was heavy without being pedantic, he eschewed illustration, and his emphasis on thought and material made his sermons long, wearisome, and hard to hear and read. His style was dull, over full, prolix; his delivery lacked fire. The critics[34] wonder that he was heard with as much interest as is known to have been the case, and their reasonable explanation of his great success and influence lies in two things: (1) That the people were glad to welcome a new manner, even though it taxed their endurance; and (2) that the earnest and practical aim of Spener's preaching offset its lack of pleasing qualities. In doctrine Spener was wholly loyal to the strictest Lutheran standards; but while he correctly taught justification by faith, his main insistence was upon its fruit in sanctification; and while he contended for a pure Biblical teaching, "his polemic," as Brömel phrases it, "concerns chiefly nowhere doctrine, but only life." But it was mainly in his influence with others and not so much in the quality of his own sermons that Spener is to be reckoned as a reformer of German preaching. He sounded a much-needed note at a critical time, and under his lead a body of earnest spiritual preachers arose and left an enduring mark upon the German pulpit.

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[32] Ker, p. 189 f.; Brömel and Nebe, *passim.*

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[33] Nebe gives many examples; *op. cit.*, S. 98 ff.

[34] Both Brömel and Nebe fully discuss the point.

Chief among the immediate followers of Spener must be reckoned the devoted and widely useful August Hermann Francke (1663-1727).[35] Born at Lübeck, he spent his childhood at Gotha, whither his father removed and filled a magistrate's office. But the boy was left an orphan at seven years of age. Like Spener, he had an early bent both toward piety and learning. It is said that at ten years of age he asked his mother for a room of his own so that he could the better study and pray. His studious proclivities were suitably encouraged and his education was received at school and university in Gotha, and further at Erfurt, Kiel, and Leipzig. He early developed a passion for Hebrew and Greek, which he called "the two eyes of theological study." He read the Hebrew Bible through seven times in one year! Yet (like John Wesley long afterwards) his zeal and piety were not crowned until after some years with a genuine and deep religious experience. He caught the spirit of Spener and others of that school and became the leader among those called Pietists. After lecturing and preaching for short intervals at Leipzig and other places, he finally found his lifework as teacher and preacher at Halle. First in a high school and then in the University upon its founding, he taught Greek and theology, and was pastor successively of two different churches. Here also he founded his famous Orphan House, the first of its kind among Protestants, the equally famous Bible House, and preparatory school for missionaries. With power he took hold of home benevolence and foreign missions in addition to his burdensome double work as professor and pastor. Yet among all his labors he put the chief emphasis on preaching. He fully accorded with Spener as to the aim of preaching in beginning and developing the spiritual life of the hearers, and in the principle that a proper interpretation and application of Scripture is fundamental in preaching. Again, like Spener, Francke is said to have been too long and particularizing in his sermons, but he had more of the natural gifts of eloquence, he paid more attention to rhetorical form, and both his style and delivery were more pleasing. Notwithstanding his enormous labors in other spheres, he did not neglect his pulpit work, and he drew and retained large and profited audiences throughout his faithful and efficient ministry. He died in 1727, and so his work covers the first quarter of the eighteenth century; but as one of the founders of the Pietist school, he belongs with Spener to the close of the seventeenth.

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[35] Schmidt, S. 156 ff.; Brömel (only incidentally), S. 141 f.; Hering, 158 f.; Kramer, art. in *RE;* Christlieb, in *RE;* Ker, p. 201 ff.

During this period there were outside of Germany a few preachers of note of the Lutheran faith, some in Holland, but most in Denmark and Sweden.[36] From a number briefly noticed by Christlieb a few of the more prominent may be named. There was Caspar Brochmond (d. 1652), bishop of Zealand, who is described as a strong theologian and exegete, but not much given to personal application of the truth to his hearers. On the other hand, a very practical, experimental, earnest, and widely influential preacher was found in Dinesin Jersin (d. 1634), bishop of Ribe in Jutland. Sweden has to her credit John Rudbeck (d. 1646), bishop of Westeraes, who excelled in learned and able theological exposition. Likewise J. Matthiae (d. 1670), bishop of Strengnaes, who appealed more to the feelings and was esteemed a strong and useful preacher.

IV. The Reformed (Calvinist) Pulpit

We must now pay some attention to the preaching and preachers of the Reformed, or Calvinistic, Churches in Germany, German-Switzerland, and Holland, reserving for separate study the French, English, and Scottish Calvinists.

In Germany the Reformed Churches and people continued to be the objects of fierce doctrinal attacks on the part of the Lutherans. But in spite of this and of the horrors of the Thirty Years' War they managed on the whole to hold their own, and, in fact, gained some ground. Their position was greatly strengthened by the adhesion of the Elector of Brandenburg early in the century. In the capitals of Zurich and Bern and throughout German-speaking Switzerland affairs in Church and

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[36] See Christlieb-Schian, *Geschichte der Predigt,* in *RE.*

State were more peaceful and prosperous, being less affected by either the great wars or the sharp controversies of the age. In the Netherlands, as in Germany, France, and England, the turmoil of war and politics was great. This was the century of Dutch greatness and glory. Maurice, Frederick Henry, William II, and after an interval William III of Orange and England, were the famous stadtholders; Olden-Barneveld and the two brothers John and Cornelius De Witt were the statesmen; Van Tromp and De Ruyter were the sea-captains; Rubens and Rembrandt were the painters; Grotius, Arminius, Gomarus, Cocceius were the theologians, who have made this period illustrious in the annals of Holland and the world. Theological controversy raged between the strict Calvinists of the older school and the Arminians and Cocceians who defended the newer opinions.

Reformed preaching, like that of the other communions, felt the touch of the times. It shared and manifested both the faults and the excellencies which have been already fully brought out as characteristic of the age. The polemic spirit, bad taste—sometimes as coarseness, sometimes as excess of fancy—pedantry, cumbersome and tedious homiletics, are found in the Reformed pulpit as in others. But neither are there wanting traces of the more spiritual aims and saner homiletical methods also found among the Lutherans of the time. Very influential among some Reformed preachers was the admirable work of Andrew Hyperius, of which mention has been made.[37] As to the Calvinistic preachers of this century the great names are found among French Protestants and English Puritans, and not in the lands we are now considering. Yet there are a few of note.[38]

In Germany, Abraham Scultetus (d. 1624) was the leading figure in the first quarter of the century. His main work had been done, both as theologian and preacher, in the previous age, but he was still active and useful in the time we are now considering. Born in Silesia in 1566, he received fair educational advantages, though somewhat interrupted by various troubles. He became an excellent teacher of youth, both as private tutor and in schools, and a preacher who was heard with interest in the various places of his residence. Finally, after various trials and changes, in 1590 he settled at Heidelberg, where in several different offices as professor and pastor he ended his course in 1624.[39] Distinguished as a theologian and leader of his church, Scultetus was also a worthy pastor and preacher. Several volumes of his sermons were published, and one, a series of "Church postils," ran through several editions and was translated into other languages. Later in this century Bernhard Meier (d. 1681), pastor at Bremen, is named as one of the most notable preachers of the Reformed faith, of whose sermons on the Gospels and on the Heidelberg Catechism a goodly number was published.

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[37] See *ante*, p. 16 f.

[38] Christlieb-Schian, as before; and special art. in *RE* on Scultetus.

In Switzerland there do not seem to have been in this period any preachers in the German tongue of marked excellence or fame; but Christlieb names two as worthy of mention in maintaining the succession of the Reformed pulpit. These are Felix Wyss (d. 1666), pastor at Zurich, and Samuel Eyen (d. 1700), pastor at Bern.

In Holland[40] the state of affairs existing at the end of the sixteenth century[41] continued, with aggravation, into the seventeenth. Pedantry, bombast, and polemics were the marks of the preaching of the Reformed Dutch pulpit in the early part of the century, but there was some improvement toward the middle and end of the period, introduced by the rival schools of the two famous theologians, Voetius and Cocceius.

Gisbert Voetius (1588-1676)[42] was born at Heusden, and became a distinguished student at the University of Leyden. He served awhile as pastor, but was most eminent as theologian and professor at Utrecht, where he worked for forty years or more. He was a stern Calvinist and defender of the Synod of Dort against the Remonstrants and others. Both as systematic theologian and preacher he was more of a controversialist than an exegete, scholastic in type and uncompromising in spirit. But along with his scholasticism and dogmatism he carried a very genuine piety—in fact, he was strongly influenced by the German Pietists. His place in the development of Dutch preaching is defined by his scholastic method, his Pietistic principles, and the controversy which arose between him and Cocceius and long persisted among their respective followers.

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[39] Scultetus wrote, in Latin, his own epitaph which, after stating place and date of birth and death, simply adds: *Caetera dolor et labor fuere*—"the rest was sorrow and labor."

[40] See Hartog, *Geschiedenis van de Predikkunde*, Bl. 73-123; Van Oosterzee, *Prac. Theol.*, p. 146 ff.

[41] See *ante*, p. 16.

[42] Dutch and German encyclopedias for biography, Hartog and Van Oosterzee for influence on preaching.

The homiletical method and teaching of Voetius are to be found partly in his sermons and partly in his lectures. His ideas were expanded and systematized into several treatises on preaching by pupils of his. Two of these were of some merit and influence: *Tractatus de ratione concionandi,* by Hoornbeek, 1645; and *Manducatio ad sacram oratoriam,* by Knibbe, of which a sixth edition appeared in 1697. Van Oosterzee (following Hartog) describes the Voetian mode of preaching as "wholly analytic; dry and diffuse exposition of Scripture, perhaps alternated or concluded with more or less appropriate exhortation." The text was usually only a suggestion for theological disquisition, and the style was often marked by bombast, when it did not sink to flatness. Yet the pietistic trait of the Voetian method appeared in its earnest insistence upon true piety in the preacher and upon practical application to the hearer as essentials in preaching. Knibbe adopted as the motto for his treatise the Arabian proverb, "Knowledge without practice is like a cloud without rain." Yet it must be admitted that in the sermons of the Voetians—especially the earlier ones—dry scholasticism got the better of useful application, and improvement was greatly needed.

Among the preachers of this school Hartog names and criticises a number whom it would scarcely be edifying here particularly to describe. Not all pursued the same way. In some the application amounts to very little, in some it is distributed through the sermon, in others concentrated at the close with more or less elaboration.

There was a certain Smytegelt who published one hundred and forty-five sermons, in full quarto, on "The Bruised Reed;" there was a Jacob Borstius who stood near to Voetius as a friend, but whose work had the glaring faults of fancifulness and sensationalism. Though he knew how to attract the crowd and spared not to smite sin, he was a victim of inflated bad taste in his preaching.

Over against the Voetians we find arrayed the pupils and admirers of the eminent scholar John Cocceius (1603-1669),[43] who was one of the most noted and learned theologians of his time. Born at Bremen, he was educated at the University of Franeker—then and long afterwards an important school in Holland—where he also served as professor till 1650. In that year he was transferred to one of the chairs of theology at Leyden, where he served with honor and fame to the end of his life in 1669. Distinguished as an interpreter and lecturer on the Bible (especially Hebrew), Cocceius was also a preacher of some power, and he gave public expositions of Scripture and published commentaries. As against the topical scholastic method of Voetius he advocated a return to the expository method, insisting that the main business of the preacher was to interpret and apply the Word of God. The aim was good and the reform was greatly needed, even producing something of a revolution, and precipitating a long and bitter quarrel between adherents and opponents of the method. But unhappily, even among the Cocceians, the taste of the age for pedantry and scholastic refinements often led to a minute and wearisome examination of every phrase and word in the text, together with multiplied and needless definitions and explanations. In theology Cocceius was less rigid in his Calvinism than Voetius; and this, along with the difference of method in preaching, led to the long and mostly profitless quarrel between their adherents. The later Cocceians were divided into two schools: the Leyden group, who pushed this detailed exegesis to extremes, and the Franeker group, also called "earnest Cocceians," who sought to be more practical in application to the spiritual needs of the hearers,

[43] Same authorities as before.

and thus approached the pietistic wing of their Voetian opponents. Early in the eighteenth century, as we shall see, F. A. Lampe was enabled, by appealing to the better spirits of both parties, to effect some reform in the method of preaching.

The most important representative of the Leyden branch of Cocceians was Solomon van Til, who, as professor at Leyden from 1702 to 1707, brings us over into the next century, but as a preacher was chiefly active in the period under review. The other branch was prominently represented in David Flud van Giffen, pastor at Wyckel from 1674 to 1701, who carried his exegetical refinements too far, but yet often preached to the real edification of the people. Hardly so highly rated is D' Outrein, named by several of the authorities, and from whom is mentioned a wonderful sermon on Solomon's bedstead, which is taken as a symbol of the New Testament church!

The Remonstrants (Arminians) had in their eminent professor at Amsterdam, Philip Limborch (1633-1712), not only a learned and able defender of their views, but a preacher of fine skill in exegesis. He held several successful pastorates before he became a professor. To the Remonstrants also belong several strong preachers in the notable Brandt family. The elder Gerhard Brandt (d. 1685), famous as the historian of the Reformation in Holland, gave three distinguished sons to the gospel ministry. The eldest, Caspar (d. 1696), was a learned and much admired preacher; Gerhard the younger (d. 1683) had only a short life, but died highly useful and esteemed; Johan (d. 1708) was noted as a preacher of poetic gifts and vigorous eloquence.

Among the Walloon (French-speaking) preachers a number are mentioned[44] whose influence upon the whole was helpful toward improving the Dutch pulpit methods. They gave large place to moral teaching in their sermons, and more successfully than their Dutch brethren escaped the pedantry and bombast of the age. In the earlier part of the century Louis de Dieu is named with approval, and later Louis Wolzogen, who, besides being a useful preacher, was the author of a sensible treatise

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[44] Hartog, Bl. 142 vv.

(in Latin) on homiletics. There was also Alexander Morus at Middelburg; and at Leyden the celebrated Frederic Spanheim the younger, of German descent and Genevan birth and training, a stout Calvinist theologian, and a scholar of high attainments.

A word should also be said concerning the separatist preacher Labadie (1610-1674), who was a Frenchman by birth, a Catholic in bringing up, and served as a priest of the Oratory in his early manhood. Being of reformatory tendencies, he was excommunicated and exiled. He joined the Reformed Church, preached for a time in England, but later in Holland. Protesting against the cold scholastic intellectualism of the orthodox Church, he formed separatist congregations, which finally became lost or merged with others. Labadie was a warm and enthusiastic man and preacher, who—as is ever the case with his type—had both sharp critics and very pronounced friends. He was not without influence upon men of the pietistic tendency in all parties—even Voetius was criticised for having too close relations with Labadie and his movement.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLASSIC AGE OF THE FRENCH PULPIT

In the ever fascinating and impressive history of the French people the seventeenth century, or more exactly the period which lies between the assassination of Henry IV in 1610 and the death of Louis XIV in 1715, is supremely important. Its great personages and momentous events appeal with power alike to the scientific and the dramatic historian; its forces and achievements attract and burden the philosophic thinker; and its wealth and splendor of literary expression are a lure and a joy to the student, whether he be a thoughtful critic or merely a delighted reader. The first decade of the century witnessed the last years of the knightly Henry of Navarre, who with all his faults had the good of his people at heart, and was in the midst of large designs when the dagger of a fanatical assassin ended his reign before its best fruits could be reaped. His Italian queen, Marie di Medici, proved a weak and incapable regent. During the ministry of her feeble son, Louis XIII, affairs went greatly wrong; but soon after he attained his majority Richelieu came on the scene, and during nearly the remainder of that reign his genius for government made it illustrious in spite of the weakness of the sovereign. Sir James Stephen[1] says, "Richelieu was the heir of the designs of Henry IV, and the ancestor of those of Louis XIV." Louis XIII did not long survive his great minister and real master, and, like his own father, left a boy king and a queen regent to follow him. But Anne of Austria and her remarkable son Louis XIV were of different quality from their predecessors. During and for awhile after the minority of Louis, the crafty policy of Mazarin dominated the queen and government. But the young king soon asserted himself, and on the death of Mazarin in 1661 he actually assumed the reins of government and only relinquished them at his death, fifty-four years later. No finer summary has been penned than that of the distinguished English author already quoted:[2] "The two foundations of the absolute throne of Louis XIV were terror and admiration: The terror of a power which had subjugated the army, the church, the magistracy, the noblesse, and the municipalities; the admiration of a power to which literature and art, arms and fortune rendered their riches and their uninterrupted tribute. King-worship had never before taken so entire a possession of any Christian State. Never had the luxurious pomp of an Oriental court been so intimately and so long associated with the energies, the refined tastes, and the intellectual culture of an European sovereignty. During fifty successive years Louis continued to be the greatest actor on the noblest stage, and in the presence of the most enthusiastic audience of the world."

In a history of preaching we can be only remotely concerned with the military glories, diplomatic achievements, and internal administration of that great reign; yet these influenced all the other elements of the national life, including religion and its institutions. But the literary, social, and religious features and forces of that great age are more directly connected with our subject and can not be left out of view, though requiring only brief notice in a general survey of the causes which made the age of Louis XIV as notable for pulpit oratory as for any other meeting-place of life, thought, and art.

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[1] Quoted in *Historians' History of the World,* XI, p. 485 f.

[2] Sir James Stephen, *op. cit.,* p. 525.

I. General Survey of the Preaching of the Century

The title of this chapter is fully justified by a study of the preaching which we meet with in France and its French-speaking neighbors during the seventeenth century.[3] While in Southern Europe, in Germany, and other lands, preaching, as we have seen, was depressed and comparatively feeble, it came to great power in England and in France. In each of these countries there were special and noteworthy causes which produced a phenomenon so markedly in contrast with the situation in other European lands. We come, therefore, to consider the causes and characteristics of the "classic" French preaching of this age.[4]

First, we must notice the influence of contemporary literature in France. This was its Golden Age.[5] The writings of Rabelais, Ronsard, Brantôme, Montaigne, and some others in the sixteenth century had prepared the way for the splendid development which characterized the seventeenth. In the hands of these masters of literary expression the French language had already begun to acquire that clearness, force, and charm which were to make it the splendid vehicle of prose that it came to be in the classic and modern periods. There was much in the French national life of the age, as we have seen, both to stimulate and to form the literary expression of that life; and the task was eagerly accepted and nobly fulfilled. Early in the century Malherbe was court poet, and he set a high standard of excellence in style. Some minor poets and the great dramatists, Corneille, Molière, and Racine, and that consummate artist of the poetic fable, La Fontaine, followed to make the century illustrious. Of philosophers it must suffice to name Gassendi, Descartes, and Pascal—that prodigy in science and in thought, whose beauty of character and felicity of style are pre-eminent. Along with La Fontaine's fables we must not forget the genial child-stories of Perrault, who first put into writing such universal favorites as *Little Red Riding Hood, The Sleeping Beauty, The Tales of Mother Goose,* and other popular tales which have gone into all languages and been retold in many forms. Of essayists, historians, and other writers of thoughtful and descriptive prose there are familiar and brilliant names enough, among whom may be recalled the elder Balzac (apparently no connection of the modern novelist), Rochefoucauld, Madame de Sévigné (the famous letter writer), Madame de la Fayette (the leading novelist of her time), Boileau the critic, La Bruyère the satirist, and others of less note. Among these the great masters of religious writing and of pulpit oratory found congenial literary atmosphere and a constant spur to the best expression of thought.

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[3] Of German authors, Lentz, Christlieb, and Hering, appropriate places in works previously mentioned; of American authors, Broadus, *Lectures on the History of Preaching,* p. 136 ff., New York, 1876; Pattison, *The History of Christian Preaching,* p. 214 ff., Philadelphia, 1903; James, *The Message and the Messengers,* p. 188 f.; Fish, *Masterpieces of Pulpit Eloquence,* II, pp. 3, 4, 21 ff.; Sears, *History of Oratory,* p. 228 ff.; *The World's Great Sermons,* Funk and Wagnalls, Vols. II, III; Wilkinson, *French Classics in English,* p. 137 ff.; of French authors, Bungener (translation), *The Preacher and the King;* Feugère, *Bourdaloue, sa Prédication et son Temps;* Vinet, *Histoire de la Prédication parmi les Réformés de la France au 17me Siècle* (a very valuable work); Berthault, *J. Saurin et la Prédication Protestante;* Card. J. S. Maury, *Principes de l'Éloquence,* ed. Guilleminet, 1805; Abbé Ed. Boucher, *L'Éloquence de la Chaire;* La Bruyère, *Caracteristiques;* Hurel, *Les Orateurs Sacrés à la Cour de Louis XIV,* Paris, 1872; Jacquinet, *Les Prédicateurs du XVIIme Siècle avant Bossuet;* C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries de Lundi,* tt. IX, X; E. Gandar, *Bossuet Orateur,* Paris, 1867; P. Stapfer, *La Grande Prédication Chrétienne en France* (Bossuet and Monod). Works on French literature, and the lives and sermons of individual preachers in following notes.

[4] See especially Broadus, *op. cit.,* p. 136 ff.

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[5] Of course all the notable French historians and critics give large and able attention to this period, and it is scarcely necessary to adduce them here, though there may be named as specially helpful: Martin, *Histoire de France,* Vol. XV; Petit de Julleville, *Histoirc de la Langne et de la Lit. Francaise; Histoire Littéraire de la France* (Daunou, Hauréau, and others), etc. In English Prof. Saintsbury's *Short History of French Literature,* and his article in the *Britannica* may be named. Wilkinson's *French Classics* in English; the survey in Vol. XI of the *Historians' History;* and that in Vol. XXXI (p. 39 ff, with the literature referred to) of the Warner *Library of the World's Best Literature,* may be consulted by American readers.

In the political and social spheres of activity we find another great influence in the development of the preaching of this wonderful time.[6] The general intellectual excitement of an age so intensely alert and active in diplomacy, war, development of resources, and other schemes for national aggrandizement, necessarily had its effect upon the pulpit. The great ministers of State and leaders of the national and social life encouraged literature, art, and preaching. But, as Broadus well says:[7] "The most singular of all the circumstances . . . referred to as stimulating the French Catholic preaching of that age was the fact that Louis XIV so greatly delighted in pulpit eloquence. It was a curious idiosyncrasy. He not merely took pleasure in orations marked by imagination, passion, and elegance, as a good many monarchs have done, but he wanted earnest and kindling appeals to the conscience—real preaching. In fact, Louis was, in his own way, a very religious man. He tried hard to serve God and Mammon, and Ashtoreth to boot. His preachers saw that he listened attentively, that his feelings could be touched, his conscience could sometimes be reached. They were constantly hoping to make him a better man, and through him to exert a powerful influence for good upon the court and the nation. Thus they had the highest possible stimulus to zealous exertions. And although they never made Louis a good man, yet his love for preaching, and for preaching that powerfully stirred the soul, brought about this remarkable result, that it became the fashion of that brilliant court to attend church with eager interest, and to admire preachers who were not simply agreeable speakers, but passionately in earnest."

In the religious history of the age there was one great element which powerfully stimulated preaching—

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[6] Well sketched by Broadus, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-141; and for the influence of the king and court, pp. 148-150.

[7] Pp. 148, 149.

the religious toleration which prevailed under the operation of the famous Edict of Nantes, which was in effect from 1598 to 1685. That great measure of Henry IV gave relief from persecution to the harried and banished Protestants of France for nearly a hundred years. After the dreadful days of the St. Bartholomew Massacre (1572) to the Edict of Nantes (1598) the preaching among the Reformed (or Huguenots) was necessarily affected by the persecution, but as soon as liberty was given to the pastors to instruct their flocks there was a great revival of Protestant preaching. A noble line of preachers, full of earnestness and power, arose and flourished. Their abilities and success stirred the Catholics to greater diligence, and this was one of the contributory causes toward that marvelous outburst of sacred eloquence which distinguished the age of Louis XIV. It is no less notable that in the eighteenth century, after the death of Saurin (1730) and Massillon (1742), who were only survivals of the preceding age, there were no great French preachers, either Protestant or Catholic. On the pulpit as well as other institutions of France the repeal of the Edict in 1685 laid a killing frost.

Instead of attempting a general characterization of the preaching of this great epoch, it seems best to unfold its leading features as these appear in individuals and groups among the preachers, both Catholic and Protestant.

II. THE CATHOLIC PULPIT

Owing to the causes just outlined the French Catholic preaching of the seventeenth century, and particularly toward its close and just beyond it, reached its highest oratorical development. There was an earlier, less gifted succession of preachers who prepared the way for that renowned group who brought French pulpit oratory to its perfection—Bossuet, Mascaron, Bourdaloue, Fléchier, Fénelon, Massillon. Varieties of appeal and of method in the pulpit are well illustrated in the individuals of both the earlier and the later groups, as will appear in the following notices of them; but there are a few general observations which should be made before we discuss the preachers separately.

First of all, it should be remembered that this was Catholic preaching, orthodox and devout. Protestant readers and critics seem sometimes to overlook, or at least to underestimate, this obvious consideration. We can not fully understand or justly weigh any preaching without due regard to its general point of view and to the personal and cherished convictions of the preachers themselves. The universal elements both of the Christian and of the oratorical appeal will inevitably be colored by the creed and aim of the preacher. Romanist doctrines and sentiments pervade these discourses, and a Protestant may be permitted to admire the skill and earnestness with which they are presented without accepting them as his own, or making his very different doctrinal point of view a part of his criticism of the preaching as preaching.

Leaving the doctrinal content and attitude of these wonderful sermons and taking general account of their form and style, we note that their most obvious trait in common is their *art*. And in this statement there is exactly that balance of censure and of praise which careful attention to rhetorical art in preaching demands. Yet it is real art and not mere artifice. The art, especially in Bossuet and Massillon, is consummate. From introduction to conclusion the mastery of oratorical technique is superb. The rules are obeyed, but in the spirit of the master, not of the slave; structure and progress are apparent, but not obtrusive; language is clear, forcible, elegant, and varied as need requires. Bad taste—either in slovenliness and coarseness or in excess of fancy and ornament—is banished. The only serious exception as to taste is that flattery of the great, especially of the king, which sadly mars some of the most notable of these discourses. But even for that—bad as it is—some shadow of excuse may be found in the general habit of the age and especially its remarkable obsession in regard to Louis XIV. Readers of English who recall the absurd tone of the dedication in King James' Version of the Bible do not need to be told to what lengths even truly good men of that age could go in their adulation of royalty. But granting this, and some minor and occasional other defects, it remains true that perhaps never in the history of preaching or of any oratory was the art of eloquent speech brought to such a height of excellence as in this Catholic preaching of the age of Louis XIV.

Yet it would be false criticism to condemn this great pulpit work as mere show oratory. It was far from that. In the quotation from Dr. Broadus already made it is justly stated that these orators were not practicing art for art's sake, but they were really seeking the spiritual and moral good of their hearers. We should, for example, get a wholly one-sided view of Bossuet if we regarded him as a preacher solely from the point of view of his sublime Funeral Orations. In his less stately discourses he knew well how to use his unrivaled powers for the good of his flock. He reminds us very tenderly and simply of this in the closing words of his great oration for Condé, when he says, at the end of a splendid apostrophe, "With you these discourses shall end. . . . I reserve for the flock which I must nourish with the Word of life the remnants of a voice which is failing and of an ardor which shall soon be quenched." Bourdaloue bore down heavily upon the conscience; and Massillon earnestly sought to awaken and guide the purest and noblest sentiments; while Fénelon, least artistic of them all, was a mystic and a saint who longingly endeavored to raise the souls of his auditors to the holy presence of God.

Those earlier and less noted preachers to whom reference has been made included several men of decided gifts, who are only overshadowed by their Protestant rivals and their Catholic successors. The note of improvement over past conditions begins to be heard in Claude Lingendes (d. 1660),[8] Superior of the Order of Jesuits at Paris. He made the mistake, says Zanotto, of writing out his sermons, or rather treatises, in Latin, and thus "they present all the heaviness of the pulpit and of the school." Nevertheless the sermons have merit, and they have the distinction of having been carefully studied both by Fléchier and Bourdaloue. Voltaire[9] asserts that Fléchier borrowed considerable passages of his famous funeral oration for Marshal Turenne from Lingendes, and it is stated that even Bourdaloue made what would now be regarded as improper use of his Jesuit brother's material.

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[8] See Maury, p. 101 ss.; Hurel, pp. 5, 28 (who dissents from the view that Lingendes' sermons were written in Latin); Jacquinet, p. 217 ss.; and Zanotto, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

[9] Broadus, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

In this earlier group should also be named the famous philanthropist and founder of the Sisters of Charity, St. Vincent de Paul (d. 1660). He is said to have been a preacher of great zeal and earnestness; and some sermons remain as from him, but Zanotto thinks they were written out by some hearer who dresses them up in a rhetorical style that the saint would not have approved.

François Bourgoing (d. 1662), born of good family in the Nivernois, educated at the Sorbonne, for a short time parish priest at Clichy, became under Cardinal Berulle one of the founders and finally Superior of the Congregation of the Oratory at Paris. Perhaps without distinguishing merits as a preacher, he has been immortalized by being the subject of one of Bossuet's Funeral Orations.[10] The orator's tribute to Bourgoing's preaching is as follows: "The word of the gospel came from his mouth alive, penetrating, animated, all full of spirit and fire. His sermons were not the fruit of slow and tardy study, but of a heavenly fervor, of a prompt and sudden illumination. . . . Whence came his power? It is, my brethren, that he was full of the heavenly doctrine; it is that he was nourished and filled with the best essence of Christianity; it is that he made to reign in his sermons truth and wisdom; eloquence followed as a servant, not sought out with care, but drawn by the very things he was saying." This judgment is doubtless more generous and oratorical than critical; but it is worth repetition for its own sake.

Two other priests of the Oratory were notable as preachers in this time: Jean Lejeune (d. 1672),[11] famous as a "missioner," or evangelist, who was once smitten with sudden blindness while preaching, but went on with his discourse; and the better known J. F. Sénault (d. 1672),[12] who already gives token of the nobler eloquence so speedily to follow him, and whose funeral orations on Louis XIII and his mother, Marie de' Medici, have been greatly applauded.

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[10] *Oraisons Funèbres*, par Bossuet, ed. Garnier Frères, p. 216 ss.; also noticed by Jacquinet with approval.

[11] Jacquinet, p. 140, gives him high praise.

[12] See Jacquinet, p. 182; and Hurel, I, p. 77 ss., who speaks of him as one of the reformers of eloquence.

Coming now to that great group of preachers who distinguished the close of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century, we shall find that of the six selected for notice, three—Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon—occupy the highest rank as pulpit orators; one—Fénelon—while just below these, is somewhat difficult to place; and two—Mascaron and Fléchier—while justly entitled to respect, certainly fall far below the rest. If method of appeal and the quality of oratory be regarded, we should say that Fléchier, Mascaron, and Bossuet represent the more distinctively rhetorical style and aims, appealing—Bossuet especially—to the imagination and the sense of the sublime; Bourdaloue is master of the ethical method, searching the conscience and convincing the reason; while Fénelon and Massillon more directly appeal to sentiment and stir the religious feelings. If we consider personal character and the value and permanence of spiritual influence, we should perhaps put Mascaron and Fléchier lowest, Bossuet and Massillon midway, Bourdaloue and Fénelon highest. But these groupings, though generally just, are necessarily flexible and incomplete. The true quality and value of each man can only be determined by individual study, for which the order of time will serve as well as any critical classification.

Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704)[13] was born at Dijon of good middle-class family, September 27, 1627. His ancestors and his father had rendered honorable service in the legal profession. The boy was well endowed in mind and person, and received high social recognition and excellent education. His advantages were great; he used them wisely and well. He was dedicated to the priesthood and received the tonsure in his eighth year. Trained first in the Jesuit college at Dijon, he completed both his academic and theological course at the College of Navarre at Paris. His first academic thesis was submitted in his sixteenth year, and won such applause that his unusual talents and acquirements were subjected to a curious test. The great center of fashionable literary life in Paris had been founded in the time of Louis XIII by the Marchioness de Rambouillet at her splendid home; and its prestige and influence long continued to be a dominant force in the literary and social life of the capital. Says Wilkinson,[14] "At the high court of blended rank and fashion and beauty and polish and virtue and wit, thus established in the exquisitely builded and decorated saloons of the Rambouillet Mansion, the selectest literary genius and fame of France were proud and glad to assemble for the discussion and criticism of literature." It was before one of these assemblies that the gifted young student for the priesthood was by some freak suddenly summoned at a late hour to come and deliver off-hand a sermon on a text assigned. With characteristic self-confidence he undertook the task, and succeeded so brilliantly that he became famous from that moment. On this Broadus[15] wisely says: "All this was very unhealthy, but it shows the kind of artificial relish for pulpit eloquence which already (1641) pervaded the court circle, and what sort of atmosphere was breathed by these great preachers. Some other young men had become popular preachers in Paris before taking orders, and Bossuet was saved from this by the advice of a bishop, who urged him to turn away from such premature popularity and become mature in culture and character before he preached much in the capital. This was doubtless the turning point of Bossuet's career, which decided that he was not to be the meteor of a moment, but an abiding luminary." Bossuet continued his studies to the taking of his degree in 1652, when, at the age of twenty-five, he was appointed to an important charge at Metz. Here, admirably equipped in knowledge of philosophy, history, classic literature, theology, the Church Fathers, and the Bible, he labored as priest and preacher for seven studious, growing, and fruitful years. His career as a preacher falls into three periods:[16] (1) These seven years (1652-1659) at Metz, the period of youth and development; (2) the ten years (1659-1669) which he spent as court preacher at Paris, the period of maturity and oratorical fame; (3) the remainder of his life (1669-1704), during the first part of which he remained in Paris as instructor of the Dauphin and preached comparatively little; but after 1682, as bishop of Meaux, he devoted himself to the affairs of his diocese and preached a great deal, no longer as court preacher, but as Christian pastor.

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[13] The histories of France and of French literature, the histories of preaching and oratory, with numerous critical treatises and special works, all give much attention to Bossuet. See Christlieb-Schian, Hering, Articles in *RE*, Zanotto, Broadus, Pattison, James, Wilkinson, Fish, and the Warner *Library*, previously mentioned; Didot's edition of the *Oeuvres de Bossuet*, and an edition (undated, but recent) published by Garnier Frères, Paris, of the *Oraisons Funèbres et Panégyriques;* E. Gandar, *Bossuet Orateur;* Stapfer, *La Grande Prédication*, etc.; Maury, p. 78, *et passim;* Hurel, I, p. 180 ss.; Ste.-Beuve, *C. de L.*, tom. X, p. 145 ss.

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[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

Bossuet entered upon the second of these periods at a fortunate time for his success and fame. Mazarin was nearing his end (1661) and the young king was just entering on his own period of greatest glory. The preacher was already famous in Paris, not only for his youthful triumphs as a student, but also by reason of occasional visits and sermons at the capital during his work at Metz. He preached before the king and court as occasion required, and in various churches of Paris. Of his celebrated Funeral Orations a few of the less valued had already been given at Metz, and some of the more notable were to fall within the last period, but along with some others the two which are commonly considered his masterpieces were delivered in the middle period. These were the orations over Henrietta Maria, the unhappy widow of Charles I of England and sister of Henry IV of France, and her equally unhappy daughter, Henrietta, duchess of Orleans. These magnificent discourses placed the oratorical reputation of Bossuet upon a height secure and enduring, among the very noblest achievements of human eloquence.

The third and last period of Bossuet's work as a preacher began with his appointment in 1669 as bishop of Condom—a diocese remote from Paris and near the Pyrenees. This seems to have been more of an honorary elevation than a real one, as it does not appear that Bossuet ever lived in his diocese, for he resigned it the very

[16] Preface to *Oraisons Funèbres*, p. vi.

next year on his appointment as instructor to the Dauphin, the heir-apparent to the throne. During his incumbency of this office Bossuet wrote for his royal pupil his famous *Universal History*, as well as some other treatises. His writing and teaching occupied most of his time, and he does not appear to have preached very often. But on the conclusion of his term of service—which certainly came to no signal results—his fidelity at least and his other distinguished merits were recognized by the king in his elevation in 1682 to the bishopric of Meaux, a town only some twenty-five miles from Paris. He loved his charge, and was active and earnest in the performance of his episcopal duties. His preaching took on a new phase, or rather reverted to the pastoral method. He preached simply and plainly to the people from mere outlines. Only sketches of these sermons remain, but they are highly prized as specimens of Bossuet's more truly religious and gospel preaching. They show the same admirable outlines, orderly progress, and vivid style that appear in his more elaborate productions, but lack of necessity the grandeur and eloquence of the Orations. Yet it was during this last period that Bossuet, to whom now the nickname "the eagle of Meaux" was given, pronounced three of his great Orations—that for the duchess Anne of Gonzaga (a sufficiently difficult task!), that for Michel Letellier, and that last and in many respects greatest of them all, the one for the prince of Condé. This splendid effort closed that part of his work, and the rest of his life was given to his diocese. He died and lies buried at Meaux, the center of his last labors, resting in the cathedral that he loved.

Bossuet the man appeals less to us than Bossuet the orator. His wonderful gifts and equipment and many admirable traits of character can not be denied, but on the whole he is less winsome than commanding. He was an acute and powerful but not fair controversialist, and though not rude, apt to be overbearing. His early work at Metz, where he came in conflict with various sects of Protestants, with infidels and Jews, sharpened both his wits and his temper in controversy. His *Variations of Protestantism* is certainly one of the ablest and most effective of polemics. His devotion to Romanism and royalty, as well as his patriotism, unfitted him to deal judicially with English affairs. And so his vigorous attacks upon Luther and Cromwell display the splendid powers of the partisan orator and not the balanced analysis of the historical critic. In his famous debate with Claude, the Protestant preacher, his haughty unfairness was open to just exceptions. Also Bossuet's controversies within the pale of his own church brought him more success than esteem. By his stout defense of the "Gallican liberties" and the prerogative of his king as against the Vatican he is supposed to have missed the cardinalate or other high preferment, to which his eminent talents and services would seem to have entitled him. In his controversy with the saintly Fénelon over the latter's Quietism (mysticism) Bossuet gained his point, and his friend was forced to recant some of his expressed opinions; but the temper and method of the two show decidedly to the advantage of Fénelon.

That tendency of the age to flatter the great, and especially Louis XIV, on which comment has already been made, finds only too frequent place in Bossuet's orations. It exceeds the bounds of truth, and even of good taste; and with every allowance made for the manners of the time, it is unnecessary and unbecoming in a minister of God's Word to men and kings. Yet it must be said that Bossuet did not cringe; he could flatter, but he was not base. It is related that in regard to his dispute with Fénelon, the king asked him, "What would you have done had I taken sides with Fénelon against you?" and Bossuet replied, "I should have talked twice as loud." And on another occasion, after Bossuet had in a sermon boldly denounced the theater, Louis tested his candor and courage by asking him in company what he thought of theater-going; and the preacher met the test both bravely and tactfully by answering, "Sire, there are great examples for it, and great reasons against it."

This combination of courage and tact finds some notable illustrations in the funeral discourses. In that for Anne of Gonzaga,[17] for example, princess and duchess and highly connected, it was exceedingly difficult in the presence of royal and noble relatives and other great personages to be even charitably candid without giving offense; and yet, on the other hand, to blink and thereby condone the errors of one whose sins had been notorious was impossible for the Christian preacher. Discounting and dismissing the inevitable flattery of rank and blood, we shall find the skill of the preacher admirable and instructive in its handling of his difficult problem. At the outset let Bossuet have credit for believing, as he doubtless did, in the original sincerity and tested reality of the penitence and conversion of the princess. Whether his auditors then agreed with him, or his readers do now, is beside the mark. It seems impossible for him to have undertaken the task unless he was so convinced; and of this his own words leave no doubt,[18] for in describing her conversion he says: "Thus she passed at once from a profound darkness to a manifest light; the clouds of her spirit are dissipated—miracle as astonishing as that where Jesus Christ caused to fall in an instant from the eyes of converted Saul the kind of scales with which they had been covered. Who then would not cry out at such a sudden change, 'The finger of God is here!' The result does not permit a doubt of it, and the work of grace is recognized in its fruits. . . . The princess Palatine changes entirely in a moment: no attire but simplicity, no ornament but modesty; she shows herself to the world at this time, but it was only to declare to it that she had renounced its vanities. . . . Twelve years of perseverance in the midst of the most difficult tests raised her to an eminent degree of sanctity." On this basis the preacher was free to deal candidly, though respectfully and charitably, with the sins of her previous life; but even then he is tactful enough to employ largely her own language in a written confession, language far stronger than he could have used, but which at the same time condemned her faults and emphasized her penitence. With all this in his mind we can see how the orator could thus open his discourse:[19] "I would that all souls far off from God, all those who persuade themselves that one can not conquer himself nor maintain his constancy amid combats and sorrows, all those in fine who despair of their conversion or of their perseverance, were present at this assembly. This discourse would make them know that a soul believing in divine grace, in spite of the most invincible obstacles, lifts itself to the most eminent perfection. The princess to whom we render the last duties, in reciting according to her custom the divine office, read the words of Isaiah which I have quoted. How fine it is to meditate upon Holy Scripture; and how well God knows therein to speak, not only to all the church, but also to each believer according to his needs! While she was meditating upon these words (it is she herself who relates it in an admirable letter), God impressed upon her heart that it was she to whom He was addressing them. She believed she heard a sweet and paternal voice which said to her: 'I have recalled thee from the ends of the earth, from the farthest places, from the crooked ways where thou wast losing thyself, left to thine own judgment, so far from the celestial country and from the true way, which is Jesus Christ. While thou wast saying in thy rebellious heart, "I can not subdue myself," I laid My mighty hand on thee and said to thee, "Thou art My servant; I have chosen thee from eternity; and I have not cast away thy proud and disdainful heart."' You see with what words God made her feel the state from whence He drew hear; but hear how He encourages her amid the harsh tests to which He puts her patience: 'Fear not in the midst of the evils by which thou feelest overwhelmed, because I am thy God who strengtheneth thee; turn thee not from the way whither I lead thee, since I am with thee.' . . . Come now, ye sinners, whoever you are, in whatever far-off regions the tempest of your passions has hurled you, were you even in those dark lands of which the Scripture speaks, and in the shadow of death; if there is left to you any pity for your unhappy soul, come see whence the hand of God has drawn the Princess Anne, come see where the hand of God has lifted her. . . . You, then, who gather in this holy place, and chiefly you, O sinners, whose conversion He awaits with such long patience, harden not your hearts, do not believe that it will be permitted to you to bring to this discourse only curious ears. You shall be stripped of all the vain excuses with which you cover your impenitence. Either the princess Palatine will bring the light to your eyes, or she will make fall, as a deluge of fire, the vengeance of God upon your heads. My discourse, of which you perhaps believe yourselves to be the judges, will judge you at the last day; it will be a new burden upon you, as the prophets said, 'the burden of the word of the Lord on Israel;' and if you go not hence more Christian, you will be more guilty. Let us begin, then, with confidence the work of God. Let us learn before all things not to be dazzled by good fortune, which does not satisfy the heart of man, nor by fine qualities which do not make it better, nor by virtues (of which hell is full!) which nourish sin and impenitence, and which prevent the salutary horror which the sinful soul should have of itself." These extracts from the fine exordium, which is too long to be quoted entire, in some degree at least illustrate Bossuet's method of handling with both delicacy and boldness an unusually difficult situation.

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[17] *Oraisons Funèbres,* p. 104 ss.; Warner Lib., Vol. IV, p. 2216.

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[18] *Op. cit.,* pp. 125, 128, 129.

[19] *Op. cit.,* pp. 104-107. The text announced is Isa. 41:9, 10, which Bossuet renders from the Vulgate thus: "I have taken thee by the hand to bring thee back from the ends of the earth: I have called thee from the furthest places; I have chosen thee, and I have not rejected thee; fear not, for I am with thee."

In the three greatest of his funeral discourses—those on Henrietta-Maria, Henrietta of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé[20]—the superb oratory of Bossuet appears at its best, "the eagle of Meaux" soars highest. All the deepest feelings, loyalties, convictions of the orator were stirred to their depths; all his felicity of language, height of imagination, splendor of thought were used to their utmost power; pathos, force, sublimity of utterance take the reader captive. What must it have been to hear them! A fine and commanding presence, a piercing eye, faultless action, and a voice resonant, clear, powerful, and yet under perfect control—all these, and the subjects, the occasions, the audiences, combined to make these three deliverances immortal in the history of preaching.

[20] Fish, *Masterpieces*, etc., II, p. 23 ff.; and *The World's Great Sermons*, III, 85 ff., give translations of this great oration. Both translations are very faulty, and the latter—it is to be regretted—omits large portions without even indicating the omissions, thus spoiling the symmetry of the oration. Cardinal Maury, *Principes de l'Éloquence*, p. 80, is in my judgment correct in considering the Oration on Condé the masterpiece of Bossuet's oratory.

Jules Mascaron (1634-1703)[21] is the least known of the group, but he enjoyed a great reputation in his own time, even among the great ones. He was a priest of the Oratory, sometimes court preacher, and so popular as to draw great crowds wherever he preached. He was made bishop of Tulle in 1671, and of Agen in 1679. He also gave funeral orations, some of which were much admired. Feugère says regarding him: "It is to be regretted that the sermons of Mascaron are lost. Mascaron should not be placed in the same line as Bourdaloue or Massillon. . . . Madame de Sévigné has praised him beyond reason, and yet not without reason. . . . He is an orator of the second order, but who sometimes rises to the height of the greater ones." It is related of him (not Bourdaloue,[22] as is sometimes done) that on one occasion in preaching before the king and court he bore down so pointedly upon their sins that the courtiers winced and complained to Louis, who was in one of his better moods, and said, "Gentlemen, the preacher has only done his duty; it is for us to do ours."

Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1704)[23] is undoubtedly one of the greatest preachers of all history. He has not the sublimity nor the beauty of Bossuet, and not the sweetness nor the felicity of Massillon, but for strength and earnestness of thought he is their peer and more than their peer; less the orator and more the prophet than either. The Roman Catholic doctrines of his discourses must be allowed for—he was a priest and a Jesuit, orthodox and strong. The extreme length and fullness of his sermons was a fault he shared with all his great contemporaries—Italian, German, English, as well as his own countrymen; it was a fashion of the age. On the other hand, the universal elements of the Christian doctrine and morals are firmly held and powerfully presented, and in those long and sometimes heavy and wearisome discourses there are passages of tremendous power. So overwhelming was his assault upon the conscience through the reason that the great general, Condé, as is reported, once said on seeing him enter the pulpit, "*Silence, voici l'ennemi* (Hush, here comes the enemy!)" And a gruffer soldier, an old marshal, forgetful of proprieties and carried by storm by the preacher's appeals, capitulated aloud thus, "Zounds, he 's right!"[24]

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[21] Zanotto, p. 308; Hering, SS. 139, 142; Hurel, I, p. 110; Feugère, *Bourdaloue, sa Prédication,* etc., p. 165; some sermons reported to be his are preserved in Migne's *Collection Intégrale,* etc., but they are probably of doubtful authenticity.

[22] Even Broadus fell into this slight error, being misled by Feugère, whose reference is ambiguous.

[23] Feugère, *Bourdaloue, sa Prédication et son Temps;* Bungener, *The Preacher and the King, or Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis XIV; Oeuvres de Bourdaloue;* Fish, *Masterpieces,* II, 46 ff.; *World's Sermons,* II, p. 108 (same editorial fault as in case of Bossuet); Broadus, *op. cit.,* p. 163 ff., and some of the other authorities mentioned before.

Bourdaloue was born in August, 1632, at Bourges, where his father was a highly esteemed lawyer. The legal atmosphere in which the boy grew up no doubt trained and directed his native faculty for close discrimination and reasoning. The moral and religious training of the lad was the care of an intelligent and devoted Christian mother, who lived long enough to enjoy her son's success and renown, dying at a great age only a short time before he did. There was at Bourges a Jesuit college of no little distinction—the very one where Louis de Bourbon, afterwards the great Condé, was educated. Here young Bourdaloue received his college training. His aptitude for mathematics was marked, also for philosophy. He desired to become a Jesuit. Being an only son, it is natural that his father should have opposed his entering the priesthood. Louis ran away to Paris—only sixteen years old—and applied for the novitiate in a Jesuit monastery. His father went after him and brought him home, but the boy was so firm in his choice that his father finally yielded and took him back to Paris to the monastery. Studying and teaching for some years, Bourdaloue disciplined his powers for his future career.

He was nearly thirty years old when the sickness of an appointed preacher occasioned Bourdaloue's first service in the pulpit as a supply. His success was immediate and brilliant. He was sent to different places to conduct "missions." Crowds gathered. Feugère relates this interesting story:[25] "At Rouen the sermons of Bourdaloue attracted an immense crowd. 'All the workmen quitted their shops to go and hear him, the merchants their business, the lawyers the court, the physicians their sick.' And Father d' Harrouis, who pays Bourdaloue this distinterested testimony, adds with good humor: 'As for me, when I preached there the year after, I put everything in order again: nobody left his business any more.'"

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[24] Feugère, p. 106.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 14; well retold by Broadus, p. 165.

Thus well prepared for what was to be his life work for the thirty-four years appointed for him (1670-1704), Bourdaloue on the retirement of Bossuet in 1669 was called to be court preacher, and began his work with the Lent of the year following. There were intervals during which he was sent out to other places than Paris and Versailles, but it is wonderful testimony to his character as a man and to his power in the pulpit that for a full third of a century he could have been the most frequent as well as the most respected and best beloved preacher at the court of Louis XIV. Some time before the end he begged permission to retire, but it was refused, and he died in the harness in his seventy-second year. Louis XIV told him once that he would rather have him repeat his sermons every two years than to hear others preach new ones.[26] Nor was it preaching alone that occupied his time; carefully as he prepared his sermons, he yet found much else to do. He was much sought after as confessor, passing sometimes from four to six hours a day in the confessional; he spent much time in visiting the sick and preparing the dying for the end. And so when his last illness came he was ready calmly to say, "Now I must do what I have so often preached and counseled to others."

Bourdaloue was held in high esteem as a man of sincerity and purity of character. The enemies he made—and they were few—were only such as could take offense against a brave and true man who rebuked sin by both word and life. His disposition had that fine combination of gayety and sympathy which awoke affection and confidence. As we have seen, the confessional and the sick-bed were the scenes of his power and influence. But he shone in the social circle also, even in that brilliant court of Louis XIV, and the *salons* of the time.

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[26] Feugère, p. 21.

His sympathy and complaisance naturally made him less severe in personal dealing with individuals than he was in rebuking sin in his sermons. One witty lady is credited with the saying, "Father Bourdaloue charges high in the pulpit, but he sells more cheaply in the confessional." But that this was due to sympathy rather than to laxity is both the more probable and the more charitable view. On the other hand, there is good testimony that in dealing with the individual sinner Bourdaloue did not compromise his moral principles. It is believed on good report that he several times refused to absolve the king himself, not seeing in the royal libertine any evident fruits of repentance. Once Louis said to him half jesting, "Father, you should be well pleased with me; Madame de Montespan is at Clagny"—not very far off! But Bourdaloue seriously answered, "Sire, God would be very much better pleased if Clagny were seventy leagues from Versailles." There is no doubt that he sought earnestly and bravely all his life to convert the king and reform the court.

In regard to the preaching of Bourdaloue we are fortunate in having ample resources for forming judgment. These data fall into three groups: (1) The sermons themselves, of which a considerable body remains; (2) the testimony of contemporaries; (3) the opinions of subsequent critics.[27] Taking these in reverse order, we find that criticism, French and foreign, Catholic and Protestant, gives to Bourdaloue an assured place among the great preachers of the world; opinions differ more or less as to some details. The consensus of favorable judgment recognizes the sincerity, earnestness, and spiritual fervor of the man; the high and intense moral quality and aim of the discourses; and the remarkable penetration, force, and skill of the reasoning they display. Differences of opinion and the sum of adverse comment have to do chiefly with details of content, form, and method. The unchristian critic naturally takes issue on many points with the views of the preacher, and the

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[27] All these are fully represented in the literature adduced in previous notes, more especially in the comprehensive study of Feugère, to which I am greatly indebted.

Protestant balks at many of the doctrines advanced and modes of expression employed by the Jesuit theologian, while the non-scholastic modern mind is offended and wearied by the minute division of the matter and tedious prolixity of discussion found in these discourses. The inevitable comparison of Bourdaloue as a preacher with his two great contemporaries and rivals divides opinion. The literary critic, admiring the classic splendors and delightful clarity of Bossuet, and charmed by the smoothness, finish, and beauty of Massillon, at once puts Bourdaloue down as inferior in style, and generally in the art of expression. From the point of view of diction and artistic taste—the merely literary canon—the criticism is doubtless just. But this is not the proper canon for comparing and judging preachers of the Christian gospel, to whom form is (or should be) subordinate and only ministrant to the higher things of content and spirit. The critics who look from this watch-tower give Bourdaloue the first place among the three mighty ones.

In this the judgment of their own generation generally agrees. In the famous letters of Madame de Sévigné,[28] as well as other contemporary literature, the pre-eminence of Bourdaloue as distinctively a preacher is displayed and usually conceded. This, however, seems to have been more evident in comparison with Bossuet than with Massillon, who avowedly chose a different method from either of his great predecessors, partly no doubt just to be different, and partly also to avoid their faults. The formal and bony method of the traditional homiletics, which Bourdaloue did not discard nor so skillfully hide as Bossuet, called forth the strictures of Fénelon, and perhaps of others in that time as well as later. Besides this rhetorical infelicity, Bourdaloue fell into a very serious one in delivery. Absorbed in the reproduction from memory of his long and minutely divided and subdivided sermons, he failed to keep his eyes on his hearers, even closing them sometimes for fear of being thrown off the track by anything he might observe in the audience![29] But despite such drawbacks of method and action, crowds came to hear Bourdaloue, listened with admiring attention to his logical and searching sermons, and carried away—even when they failed to practice them—impressive lessons in Christian truth and duty. Even in that worldly and shameful court his faithful ministry was not without fruit, and in more hopeful fields his sowing was not in vain. Many tempted and sinning ones found in him a spiritual father or moral guide, notwithstanding his own errors and their greater sins.

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[28] These are freely used and quoted by Feugère, *passim*. In one she speaks of his having acquitted himself "divinely well" (p. 13); and in another of "making the courtiers tremble" (id.). A letter from one who hated the Jesuits says (p. 11): "Those good fathers of the Society proclaim him at Paris as an angel come down from heaven."

But it is time to give some notion, however slight, of the sermons of Bourdaloue. Confessedly in style they fall below those of his two competitors; confessedly in structure they overdo the minute analytical method; confessedly they are rather too coldly intellectual and argumentative. This was felt by Madame de Sévigné and others at the time, for in one of her letters[30] she says of his eloquence: "I am charmed with it, I am carried away by it, and yet I feel that my heart is not much warmed by it." This is ever the peril of the logical preacher, and Bourdaloue did not wholly escape it. But the style does not want vigor, clearness, and sometimes beauty and charm; the analysis is thorough, complete, logical, helpful to thought and memory; and in not a few passages the feelings are profoundly stirred.

As an example of Bourdaloue's analytical method Feugère[31] cites what he elsewhere refers to as the "terrible sermon" on Impurity. It was provoked by an atrocious crime in high life, and Bourdaloue could not keep silence before the court. It is a good example of twofold division of the subject-matter: Impurity a sign of reprobation, and the principle of reprobation. "Visible sign of reprobation, because nothing in this life can better represent the state of the reprobate after death; principle of reprobation, because nothing exposes us to more certain danger of falling into the state of the reprobate." The first division is thus subdivided: "Four things perfectly express the state of a reprobate soul after death, and are the consequences of impurity: (1) darkness, (2) disorder, (3) slavery, (4) remorse." Again, the elements of darkness are set forth as (a) forgetfulness of self, (b) forgetfulness of his sin, (c) forgetfulness of God. The other points and the other general division are similarly treated. Each point is developed and proved with a thoroughness and comprehensiveness of treatment that leaves no corner of the subject unexplored. Well might it be called a terrible sermon; and it was timely, courageous, and impressive.

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[29] Feugère (p. 152 ff.) discusses this matter at length and apologetically, though without admitting that Bourdaloue kept his eyes closed during the whole sermon. He also speaks of his good voice, rapid utterance, and attractive manner.

[30] Feugère, p. 151. [31] P. 91 f.

In the great sermon on *The Passion of Jesus Christ,*[32] the text is our Lord's saying to the weeping women of Jerusalem, "Weep not for Me, but for yourselves." Starting with the thought that the Passion of Christ was an event for weeping, he draws the lesson that we should rather weep for ourselves than for Him, *i. e.,* for our sins, for these are more sorrowful even than the passion itself. Having derived his theme in this circuitous and rather erroneous way, he proceeds to discuss the relation of sin to the Passion and analyzes thus:

I. SIN CAUSED THE PASSION. In it we have not only a Divine Sufferer, but a Divine Penitent. Two parts of penitence.

1. Sorrow. In Gethsemane. (1) Not the dread of death; but (2) grief for sin.
2. Satisfaction. On Calvary. (1) How made? He became sin for us. (2) Why made? In Him only a suitable Victim could be found.

II. SIN RENEWS THE PASSION. God does this in the Eucharist; man by his sins. In the same ways now as originally led to it.

1. Betrayed and forsaken by His disciples.
2. Persecuted by priests and ministers.
3. Mocked by Herod's courtiers.
4. Rejected by the populace, who prefer Barabbas.
5. Insulted by hypocritical worshipers.
6. Crucified by merciless executioners.

[32] Fish, II, 46 ff.

III. Sin defeats the Passion. In two ways:

1. Renders it useless. This broke the Saviour's heart and caused His cry of distress.
2. Renders it even deadly. (1) As to the Jews by their rejection, so to us by ours. (2) Adds to condemnation and justifies eternal punishment. (3) The blood which cleanses the saint befouls the sinner in the sight of God.—Suitable application made all along, and in conclusion.

Passing by errors of intepretation and doctrine, this is a very powerful analysis and presentation of the searching and sad theme. In the sermon are some very striking passages. In making application of his view that Christ in Gethsemane sorrowed chiefly for the sin He was bearing for men, he says:[33] "Behold, Christians, what I call the Passion of Christ, and what formed the first scene of His suffering! Is it thus that we consider sin? And does the sorrow that we feel on account of it produce in us proportionably like effects? Let us now enter into the secrets of our conscience; and, profiting by the model which God proposes to us, let us see if our dispositions, in the exercise of Christian penitence, have at least that just measure which must give it validity. Is it thus, I say, that we consider sin? Do we conceive the same horror of it? Do we lose tranquillity of soul in it? Are we agitated and grieved at it? Is this sin, by the idea which we form of it, a punishment to us as it was to Jesus Christ? Do we, like Jesus Christ, fear it more than all the evils in the world? Does it bring us by remorse for it into a kind of agony? Ah! my brethren, cries St. Chrysostom, touched with this comparison, behold the great disorder with which we have to reproach ourselves, and on account of which we must eternally weep over ourselves. A God-man is troubled at the sight of our sin, and we are tranquil; He is afflicted by it, and we are unmoved; He is humbled for it, and we are bold; He sweats even streams of blood, and we shed not one tear; this is what should terrify us. We sin, and far from being sorrowful even unto death, perhaps after the sin do we still insult

[33] Fish, II, p. 50 f.

the justice and providence of our God, and do we not say within ourselves, like the ungodly, 'I have sinned and what evil has happened to me?' Am I less at my ease on account of it? Am I of less consideration in the world? Does it diminish my credit and authority? Hence that false peace so directly opposed to the agony of the Son of God; that peace which we enjoy in the most frightful condition, which is a state of sin. Although the enemies of God, we do not allow ourselves merely to appear satisfied. Not only do we affect to be so, but we are capable of being so in reality, even so as to be able to dissipate ourselves and run into the frivolous joys of the age. Reprobate peace, which can only proceed from the hardness of our hearts. Peace a thousand times more sad than all the other punishments of sin, and in some respects worse than sin itself!"

In developing the point that Christ was mocked by the courtiers of Herod, and is continually mocked by those in the courts of even Christian princes, Bourdaloue delivers some telling blows, with as much force as courage, to the king and courtiers to whom he was speaking. In another sermon—on a *Perverted Conscience*[34]—he also strikes at the court life, as follows: "I have said more particularly that in the world in which you live—I mean the court—the disease of a perverted conscience is far more common, and far more difficult to be avoided; and I am sure that in this you will agree with me. For it is at the court that the passions bear sway, that desires are more ardent, that self-interest is keener, and that, by infallible consequence, self-blinding is more easy; and consciences, even the most enlightened and the most upright, become gradually perverted. It is at the court that the goddess of the world, I mean fortune, exercises over the minds of men, and in consequence over their consciences, a more absolute dominion. It is at the court that the aim to maintain one's self, the fear of displeasing, the desire of making one's self agreeable, produce consciences which anywhere else would pass for monstrous, but which, finding themselves there authorized by custom, seem to have acquired a right of possession and of prescription. People, from living at court, and from no other cause than having lived there, are filled with these errors. Whatever uprightness of conscience they may have brought thither, by breathing its air and by hearing its language they are habituated to iniquity, they come to have less horror of vice, and after having long blamed it, a thousand times condemned it, they at last behold it with a more favorable eye, tolerate it, excuse it; that is to say, without observing what is happening, they make over their consciences, and, by insensible steps, from Christian, which they were, by little and little become quite worldly, and not far from pagan."

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[34] Wilkinson, *French Classics in English*, p. 144.

Esprit Fléchier (1632-1710) has an assured place among the pulpit orators of the great epoch in which he lived. He was born at Pernes in the south of France, and with the exception of his sojourn in Paris, his life and labors were chiefly spent in that part of the country where also he died, at Montpellier. He was educated at Avignon and completed his academic studies at a very early age. While at school he gave special attention to the study of eloquence, and taught rhetoric for a while at Narbonne. He came to Paris in 1661 and became a catechist in one of the parishes of the city, spending also some time in teaching in various capacities. He gradually attracted attention by his preaching talents, especially excelling in funeral orations, of which he preached quite a number. Louis XIV recognized his worth and gave him various ecclesiastical promotions, till finally, in 1687, he was made bishop of Nimes, and spent the remainder of his life in that diocese. This included Languedoc, which contained many Protestants. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes two years previously made Fléchier's work in this region exceedingly difficult; but he was a man of gentle spirit and kindly disposition. He won the respect and even affection of the people, and died seriously regretted by all.

As an orator he was of the same type as Bossuet, but falls far below him in genius and skill. His orations were too evidently studied, with their carefully balanced periods and set phrases. Feugère[35] says of him that he was an "excellent writer, one of those who have best known the resources of language. He conceals under a form too carefully worked out a basis quite poor which smacks neither of simplicity nor naturalness, and he was the Balzac of the pulpit; the cadence of his phrases, the studious balancing of his periods betray the rhetorician. . . . He perpetually commits the fault of confounding sacred eloquence with the academic kind." This criticism, though severe, is not without justice. Fléchier's greatest oration was that on Marshal Turenne, delivered five months after the death of that great general. It produced a profound impression and is really a worthy performance, though exhibiting the faults already pointed out.[36] One of the best paragraphs will give a fair sample of his manner: "Let us then, messieurs, derive from our sorrows motives for penitence, and seek only in the piety of that man, true and substantial consolation. Citizens, strangers, enemies, nations, kings, and emperors mourn and revere him. Yet what can all this contribute to his real happiness? His king even, and such a king, honors him with his regrets and tears—a noble and precious mark of affection and esteem for a subject, but useless to a Christian. He shall live, I acknowledge, in the minds and memories of men, but the Scripture teaches us that the thoughts of man, and man himself, are but vanity. A magnificent tomb may inclose his sad remains; but he shall rise again from that superb monument, not to be praised for his heroic exploits, but to be judged according to his work, whether good or bad. His ashes shall mingle with those of the numerous kings who governed the kingdom which he so generously defended; but, after all, what remains under those precious marbles, either to him or to them, of human applause, the pomp of courts, or the splendor of fortune, but an eternal silence, a frightful solitude, and a terrible expectation of the judgment of God? Let the world, then, honor as it will the glory of man, God only is the recompense of faithful Christians."

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[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 164. See also a judicious estimate by Hurel, tom. II, p. 85 ss.

One of the best known and worthiest names in the history of French literature and religion is that of the pious and beloved François Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651-1715).[37] He came of an old aristocratic family of the region formerly known as Périgord in the southwest of France. His remarkable talents and beautiful character already appeared in his youth. He was carefully educated and trained for the priesthood in the schools at Cahors and Paris, but his private studies and meditations were the main sources of his culture. In his twenty-fourth year he was ordained a priest and gave himself heartily to his work, chiefly in connection with the parish of St. Sulpice in Paris.

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[36] See Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 70 ff.

Fénelon's preaching was heard with pleasure and profit, but as he did not commonly write and preserve his sermons, only a few[38] remain as specimens of his pulpit work. It is as teacher, writer, and prelate, and above all as a devout and saintly man, that Fénelon is best known. The sermon on *Prayer* is commonplace, indeed almost tame; but it is full of good sense and of deep spirituality. Yet the traditions of Fénelon's preaching represent him as impressive and moving, though neither with Bossuet's soaring eloquence nor Bourdaloue's logical power. His views of preaching are given in his famous *Dialogues on Eloquence.* This book was written in his early manhood, and some of its opinions and expressions would doubtless have been modified had he revised it in later life; but on the whole it must be regarded as containing Fénelon's best thought on eloquence, especially preaching.

There are three interlocutors. A represents the views of the author, and does most of the talking; B is the learner with wrong views on many points, but willing to be taught, and finally accepting A's views; C is the interested listener who puts in occasionally with suggestions and side remarks, but in the main agrees with A. There are three dialogues. The first discredits the eloquence of which the aim is display or entertainment, and defends the view that the true aim of eloquence is to instruct the intelligence and improve the morals of the hearers. This is pre-eminently the aim of preaching. This was the better theory and practice even of the ancient rhetoricians and orators. The second dialogue shows that in order to reach this end the orator must prove, picture, and move (*prouver, peindre, toucher*), that is, appeal to the reason, the imagination, the feelings. Now for these purposes the extemporaneous delivery is best, of course after previous study. One should, however, avoid useless and catchy ornaments, and an extravagant and boisterous delivery.[39] The third dialogue discusses the interpretation of Scripture. Here Fénelon shows that the Bible itself gives examples and models for the Christian preacher. In this part he follows Augustine's treatise *On Christian Teaching* pretty closely, except that he discards the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture. Finally, he discusses panegyrics, which should conform to the principles laid down, and concludes with a quotation from Jerome: "Be not a declaimer, but a true teacher of the mysteries of God."

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[37] Most of the authorities previously referred to, especially Maury, *passim*, and the *Éloge*, p. 379; and Ste.-Beuve, X, 16 ss.; good article by Lechler in *RE;* and a delightful account and apprciation by Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 158 ff. Sermon (rather an essay) on *Prayer* in Fish, II, p. 97, reprinted in *World's Great Sermons*, II, p. 203 ff., apparently entire. Perhaps the best completed edition of Fénelon's *Oeuvres* is that of St. Sulpice, 1843; various separate editions of the *Dialogues sur l'Éloquence*, both in the original and translation, are to be found.

[38] The homiletical remains of Fénelon are found in Vol. II of the *Oeuvres*, p. 520 ss. They consist of ten sermons, including the *Panegyrics*, three "talks" (*entrétiens*, including that on *Prayer*), and eighteen short and simple plans of sermons.

We can not here follow at length the life of Fénelon—his admirable teaching of young girls, and later his wonderful success with the grandson of Louis XIV, his appointment as archbishop of Cambrai, his mistreatment by Bossuet and Louis in the controversy over Quietism, his conciliatory demeanor toward the Protestants, his activity in benevolent deeds, his peaceful death. Well says Professor Wilkinson:[40] "Fénelon was an eloquent preacher as well as an elegant writer. His influence exerted in both the two functions, that of the writer and that of the preacher, was powerfully felt in favor of the freedom of nature in style as against the conventionality of culture and art. . . . Few wiser words have ever been spoken on the subject of oratory than are to be found in his *Dialogues on Eloquence*. . . . Fénelon, as priest, was something more than professional preacher, pastor, theologian. He was a devout soul, the subject of a transcendent Christian experience, even verging on mysticism."

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[39] On this the author remarks with as much grace as wit: "Rien ne me semble si choquant et si absurde que de voir un homme qui se tourmente pour me dire des choses froides; pendant qu' il sue, il me glace le sang."

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 176 f.

The last of this great group of French Catholic orators was Jean Baptiste Massillon (1663-1742).[41] It is true that his long life extended nearly to the middle of the eighteenth century, but long before its close he had retired from Paris and the court, and he so evidently belongs to the group we have been studying that the discussion could not be complete without including him.

The story of Massillon's comparatively uneventful life is quickly told. He came of humbler origin than his great predecessors, though like Bossuet and Bourdaloue, he had a lawyer for his father. His birthplace was the town of Hières in the sunny south of France, the famed Riviera, east of Marseilles. His engaging disposition and brilliant talents attracted and retained admiration. He was trained in the college of the Oratorians at Hières, and became a priest of that order. Though a born orator, and from his childhood given to declaiming and speaking, he was modest and reluctant at first about preaching. His superiors and friends almost forced him to begin his great career at Paris in 1696, as head of one of the schools of his order. This involved frequent opportunities to preach, both at Paris and elsewhere. His success was assured from the beginning. Crowds flocked to hear him. In 1699 he preached before the king and court at Paris and Versailles. Then from 1701 to 1704 he preached the Lenten

[41] Much the same authorities as before; *Oeuvres Choisies de Massillon* (especially both the *Grand* and the *Petit Carême*); Maury, p. 164 ss.; a study by F. Godefroy, prefixed to Garnier's ed. of the *Oeuvres;* Hurel, II, p. 191 ss.; Ste.-Beuve, IX, p. 1 ss.; Art. by Schmidt in *RE;* sermon on *The Small Number of the Elect* in Fish, II, 138 ff.; reprinted in *World's Great Sermons*, III, p. 3 ff.; a particularly good discussion and several well-chosen and well translated extracts by J. F. Bingham in Warner's *Library*, XVII, p. 9780 ff.

sermons before the king. This series is known as his *Grand Carême* (Great Lent), and includes his most important sermons. In 1715 Massillon preached his world-renowned funeral sermon over Louis XIV. Two years later he was made bishop of Clermont, and in 1718 he was called to preach the Lenten sermons before Louis XV, great-grandson of Louis XIV, and now a boy of eight or nine years. This series of sermons is called the *Petit Carême* (Little Lent), so named from the brevity of the discourses and the fact that they were addressed primarily to a child, though of course in presence of the court and congregation. After this Massillon lived and worked in his diocese at Clermont, as Bossuet had done at Meaux, till he died at the advanced age of eighty years.

Massillon, like Bourdaloue, was great and remains eminent in his sermons chiefly. Bossuet and Fénelon gained distinction in other fields, including literature; but Massillon's sermons *are* literature. It is said that Voltaire kept a volume of them on his table that by frequent reading he might improve his own style. But, exquisite as it is, the style of these sermons is not their chief merit; in fact, it is so faultless as to be almost a demerit, as just such use of them as Voltaire's, the unanimous and unstinted praise of literary critics, and the delight of any reader appreciative of consummate art in diction, combine to show. Nor is their content so out of the ordinary range of contemporary Catholic orthodoxy as to awaken remark. The fundamentals of Christian doctrine and morals with the current and accepted Romanist teaching and tone, are the staple of thought. The peculiar power of Massillon's discourses lies in two things: the spirit which animates and characterizes them, and the method as a whole—not literary style only—in which they present accepted truth. Massillon avowedly chose a different line from the oratorical art of Fléchier and Bossuet and the analytical dialectic of Bourdaloue. On hearing some of these masters soon after coming to Paris, he said to a friend, "I feel their intellectual force, I recognize their great talents, but if I preach, I shall not preach like them."[42] As has been already pointed out, the spirit of Massillon's preaching was that of tender and intelligent appeal to the sentiments, rather than to imagination and reason; and the method was that of skillful adaptation of form to end, the persuasive quality of fitness. In him as much as in any orator is found the exemplification of Matthew Arnold's famous requirement of sweetness and light. But the light keeps the sweetness from cloying upon the taste. Massillon's was clear and trained intelligence; his breadth of culture and sobriety of judgment are apparent in his work, and his knowledge of human nature in general and of his own age in particular is amply in evidence. Some one asked him once how it was that being a priest he knew so much of the sinfulness of mankind, and his answer was at once honest and correct, "From my own heart." To this self-knowledge must be added that which he drew from close and discerning observation, and from the confessional.

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[42] Quoted by Bingham in Warner, *Lib.*, XVII, p. 9782.

The spirit and method which a reader finds in Massillon's discourses came to their hearers heightened and enforced by the personal qualities of the speaker. That nameless power which we vainly strive to express in such futile terms as "magnetism," "unction," "charm," and the like, was his. Aspect, bearing, voice, and gesture, all were pleasing, winsome, and forcible, too, though without any approach to violence. In these respects he was like John Wesley; he did not "tear passion to tatters," but he deeply moved and sometimes electrified his audiences.

Two specially notable instances of this wonderful effect of Massillon's speaking are of record. One was in the exordium of his funeral sermon for Louis XIV. Certainly the occasion and its accompaniments were impressive enough. Could any one rise to them? Massillon did. A great audience filled Notre Dame; the pageantry which had so large a place in the king's life was not wanting at his obsequies; but long before now the vanity of so much pomp had begun to be felt, and the shadows of coming decline and disaster were menacing the realm which the aged and outworn monarch had but just bequeathed to the little grandson of his son. The preacher reverently announced his well-chosen text, Ecclesiastes 1:16, after the Vulgate, "I spoke in my heart, saying, Behold, I have become great, and have advanced in wisdom beyond all who were before me in Jerusalem." Pausing for a moment to let the text make its own solemn impression while he looked with quiet dignity over the scene, and the audience became awed to breathless silence, Massillon said:[43] "God only is great, my brethren; and above all in those last moments when He presides at the death of the kings of the earth. The more their glory and their power have shone forth, the more in vanishing then do they render homage to His supreme greatness; God then appears all that He is, and man is no more at all that which he believed himself to be." The effect was tremendous; not so much, as Professor Wilkinson justly remarks, because the thought was profound or novel, but because it was so eminently true to the feelings of the audience, and so fittingly said.

The other instance is more remarkable still, both in being a double instance and in having no unusual occasion to stimulate and aid the effect. It occurred twice in connection with some sentences near the conclusion of the famous sermon on *The Small Number of the Saved.* The sermon had been delivered with powerful effect elsewhere, and by request was included and repeated in the *Grand Carême* series before the court. It is indeed a masterly effort, as even an imperfect translation shows; but the remarkable thing is that on repeating it, when the preacher came to the passage in question, the second audience though looking for it should, like the first, have been so profoundly moved as to break forth into groans and sobs!

It was on the conclusion of this *Grand Carême* that Louis XIV paid Massillon the striking and oft-quoted compliment: "Father, I have heard in this chapel many great orators, and have been much pleased with them; but whenever I have heard you, I have been displeased with myself."

In the *Petit Carême,* the ten Lenten sermons addressed to the boy-king, Louis XV, all the sweetness and simplicity of style, the engaging manner, and the excellent judgment of Massillon appear. That admirable quality of fitness to audience and occasion never showed to better advantage. Delightful to read, these discourses must have been wonderfully interesting and helpful to those who had the good fortune to hear them. Yet both Maury and Sainte-Beuve after him give to the *Petit Carême* a relatively low place among Massillon's works—Maury hardly considers them oratory at all.

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[43] *Oeuvres de Massillon, l. c.* The original is: Dieu seul est grand, mes frères, et dans ces derniers moments surtout où il préside à la mort des rois de la terre. Plus leur gloire et leur puissance ont éclaté, plus, en s'evanouissant alors, elles rendent hommage a sa grandeur suprême; Dieu paraît tout ce qu'il est, et l'homme n'est plus rien de tout ce qu'il croyait être.

This inadequate discussion of the great French Catholic preachers may fitly conclude with the quotation of a part of the passage above mentioned from the sermon on *The Small Number of the Saved:*[44] "I confine myself to you, my brethren, who are gathered here. I speak no longer to the rest of mankind. I look at you as if you were the only ones on the earth; and here is the thought that seizes me, and that terrifies me. I make the supposition that this is your last hour, and the end of the world; that the heavens are about to open above your heads, that Jesus Christ is to appear in His glory in the midst of this sanctuary, and that you are gathered here only to wait for Him, and as trembling criminals on whom is to be pronounced either a sentence of grace or a decree of eternal death. For, vainly do you flatter yourselves; you will die such in character as you are to-day. All those impulses toward change with which you amuse yourselves, you will amuse yourselves with them down to the bed of death. Such is the experience of all generations. The only thing new you will then find in yourselves will be, perhaps, a reckoning a trifle larger than that which you would to-day have to render; and according to what you would be if you were at this moment to be judged, you may almost determine what will befall you at the termination of your life.

"Now I ask you, and I ask it smitten with terror, not separating in this matter my lot from yours, and putting myself into the same frame of mind into which I desire you to come—I ask you, then, If Jesus Christ were to appear in this sanctuary, in the midst of this assembly, the most illustrious in the world, to pass judgment on us, to draw the dread line of distinction between the goats and the sheep, do you believe that the majority of all of us who are here would be set on His right hand? Do you believe that things would even be equal? Nay, do you believe there would be found so many as the ten righteous men whom anciently the Lord could not find in five whole cities? I put the question to you, but you know not; I know not myself. Thou only, O my God, knowest those that belong to Thee! But if we know not those who belong to Him, at least we know that sinners do not belong to Him. Now, of what classes of persons do the professing Christians in this assembly consist? Titles and dignities must be counted for naught; of these you shall be stripped before Jesus Christ. Who make up this assembly? Sinners in great number, who do not wish to be converted; in still greater number, sinners who would like it, but who put off their conversion; many others who would be converted, only to relapse into sin; finally, a multitude who think they have no need of conversion. You have thus made up the company of the reprobate. Cut off these four classes of sinners from this sacred assembly, for they will be cut off from it at the great day! Stand forth now, you righteous! where are you? Remnant of Israel, pass to the right hand! True wheat of Jesus Christ, disengage yourselves from this chaff, doomed to the fire! O God! where are Thine elect? and what remains there for Thy portion?"

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[44] Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 151 f.

III. The Reformed Pulpit

Twenty-six years of persecution and suffering for the Protestants of France lay between the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 and the decree of toleration of Henry IV in 1598, commonly called, from the place of its promulgation, the Edict of Nantes. Eighty-seven years of comparative peace passed under that beneficent even if incomplete measure of relief, till its fatal revocation under Louis XIV in 1685. Then awoke the horrors of persecution, the *dragonnades,* banishment. Preaching among the Protestants felt the influence of this course of events. The era of toleration under the

Edict, and the first years of exile after the Revocation, mark the highest point to which French Protestant preaching attained, at least until the nineteenth century, and in some particulars without that qualification.

For the study of the Reformed preaching and preachers of this period we are fortunate in having an excellent though posthumous work of that accomplished scholar and critic, Alexandre Vinet, professor at Lausanne early in the nineteenth century.[45] The book contains notices, biographical and critical, of the most important preachers, together with numerous citations from their sermons. This admirable treatment makes superfluous any independent study of the sources, and requires only occasional criticism and supplement.[46]

Vinet declares that in the Reformed Church of the period there were "great theologians, great controversialists, great diplomats, and above all great Christians." While it was true that the men of the highest talent were in the Catholic Church, "at bottom the Protestant Church was richer than its rival. . . . Catholicism outside of the great names had fewer good preachers than Protestantism." The critic candidly admits the literary inferiority of the Reformed preachers, but makes the obvious remark that they had not the advantages of the Catholics for the cultivation of literary taste. "Bossuet said of Calvin, 'His style is sad.' It might have been said of the most of the Reformed preachers. But Calvin is at the same time eloquent, and they are not always that. Their gravity is bare, despoiled of flowers of imagination: nothing in their situation, nothing in their past nor in their future was suited to enliven their style." They also needed to have more theology and polemics in their sermons than the Catholics. This tended to make their discourses heavy, and to reduce to narrower limits their appeals to feeling and conduct. But if these sermons suffered thus in spirituality and beauty, they gained in solidity and strength. To this must be added their Scriptural character, fruit of the Reformation, in which they far excelled those of the Catholic preachers. The Reformed congregations had in them a large proportion of thoughtful hearers who were versed in both the religious questions and the culture of the times, and these required a cultivated ministry. Vinet mentions that one man was deposed because of his lack of culture. On the whole the Reformed preachers were men of vigorous intellects and trained faculties, and if their style lacked literary art and beauty it did not want the solid qualities of clearness and power.

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[45] *Histoire de la Prédication parmi les Réformés de France au dix-septième Siècle,* par A. Vinet, Paris, 1860. The work is carefully edited from the mss. of the author, supplemented and filled out from the notes of the students. Broadus (*op. cit.,* p. 152 ff.) praises and follows this work; and I have the pleasure of using the copy which he read and marked for his own brief but vivid account.

[46] The editors in the preface call attention to several omissions, and sagely remark that those who might deem the harvest of original investigation too laborious could find abundant gleanings in the extracts which the volume contains—a remark which I gratefully endorse!

The preachers fall into an earlier and a later group, and—as was to be expected—those of the later paid more attention to literary finish than those of the earlier group. We shall do well to follow the order as well as the grouping of Vinet in the condensed account which follows.

Pierre du Moulin (1568-1658) is the first to be considered. He was born in Normandy, but received a large part of his education in England. After teaching several years as professor of philosophy at Leyden, he settled as pastor of a church in Paris, at the same time serving for a while as chaplain to the princess Catherine of Bourbon, a Protestant sister of Henry IV. Recognized as a leader among his people, and being familiar with the English language and affairs, he was called by James I to England to advise upon some scheme that monarch had for effecting a union of the Reformed and English Protestants. Later (about 1620) Du Moulin tried to enlist the active efforts of the English king on behalf of the persecuted Protestants of the Palatinate, and his correspondence falling into the hands of the French Government, was regarded as treasonable. Du Moulin saved himself by flight, taking refuge with the Duke de Bouillon at Sedan, which at that time was not French territory. Here he served both as professor of theology and as preacher for the rest of his life, dying at the advanced age of ninety years. His long life was crowned with a noble death. He kept his faculties to the end and, not wishing to die unconscious, he would say to his attendants now and then, "Awaken me, awaken me!" On which Vinet remarks,[47] "An emperor (Vespasian) wishes to die erect, a Christian wishes to die alive."

Du Moulin was a strong theologian and controversialist. The Catholics regarded him as their chief opponent, and long after his death even Fénelon thought it worth while to reply to one of his doctrinal works. But his writings were of a temporary sort, though serviceable in their time. During his long career at Sedan Du Moulin published ten "decades" (series of ten) sermons. One of these sets is dedicated to his three sons, two of whom were preachers, and after saying that he felt it his duty to write them some affectionate counsel so as to keep on speaking to them after his death, he pays this gentle tribute to his wife: "You are children of a mother who was a rare example of piety, of zeal, and of charity toward the poor. She lived as it is proper to die." He gives his sons judicious advice as to preaching and pastoral work, saying among other things:[48] "By serious and careful study endeavor to acquire the knowledge which is necessary to you. . . . The gifts of God ought not to be the cause of negligence. We are in a time in which great knowledge is requisite, and in which the adversaries will not leave us without exercise. God no longer uses the jawbone of an ass to conquer His adversaries." He cautions against the over-use of ornament in speech, urging straightforward simplicity. No doubt warned by his own past experience, he advises them not to meddle with political affairs, but to give themselves wholly to their proper work.

As a preacher Du Moulin was strong, simple, direct. The critic says:[49] "His sermons do not affect the form which had been used formerly. He does not preach, he talks. His plans are not learned, but very simple and little varied. He does not seek the art of multiplying or extending the matter by a subtle analysis; a talk, serious but familiar, of a father with his son would not be otherwise ordered." The extracts quoted show Du Moulin as a solid thinker, without much of originality or profundity of ideas; as a live and vigorous speaker, vivid and clear, using illustrations and language often inelegant but strong, not an orator of the highest rank, but a virile and effective talker in his own age. Here and there occur passages of real beauty and strength. Here is an example:[50] "It is proper to consider the place where we are, namely, the house of God, where He communicates with us and informs us of His will: a place which the angels surround, which the world hates, which the devils encircle as wolves around the sheepfold of the Lord." Another, where, speaking of the death of Jesus, he says: "In His death He left His money to Judas, His body to the earth, and His soul to His Father, to teach us to have in dying less care for our money and our burial than for the salvation of our souls."

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[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 49. [48] *Op. cit.*, p. 16 s. [49] *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

Michel le Faucheur (1585-1658) was a native of Geneva, where no doubt he received his education. His works show a well-trained and well-stored mind. He was pastor first at Annonay and then at Montpellier. Afterwards he was called to Paris, where he served some years before his death at the age of seventy-two.

Faucheur wrote a treatise on oratory, which shows sound knowledge and good sense. But he was known almost wholly by his preaching. He was heard with enthusiasm and made a great reputation. A number of sermons and sketches were published after his death. The analyses and extracts given by Vinet show that Faucheur, while not of the highest grade as an orator, was an admirable preacher. His sermons are, after the Genevan plan, almost wholly textual and expository; and both outline and exposition are clear, usually just and natural, and sometimes very striking. His style is better than Du Moulin's, somewhat more diffuse, but rapid, flowing, nervous. Imagery is infrequent, but illustrations are used happily. Controversy is vigorous, and the main doctrines of the Reformation are presented with force. The thought is eminently Biblical, the application sound and edifying.

Jean Mestrezat (1592-1657) was also born and edu-

[50] Vinet, p. 40.

cated at Geneva, and died as pastor in Paris about the same time as Faucheur. He had a brilliant mind and remarkably early development. At eighteen he taught philosophy at the Reformed college at Saumur, and was called thence very young, on the strength of one hearing, to be pastor at Charenton, that suburb of Paris which had been granted in 1606 as a place of worship for the Protestants, and was destined to have a distinguished line of pastors. The young Mestrezat sustained well the first impressions he made, and through life was noted for his courage and skill as a preacher of the Word.

The passages and analyses quoted from Mestrezat by Vinet sustain his criticisms. These are to the effect that Mestrezat had little of the oratorical faculty, less than either Du Moulin or Faucheur. The style is dry, and the treatment minutely exegetical and analytical. There is little application, less imagination, no pathos. His remarkable popularity and sustained influence are to be explained by the taste of his audiences—brought over from Reformation times and not yet declined—for such minute and forceful exposition of Scripture as Mestrezat knew well how to give. Then one imagines there must have been more of moving and impressive quality in the delivery of the sermons than appears in the printed discourses.

Jean Daillé (1594-1670) was born of good family at Châtelhérault. On completing his education he became tutor to two grandsons of the celebrated Duplessis-Mornay, and accompanied them for two years during a tour of almost all Europe. On his return he became for a while chaplain to his distinguished patron, on whose death he became pastor at Saumur. In 1626 he was called to be one of the pastors at Charenton, where he served for forty-four years, that is, till his death in 1670. He was a man of might in controversy, being regarded as the successor to Du Moulin in this respect. In 1632 he published a famous book, *Treatise on the Use of the Holy Fathers,* which subtly and forcibly attacked the authority of the Church Fathers in controversy. Of this book Vinet says:[51] "The novelty and piquancy of the subject; a plan, simple, pleasing; an excellent method;

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[51] *Op. cit.,* p. 184.

a style easy and passably lively without any sharpness, made of this treatise the first truly popular book of controversy."

Daillé was also a preacher of some renown. He published twenty volumes of sermons which, Vinet says, "contain some quite remarkable things." One of these, much praised by a contemporary man of letters, the elder Balzac, discusses the value of the testimony borne by the apostles to the resurrection of Jesus. It is based upon the two arguments: (1) That they did not wish to deceive, and (2) that they were not self-deceived. The arguments are expanded, illustrated, enforced, and applied in a clear, flowing, agreeable style. Daillé was evidently a preacher to compel attention and interest, although not an orator of the highest rank.

Two other preachers of this earlier group are discussed by Vinet: Moise Amyraut (1596-1664), and Raymond Gaches (1615-1668). Amyraut was a theologian and author of a strong book on Christian morals. Skilled as a disputant, he was also a preacher, but carried the methods and spirit of the professor into his pulpit work. He was born at Bourgueil in Touraine, but spent his days as student, professor, and pastor at Saumur. Gaches for a short while served as one of the pastors at Charenton, and while not among the most noted he was distinguished among his brethren for his "fine and joyous imagination which knew how to lay hold of the poetry of Christianity, altogether neglected by his contemporaries. He had also some sensibility, one might almost say unction."[52]

These no doubt are the most important preachers of the earlier school of the Reformed. But there are some, not considered by Vinet, who would have place in a more exhaustive survey, such as Drelincourt—more noted as theologian and disputant than as preacher—and Morus, effective in the pulpit, and pastor at Charenton just before Claude, together with others here and there in France, not so noted, but useful and earnest in their work. But now we must pass on to the later group. Most of these were at the height of their usefulness at the Revocation, and carried—many of them—their gifts and labors into exile.

[52] Vinet, p. 287.

Jean Claude (1619-1687) is one of the great names in French Protestant history. He was born at La Sauvetat, a little town in the south of France, where his father was pastor. The elder Claude was a man of lofty character and solid learning. He paid careful attention to the training of his son, teaching him both literature and theology with great success. Some accounts say that Claude also studied theology at Montauban. Be that as it may, the better part of his education was received at the hands of his father, and by his own diligent lifelong studies. He became pastor of the little church at St. Afrique in the south of France. His pastoral duties there were very light, and this gave him opportunity for study, which he diligently employed. In 1654 he was called to be pastor at Nîmes, where he discharged his duties with fidelity. While there he also taught theology. In 1661 he presided over the provincial Synod of Nîmes, at which a proposal was made for some sort of alliance with the Catholic Church of that region. Of course, this could not have been anything but injurious to the Protestants. Claude declared with firmness that his people could not consent to such an overture without compromising their principles. On account of his stand against the Catholic party, he was forbidden to exercise his ministry further in Languedoc. This was the beginning of Claude's great career of controversy with the Catholics. He went to Paris to see if he could not secure the reversal of this prohibition upon his ministry, but he did not succeed. While in Paris he was engaged in several controversies and published some of his strongest works in defense of the Protestants, including his famous *Defence of the Reformation.* This work brought him great reputation among both Catholics and Protestants. In 1666 Claude became a minister in Paris, and from then on to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, he was the leading figure among his people. It was in this time that he crossed swords with Bossuet. A lady of high birth, who was about to go over to the Catholics, arranged that these two great men should hold a debate at her house. Vinet well says that this was a spectacular performance, but it remains true that Claude acquitted himself remarkably well in this tilt with the greatest debater on the Catholic side. Bossuet himself admitted that he was afraid for those who heard Claude. On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 Claude was banished and received no indulgence, being required to quit the country in twenty-four hours. He withdrew to The Hague, where he lived only two years longer, preaching among the refugees and working as he could for the benefit of his people. Claude was a great man and a noble character.

Leaving out his controversial works and concerning ourselves with Claude's preaching, there are several matters of interest to be noted before discussing his sermons. Vinet well says[53] that Claude marks the transition between the earlier and later method of preaching. As we have seen, the earlier preachers followed the Reformation method of textual analysis and exposition. They did not produce what are called subject sermons. In Claude we find the beginning of the newer method, which deduces a subject from the text and discusses it on its merits. We see also in Claude the introduction of a far more classic and literary style than among his predecessors. From Claude on to Saurin there is a decided heightening of literary and oratorical power in the Protestant preaching. It is interesting to note here the interplay of influences between the Protestant and the Catholic preaching. The good work of the Reformed preachers in the earlier period certainly stirred up the Catholics to better preaching, and the great success of the Catholic orators of the age of Louis XIV in turn provoked their Protestant rivals to practice a better oratorical method. All this is illustrated in Claude, and not only in his discourses, but in his famous *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon.* This little treatise, notwithstanding its faults, had a great vogue in its own time and for years afterwards; translated by Robert Robinson into the English language, it influenced both English and American preachers, and has been one of the most highly prized of Protestant books on homiletics. It has a number of sound suggestions as to the various homiletical details and is especially valuable in suggesting the proper use of the Scriptures in preaching.

In regard to the sermons of Claude, it is to be regretted that only a few have been preserved. In these our critic finds a marked improvement in style over the past, the evident influence of the taste and manner of the age of Louis XIV.[54] As to analysis, Claude seems to have a great preference for the twofold method of division, as several of his sermons show; he does not descend to subtle and minute subdivisions, but there is good logical order and clearness in his outlines. He has not much imagination nor pathos, but there is a tone of earnest sincerity and modest consciousness of both moral and intellectual rectitude. This gives to his discourses an air of dignity and authority not at all offensive, but compelling respect. His diction is accurate, clear, and strong; now and then it approaches the beautiful, but makes no effort to be fine. It is said that he carefully worked over his writing, being studious to secure accuracy and correctness in speech. The examples given from Claude's sermons indicate a high degree of intelligence and of earnest interest in the lives and characters of his hearers. Perhaps the most important and striking of the discourses quoted is that which he gave at the impressive crisis when the Edict of Nantes was about to be revoked; it was the dramatic moment in the history both of Claude himself and of his people. His text was the promise of God to Abraham in Genesis 17:7, 8. The sermon was put into writing after delivery, and some extracts follow: "My beloved brethren, you have asked for this exhortation; I give it to you with all my best wishes; it was conceived in haste and in the greatest distress of my grief, but as I perceived by the torrent of tears which it brought from you that it was blessed, I scrupled in publishing it to make any change. It is not a regular explanation of the text; grief did not suffer art and method. These are movements of my heart, broken with pain, and counsels of which I conjure you to preserve the memory. . . . When I think of the unhappy posterity which will rise in judgment against us,—alas! unhappy children of more unhappy fathers,—but you will have time hereafter to weep; care now for the single moment which remains to you. God is leaving you; this is the plain proof of it; here is the break: 'I will not spare them longer; he that dieth, let him die.' And whither should they go, Lord? 'He who is appointed for death, to death; he who is appointed for famine, to famine; he who is appointed to captivity, to captivity.' . . . You will be without pastors, but you have for pastor the Great Shepherd of the sheep, whom you will hear in His Word. . . . You will have no more a temple, but the Sovereign does not dwell in temples made by hands. . . . Holy family of my Father, dear heritage of my God, sacred flock of my Divine Master, if I do not preach to you in this place I shall gather you in my heart; if I do not bless you from this pulpit I shall bless you in my heart, and there you shall be the main subject of my joy or of my grief. . . . Holy Father, keep them in Thy name! Lord Jesus, permit not the gates of hell to prevail against them! And Thou, Holy Spirit, Author of light and of grace, fill them with consolation and holiness! O our God, let not one sheep perish! O! that we may be able at that great and last day to see them all at the right hand of Jesus Christ, and that they may be our joy and our crown in the day of the Lord! Amen." We can see from these extracts the impassioned and sorrowful character of this farewell discourse. We can follow the aging and overwhelmed pastor as he goes into his exile, heartbroken for his scattered and persecuted people. It was a mournful event in the history of France and of the world.

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[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

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[54] *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

Surely one of the noblest figures in that time of horrors is that of the irreproachable man, faithful pastor, and eloquent orator, Pierre Du Bosc (1623-1692). Du Bosc was born in the famous old town of Bayeux in Normandy, his father being a lawyer of note, who practiced before the courts in Rouen. Pierre was the youngest of thirteen children, and was endowed with excellent gifts of mind and nature, including in marked degree the oratorical temperament. If Claude was the thinker and disputant of his distressed Church at this crisis, Du Bosc was its orator. Vinet[55] quotes the following estimate by the historian Benoit: "He had all the gifts necessary to a Christian orator. He had a mind enlightened by knowledge of literature. He was a good

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 350.

philosopher, solid theologian, judicious critic. He was very well made in person. He had a voice equally agreeable and strong, a very composed bearing, a robust body, vigorous health."

At the age of twenty-three Du Bosc became pastor at Caen, and could never be induced—though often invited and sometimes urgently pressed—to give up his beloved charge for another. He remained till persecution scattered his flock and drove him into exile. He was made to feel the heaviness and bitterness of the Catholic hostility all his life. Though naturally of a sweet nature, and, as controversialists went in those harsh times, a conciliatory and mild disputant, he was made to suffer for his courage in defending his opinions and the rights of his people. Once he was banished to Chalons for six months, and only allowed to return to his flock on the intercession of friends. A notable incident in his career was his appearance before Louis XIV in 1668 to plead against the proposed abolition of certain courts which had been established under the Edict of Nantes for hearing Protestant causes. This was one of the steps toward the overthrow of the Edict itself. The plea was of course unsuccessful, but it remains a choice and beautiful specimen of an eloquence simple, clear, strong, touching, and manly. Like many another great speech that did not gain a verdict, it did not fail for any fault of itself—the case was hopeless, though the orator was not.[56] At first the king was careless, but the eloquence of Du Bosc soon gained and held to the end his marked attention. He promised to look into the matter, but, like many other royal promises, it came to nothing. After adjourning the audience, Louis said to the queen,[57] "Madam, I have just heard the best speaker in my kingdom," and added, to the attendants, "It is certain that I have never heard such good speaking." As Broadus remarks, this was before he had heard Bourdaloue and Massillon, but he had heard Bossuet, Mascaron, and other orators of the time. Persecutions continued and grew worse. The great catastrophe was approaching. A year before the Revocation a process was instituted against Du Bosc and his church which resulted, in June, 1685, in a decree for the demolition of the house of worship and the banishment of the pastors twenty leagues from Caen. Churches of refugees in England, Denmark, and Holland at once called Du Bosc, and he accepted the care of that at Rotterdam, and reached there only a few weeks before the Revocation. Here, worn and broken, he spent the last ten years of his life, to the end a faithful pastor, the eloquent preacher of the Word of Life.

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[56] Vinet gives it entire, p. 354 ff., and I only regret I can not do likewise, for it is—bating the accustomed flattery of Louis—altogether admirable.

[57] Vinet, p. 363; Broadus, p. 171 f.

He who reads the ample and representative quotations which Vinet gives from the sermons of Du Bosc, and compares the eminent critic's judgments with his own impressions, will find in these discourses the sure token of an earnest eloquence, but yet not of the supreme rank. Du Bosc is indeed less artificial than the great Catholics, but he is far below them in all the particulars that made each one of them great; he does not soar as Bossuet, nor searchingly convince as Bourdaloue, nor sweep the feelings as Massillon. His style is limpid in clearness, his exposition is neat and evident, his arrangement is pleasing and lucid, his imagination is fine without grandeur, his illustrations frequent and varied, but not remarkably striking nor always in good taste. In tone and spirit, Scriptural and ethical content, and sincere desire for the good of their hearers, these discourses of Du Bosc hold a deservedly high place in the pulpit literature and history of their time.

The remaining preachers of this later group of the Reformed are exiles. They also pass over into the eighteenth century, but their works and methods showed the impulse and exemplified the spirit of the great age in which they received their training. They are essentially of the seventeenth century, though living beyond it. Only one of them is great—Saurin—but a few others must at least be briefly mentioned.

Isaac Beausobre (1659-1738),[58] born in Niort, and educated at Saumur, early fled to Switzerland, and then to Berlin, where for forty-six years he was the highly esteemed pastor of the French Protestant Church. He was a strong theologian and disputant, and a faithful pastor. His eloquence was much admired.

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[58] Not mentioned by Vinet. Art. in *RE*, II, S. 198.

Jacques Abbadie (1654-1727)[59] was born near Pau, educated at Saumur and Sedan, and early went to Berlin, where, both as preacher and apologist, he won fame and influence. Later he came to London and was pastor of the French refugees there. He attracted the favorable regard of William III, who appointed him to a deanery of the English Church at Killaloe, in Ireland. Abbadie's *Defence of the Christian Religion* was a great book in its time, and his sermons also were highly valued.

Daniel de Superville (1657-1728)[60] was born and educated at Saumur, but also studied at Geneva, under Turrettin. He was a brilliant student and remarkably mature in youth. Pastor for a time at London, he fled at the Revocation to Rotterdam, where, in two different churches, he lived and worked to the end of his life. Abundance, facility, imagination, benevolence, good sense, sound doctrine distinguished his sermons.

By common consent the greatest of the Reformed preachers of this epoch was Jacques Saurin (1677-1730).[61] The name Saurin appears with credit more than once in the literary and civic affairs of France. The father of the preacher was a leading lawyer of scholarly tastes and pronounced Protestantism at Nimes, where Jacques was born eight years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. At that memorable crisis the elder Saurin retired with his family to Geneva, where the promising son prosecuted his studies with the ministry in view. But the ardent youth broke off his studies at the age of seventeen and enlisted in an English regiment in the service of the Duke of Savoy, who was opposing

[59] Art. in *RE*, I, S. 18; Notice and sermon in Fish, II, p. 105.

[60] Vinet, p. 480 ss.; Fish, II, p. 121 ff.

[61] Literature previously mentioned, especially Vinet; and add: Berthault, *J. Saurin et la Prédication Protestante;* art. by Bonnet in *RE; Sermons,* translated by R. Robinson, various edd.; sermon in Fish, II, p. 157 ff. See also some notice of Saurin in the accounts of Dutch preaching given in the works of Hartog and Van Oosterzee. Maury, in his *Principes,* p. 167 ss., gives considerable attention to Saurin, comparing him with Bossuet, but finds him pedantic and heavy. Similar judgment is given by Stapfer in comparing Saurin with Bossuet in his *Grande Prédication Chrétienne,* which I recall from memory.

the French invasion of Piedmont. It is said that Saurin conducted religious work among his fellow-soldiers, and also won the regard of his commander, who made him a color-bearer. Louis XIV found it to his interest to conclude peace with the house of Savoy in 1696, and Saurin returned to his thelogical studies at Geneva, enjoying the instructions of Pictet, J. A. Turrettin, and other notable teachers. There is tradition that Saurin was not the most docile and reverent of pupils, giving some trouble with his self-assertion and questions, till one day one of his professors quoted to him the words of Ecclesiastes: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth . . . and walk in the ways of thy heart and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." The reproof took effect; Saurin became more humble and serious. Before his ordination his speaking gifts were recognized, and "already he was remarked as preacher before he became a minister."

When twenty-three years of age—presumably upon completion of his course of study—Saurin made a journey to England, and was induced to settle in London, as pastor of the Reformed Church, which contained a number of the French refugees. He spent five years as pastor here. Broadus[62] tells us that "here, like a true Protestant, he married a wife.[63] Yet, though a real love affair, this union did not turn out very well. Unexampled as the case may be, the minister's wife was of an unlucky disposition; and being blessed with the company of a mother-in-law, sister-in-law, and two brothers-in-law, she made the house too hot to hold them. A bad manager she was, too, while he, for his part, was negligent and wastefully generous."

In 1705, his health having suffered from the London climate, Saurin made a journey to Holland, and having preached at The Hague with great acceptance, he was urged to settle there. At first he was made, by some special arrangement, a sort of chaplain or pastor to the "nobility," but later became one of the regular pastors of the church of French refugees. It seems to have been

[62] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

[63] She was English, a Miss Boynton, and this must be taken into account in what follows.

the established custom of the Reformed Churches to have a body or company of pastors, after Calvin's plan at Geneva. Four are mentioned as Saurin's colleagues at The Hague: La Chapelle, Chion, Huet, and Chais, of whom the last became his successor as leading pastor. It is a sad thing that for some reason these men disliked Saurin and often made him the object of unbrotherly criticisms, and even of sharp attacks. It is hardly to be supposed that Saurin was wholly faultless in this painful matter, and the way he was made pastor-in-chief may have caused discontent at the beginning; but there can be no question that envy and spite on the part of these smaller men were the main sources of trouble. Vinet judiciously says:[64] "I can only explain the hatred of which Saurin was the object by his success, the indiscretion of his partisans, and the imprudence with which he let it be seen that he felt his own superiority."

On the other hand, Saurin had a multitude of friends who greatly admired him for his talents and loved him for his qualities. His power and popularity in the pulpit were maintained during a ministry of twenty-five years. It is said that at the height of his powers places were engaged in the church two weeks ahead, the streets were jammed with carriages, and people even climbed up to the windows to see and hear![65] In private life he was genial and generous to a fault. One story, greatly to his credit, should be told. A legacy of large amount was left to him. The will was contested by relatives of the deceased, and Saurin's ever-ready enemies sharply criticised him. To vindicate himself he allowed the case to go to trial; it was conclusively shown that the will was made entirely without his knowledge, and the legacy was awarded him; then, with proper conditions, but without retaining a penny for himself, he divided the estate among the natural heirs. When he came to die he sent for his four colleagues and fraternally interviewed them, asking their pardon if he had ever wronged them, and denying any evil intent in some of the actions they had resented and criticised. For the most part, they seem to have accepted the reconciliation in good feeling; at any rate, Saurin appears in a most amiable and Christian light in the matter. And so at last he closed in peace his varied, much tried, but nobly useful career, at the comparatively early age of fifty-three years.

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[64] *Op. cit.*, p. 600.

[65] See Broadus, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

Saurin had the external qualities for effective speaking—a good person, an agreeable and strong voice, an attractive manner. His intellectual qualities were of a high order, well cultivated and kept in exercise by study and careful preparation. He had a fine imagination, accompanied by penetrating and orderly thinking. He could have excelled as a philosophic theologian had his career taken that direction; but imagination and contact with life saved him from scholasticism, and his strength of thought and feeling sometimes rose to a splendid fervor that swept his hearers with him. His analysis was in the fashion of his time, too minute to suit modern taste; his style, too, was of his epoch, not of ours, in its fullness and detail; but it was usually clear, always forcible, sometimes rising to the sublime, and enriched with beauty. The inevitable comparison of the greatest Protestant preacher with the three famous Catholics of the period leads to the view that he had in lower degree elements of them all. He had not the consummate art of Bossuet, but in power of imagination and occasional flights of eloquence he was not infrequently equal to that orator; his reasoning and analysis were not inferior to Bourdaloue's, but he had not the keen and ample knowledge of human nature which marked the Jesuit father; he was least like Massillon of the three, but in tenderness and fervor he occasionally comes near that type, though without the exquisite finish and sensibility which were Massillon's distinguishing traits. In making such a comparison we must not fail to remember the vast advantages of social position and stimulating environment which aided the Catholic orators to develop just those particulars in which they excelled Saurin. On the other hand, the Scriptural basis and tone of Saurin's thought, and the deep experience of trials, both his own and those of his people, gave to his preaching a deep note of power and pathos which theirs could not have.

Three quotations must suffice us as specimens of Saurin's pulpit work. The clearness of his thinking is illustrated in the following extract from a sermon on *The Price of Truth*:[66] "Before we enter on this inquiry, it is necessary to determine what we mean by truth. If there be an equivocal word in the world, either in regard to human sciences, or in regard to religion, it is this word truth. But, not to enter into a metaphysical dissertation on the different ideas that are affixed to the term, we will content ourselves with indicating the ideas which we affix to it here. Truth ought not to be considered here as susbsisting in a subject, independently of the reflections of an intelligence that considers it. I do not affirm that there is not a truth in every object which subsists, whether we attend to it or not; but I say that, in these phrases, to search truth, to love truth, to buy truth, the term is relative, and expresseth a harmony between the object and the mind that considers it, a conformity between the object and the idea we have of it. To search after truth is to endeavor to obtain adequate ideas of the object of our reflections; and to buy truth is to make all the sacrifices which are necessary for the obtaining of such ideas as are proportional to the objects, of which our notions are the images. By truth, then, we mean an agreement between an object and our idea of it."

A passage from the sermon on *The Nature and Control of the Passions,* based on Peter's exhortation[67] to the "strangers and exiles," shows how strongly and faithfully Saurin could teach and exhort his own exiled flock. Discussing motives to resist the passions, he thus appeals:[68] "Moreover, religious exiles have given up a great deal for conscience, and they must choose either to lose the reward of their former labors, or to persevere. A man who has only taken a few easy steps in religion, if he let loose his passions, may be supposed rational in this; his life is all of a piece. He considers present interests as the supreme good, and he employs himself wholly in advancing his present interest, he lays down a principle, he infers a consequence, and he makes sin produce all possible advantage. An abominable principle certainly, but a uniform train of principle and consequence; a fatal advantage in a future state, but a real advantage in the present; but such a stranger as we have described, a man banished his country for religion, if he continues to gratify fleshly passions, is a contradictory creature, a sort of idiot, who is at one and the same time a martyr to vice and a martyr to virtue. He has the fatal secret of rendering both time and eternity wretched, and arming against himself heaven and earth, God and Satan, paradise and hell. On the one hand, for the sake of religion he quits everything dear and renounces the pleasure of his native soil, the society of his friends, family connections, and every prospect of preferment and fortune; thus he is a martyr for virtue, by this he renders the present life inconvenient, and arms against himself the world, Satan, and hell. On the other hand, he stabs the practical part of religion, violates all the sacred laws of austerity, retirement, humility, patience, and love, all which religion most earnestly recommends; by so doing he becomes a martyr for sin, renders futurity miserable, and arms against himself God, heaven, and eternity. The same God who forbade superstition and idolatry enjoined all the virtues we have enumerated, and prohibited every opposite vice. If men be determined to be damned, better go the broad than the narrow way. Who but a madman would atempt to go to hell by encountering the difficulties that lie in the way to heaven!"

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[66] Saurin's *Sermons,* tr. Robinson, Vol. II, p. 28.

[67] I Peter 2: 11.

[68] Fish, *op. cit.,* p. 179.

Finally, to show something of the fine quality, both of Saurin's soul and art, let the following apostrophe to Louis XIV be read from a sermon preached at New Year, 1710, with its good wishes:[69] "And thou, redoubtable prince, whom I once honored as my king, and whom I still respect as the scourge of the Lord, thou also shalt have part in my good wishes. Those provinces which thou art threatening, but which the arm of the Lord upholds; those regions which thou art peopling with fugitives, but with fugitives whom charity animates; those walls which enclose a thousand martyrs whom thou hast made, but whom faith renders triumphant, shall resound still with blessings on thy behalf. May God make to drop the fatal bandage which hides the truth from thy sight! May God forget those rivers of blood with which

[69] Quoted in the original by Hering, *op. cit.*, S. 150 f.

thou hast covered the earth and which thy reign has seen spread abroad! May God blot out of His book the evils which thou hast done to us, and in recompensing those who have suffered them, pardon those who have caused them to be suffered. God grant that after having been for us, for the Church, the minister of His judgments, thou mayest be the dispenser of His graces, and the minister of His mercies!"

CHAPTER V

The Classic Period of the British Pulpit

The tumultuous seventeenth century fills a momentous place in the political, social, literary, and religious life of England and the English-speaking peoples. Amid the crowded and rapidly shifting events of state we need here only recall that this century witnessed the passing of the great era of Elizabeth into that of the Stuart dynasty. The reign of that parody upon royalty, James I (1603-1625), was followed by that of his unhappy son, Charles I (1625-1649), whose tragic execution, by awakening sympathy for the man, has in some measure softened judgment upon his inexcusable errors as a king. Civil war, chaos, and strife came to their fruitage in the military despotism of the Commonwealth under Cromwell (1649-1660), which, by its manifest strength and generally good aims, almost justified its severities and extremes. But these again were darkly balanced by the hideous moral reaction under Charles II (1660-1685), which boldly flaunted its worst excesses in public, but cast over them the glamour of royalty restored, and secured the too easy tolerance of a people weary of war and repression and longing for peace and pleasure. The Revolution under James II (1685-1688) signified once again the exhaustion of the patience of a nation tried beyond endurance by the tyrannies and unworthiness of the House of Stuart; and the transition to a new era and a new century as well was accomplished under the reign of William III (1688-1702).

I. GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PREACHING OF THE CENTURY

The British pulpit of the seventeenth century was a living factor of the age. It gave and received potent influence in the stirring events and movements of the time; and it can not be understood or rightly valued apart from its intimate connection with the social, literary, and religious facts and forces which helped to make the seventeenth century in England, as in France, an illustrious epoch in the history of preaching.[1]

To one who looks back upon any great historic age, the better and the worse aspects of the moral life of the people, and the finer and coarser features of social manners present striking contrasts as they exist side by side in the enforced companionship of time and place. But to the actors the scene was not a still picture, but a fierce struggle, where the elemental forces for good and evil in the social life of man contended for mastery. This perennial conflict was emphasized by the course of events in seventeenth century England. A turbulent age like that must needs bring to the surface both its best and its worst elements. Vice and crime held high carnival when opportunity offered—as it too often did. The courts of James I and of Charles II were stews of vicious indulgence. Nor was it there alone, but only too generally among the people, that drunkenness, gambling, licentiousness, lying, cheating, frivolity, waste, and all accompanying evils prevailed. On the other hand, we must not forget the abundant and strong protest against these things which we find, not only in the stern principles and conduct of the Puritans, but in the gentler methods and no less saintly remonstrances of many pious minds. Yet it must be owned that refinement of manners was no token of this age. Even its virtues often became gloomy and severe, while its vices too easily disdained the draperies and disguises of more polished and outwardly decent times. License of manners and coarseness of speech are glaringly reflected in the literature of the times. The splendid genius of Shakespeare conceded too much to this bad fashion of the age, and even the purer mind of Milton has left in his writings occasional allusions and expressions offensive to good taste and true delicacy of soul. The forces of good and evil alike were often aggressive to violence; and cruelties and barbarities were tolerated and practiced, even in the name of law and religion, that now seem incredible. If the scepter of the Stuarts was a rod of tyranny and persecution, the sword of Cromwell was a flaming instrument of vengeance and compulsion.

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[1] Besides the standard Histories of England and several Church Histories, Histories of Literature and various articles, the following authorities have been consulted: Collier, Fuller, Overton, Blunt, and others on the ecclesiastical history of the period; Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century; The Classic Preachers of the English Church* (lects. ed. by Kempe), 1877-78; works of Broadus, Pattison, Fish, before mentioned; Brown, *Puritan Preaching in England* (Yale Lectures, 1899); Blaikie, *The Preachers of Scotland;* Taylor, *The Scottish Pulpit; The Evangelical Succession* (a course of lectures on Scottish preachers at St. George's Church, 1882-3); Works and Biographies of the preachers as mentioned below.

The sermons of the period show the influence of its morals and manners in many ways. The rebuke of evil is virile and sometimes rude, and the struggles of the time called forth a sharpness of polemic not always consonant with Christian love. The easy morals of some elements of society were also reflected in a few of the clergy of the epoch, though sternly reproved in others.

Not only social conditions, but also habits of thought and expression characteristic of the age, left their impress upon its preaching. There were great thinkers in the seventeenth century whose names are well known, such as Bacon, whose best work was brought over into this era; Hobbes, Newton, and Locke, besides others less prominent and influential. In literature also the period was distinguished. Shakespeare died in 1616, and part of his creative work belongs to the former age, but some of his best plays were written after the century opened, and the first complete edition of his works was the famous folio of 1623. Contemporary and succeeding dramatists never reached his level, of course, and their work was marred by the abominable coarseness which the age tolerated or even demanded, but a few at least produced writings that hold their place in English literature.

Among them were Jonson, Massinger, Ford, and, later, Wycherly, Dryden, and Congreve. Among lyric and minor poets there were Herrick, Herbert, Carew, Waller, Donne, Cowley, and Dryden again; but the pre-eminent name of the period in poetry is that of John Milton, whose great epic is accompanied by some of the most exquisite lyrics ever penned. The century also shows a great variety of prose writers, of whom some of the greatest names are those of the learned Selden, and the quaint Fuller, the lovable Izaak Walton, the stately Clarendon, the gossipy Evelyn and Pepys (though their invaluable diaries were not published till long afterwards); and the religious group, including Chillingworth, Hall, Jeremy Taylor, and the immortal allegorist, Bunyan, who are also among the preachers. A monumental literary as well as religious event was the publication in 1611 of the Authorized or King James Version of the Bible. Under these varied and efficient influences and employments, the English language became in the seventeenth century a strong and splendid vehicle of thought; and its use in the pulpit of the age shows its manifold qualities and powers. It ranges from the quaint homeliness of Bunyan to the involved and stately periods of Barrow, from the poetic beauty of Hall and Taylor to the virile strength of South and the clarity and moderation of Tillotson.

The religious movements of the century are closely intertwined with all its other affairs; but a few of the most important events need to be recalled in order that the preaching of the age may be better understood. In England the compromises under Elizabeth left two leading parties in the Church, and a few vigorous but persecuted sectaries outside its fold. Of these the Brownists (later Independents or Congregationalists) and the Anabaptists (later Baptists) were the most important. The extreme episcopal party in the English Church was composed of two elements: Those who were really Romanists at heart, but conformed for policy, and those who were against Rome, and yet were sacramentarian and ritualist in views and Semi-pelagian in theology. They were pronounced adherents of the doctrine of "divine right" in both bishops and the king. Bancroft and Laud were the leading exponents of the views and designs of this party, with its intellectual and social *prestige,* its narrowness, intolerance, and pride. The other party in the Church was much split up. They are generally called "Puritans," because they advocated that life, doctrine, and church polity should strictly conform to "the pure Word of God," but that designation includes a variety of men and views. Among the Puritans were moderate Episcopalians, willing to accept the episcopacy and the national Church as historically developed, Calvinistic in theology, opposed to ritualism, and strict in life. But along with these was a considerable number who, while not separating from the Church, would reform it from within and bring it back to what they considered the true New Testament model, both in doctrine and government. These were Non-conformists, and might be for a time merely acquiescent Episcopalians, but were chiefly Presbyterians, with a few Independents. Lastly, there were Separatists, who would not remain in the national Church in any form it might take, whether comprehension or compromise, but stood for freedom of worship. These were chiefly Independents and Baptists.

In Scotland, under the masterful leadership of Knox, the Reformed views had triumphed. Romanism was overthrown, and its episcopacy also had gone. Henceforth the Kirk of Scotland was to be Calvinistic in doctrine and ultimately Presbyterian in polity. But meantime, what should be its relation to the church property—buildings, benefices, endowments, and all the rest—formerly held by the Catholics and administered by bishops and priests? And how should the new Kirk be related to the civil government as represented in the sovereign? Fierce debates upon these momentous questions filled the last third of the sixteenth century, after the death of Knox, in 1572. At the opening of the seventeenth century James VI was at the height of his dispute with the Scottish Kirk in his endeavor to force a Protestant episcopacy upon an unwilling majority of the people, and was already madly jealous and tenacious of his royal prerogative.

In this state of mind he became king of England, as James I, in 1603. Thus the Scottish disputes were added to the English and further complicated the religious problems of this stirring century. In each country there was a small group of Catholics at one extreme and of Separatists at the other, but the bulk of the people were for a national Church of some sort, only differing as to what form it should take. James favored episcopacy, and the episcopal clergy in turn favored the royal pretensions. The main body of the people in Scotland were for Presbyterianism and the practical control of the civil government by the Kirk, but a strong minority were for king and bishops. In England there was a more nearly equal division, and now one party gained ascendency, and now the other. At the Hampton Court Conference, in 1604, James promptly and decisively took sides with the High Church party and insulted the Puritans. This policy was inherited by Charles I and pushed to disastrous extremes. The persecuting measures of Archbishop Laud need not here be recounted in detail. They provoked in Scotland the signing of the Covenant of 1638 in determined opposition to episcopacy and ritual; in England, the early protest and revolt of the Long Parliament in 1640, the Solemn League and Covenant of the Parliament with the Presbyterians of Scotland in 1643, and the Westminster Assembly with its Catechisms and Confession in 1642-43. Then came the downfall of Laud in 1645. It looked now as if Presbyterianism would carry the day in both lands. But the Civil War brought the army and Cromwell and the Commonwealth, so that now, instead of a king and bishops, intolerant and trying to enforce episcopacy, and instead of parliaments and assemblies equally intolerant and trying to enforce Presbyterianism, there was the Independent wing of Puritanism, more tolerant of religious opinion, but irresistible for a time in the State. Macaulay thus graphically describes the situation:[2] "The ecclesiastical polity of the realm was in inextricable confusion. Episcopacy was the form of government prescribed by the old law of the land, which was still unrepealed. The form of government prescribed by parliamentary ordinance was Presbyterian. But neither the old law nor the parliamentary ordinance was practically in force. The Church actually

[2] *Hist. of Eng.*, Vol. I, p. 148.

established may be described as an irregular body made up of a few presbyteries and of many independent congregations, which were all held down and held together by the authority of the government." The Restoration in 1660 brought back, along with the king, an intolerant episcopacy and a royalist Parliament to pass the infamous persecuting acts of the reign of Charles II. These were: The Act of Uniformity, requiring all clergymen by a certain date to sign acceptance of everything in the Book of Common Prayer, or lose their places; the Conventicle Act, forbidding any religious meetings to be held except under the Prayer-book Ritual; and the Five Mile Act, forbidding any deprived clergyman to come within five miles of any town where he had formerly held a charge. Meantime the Covenanters of Scotland were harried and hunted. James II secretly wished to restore Romanism, but his Declaration of Indulgence was an illegal measure which alienated the Episcopalians without winning the Dissenters, and did no good. His short reign had an inglorious end, and left the religious confusion worse confounded. At last the dawn of a better day came with the accession of William and Mary, in 1688, and the adoption, in 1689, of the famous Act of Toleration. Episcopacy remained the established Church of England, but other forms of polity and worship were tolerated under certain restrictions. The working out of this great compromise belongs to later times. It brought peace and put an end to violent persecution. But the unwise requirement that the clergy should swear allegiance to the new sovereigns, while many of them were sincerely attached to the old order, again drove from the established Church some of its best and most conscientious ministers.

Preaching necessarily and in various ways felt the influence of all this turmoil in civil and religious affairs, and was itself no small factor in forming opinion and promoting action within and between the various and opposing factions. If there was any Catholic preaching, it was done under cover; and, at the other extreme, the Separatist preachers were often imprisoned and otherwise persecuted. In Scotland only a few Episcopal preachers were of any note—such as Sharp and Leighton; it was the Presbyterians who had the ear of the people and gave tone to the work of the pulpit. In England the two great parties of Anglican and Puritan, alternately in the ascendant and always rivals, stimulated while they opposed each other; and each had a great and powerful body of divines and preachers, whose work has made their age illustrious. Yet the great leaders were comparatively few, as is ever the case, and we must not forget the rank and file of less gifted, less cultivated, and often less worthy men, whose less conspicuous characters and labors did not fail to exemplify both the faults and the virtues of the preaching of their time. The line of cleavage here indicated was found in both the great factions. The learned and eloquent Anglican had his equal among his Puritan brethren; and the narrow and fanatical exhorter among the Puritans had his counterpart in the ill-trained and almost degraded but stubborn parson of many an Anglican parish. And if the pious and faithful obscure were found in both parties, it must also be owned with shame that the canting, hypocritical Puritan was fairly matched by the loose and lazy Anglican. Character and talent, and the want of them, are not things of parties, but of men in all parties.

In the famous third chapter of his *History of England,* Macaulay has given a memorable description of the Anglican clergy at the accession of James II, in 1685.[3] He speaks first of the rural clergy, their poverty and dependence upon the country lords and gentlemen, the poor esteem in which they were held, and yet their important and vigorous influence on the royalist and episcopal side; he grants that "there was at that time no lack in the English Church of ministers distinguished by abilities and learning," but shows that these were to be found at the "few places where the means of acquiring knowledge were abundant, and where the opportunities of vigorous intellectual exercise were frequent." After naming and describing some of the best known of these, the historian summarizes, in part, as follows: "Thus the Anglican priesthood was divided into two sections, which, in acquirements, in manners, and in social position differed widely from each other. One section,

[3] Vol. I, pp. 302-311.

trained for cities and courts, comprised men familiar with all ancient and modern learning; men able to encounter Hobbes or Bossuet at all the weapons of controversy; men who could in their sermons set forth the majesty and beauty of Christianty with such justness of thought and such energy of language, that the indolent Charles roused himself to listen, and the fastidious Buckingham forgot to sneer; men whose address, politeness, and knowledge of the world qualified them to manage the consciences of the wealthy and noble; men with whom Halifax loved to discuss the interests of empires, and from whom Dryden was not ashamed to own that he had learned to write.[4] The other section was destined to ruder and humbler service. It was dispersed over the country, and consisted chiefly of persons not at all wealthier, and not much more refined, than small farmers or upper servants; yet it was in these rustic priests, who derived but a scanty subsistence from their tithe sheaves and tithe pigs, and who had not the smallest chance of ever attaining high professional honors, that the professional spirit was strongest." Allowing for Macaulay's well-known bias against the Tory party, his description on the whole is true to facts; and indeed the distinction of a cultured and uncultured class of preachers is more or less true in all ages, all countries, all sects, all parties.

When, therefore, we seek out and endeavor to describe the features and elements of the preaching of any age and country, we must lay our account with both the fact of this distinction and its effect on our studies. For both the literary remains—chiefly sermons—and the accepted traditions which come down from any period of preaching represent mainly, though not exclusively, the cultured class of preachers. Does our study, then, of these sources lead to an inaccurate and misleading representation of the pulpit of any particular epoch? Not necessarily; for the difficulty is not so great as it seems, and for two main reasons, which may be briefly set forth. The first is that, as indicated already, the published sermons and traditional accounts of the preachers of an age are not exclusively of the more learned

[4] Reference to Tillotson, as explained in footnote.

and influential class. Enough of the other sort are usually preserved to keep a general critical estimate from being altogether one-sided. The second reason is less obvious, but equally good. It lies in the fact that the leaders of any age—in preaching as in other things—are its true representatives. Dr. Broadus has spoken a sage word for every student of the history of preaching in remarking somewhere that "every great preacher is the child of his time." The time-spirit and its fashions are reflected in his work. He is spokesman to posterity for his less gifted and eminent brethren. And then the converse is also true, that these are often learners and imitators of the leading spirits. In their more obscure and practically forgotten labors, the humbler preachers of every generation are wont to exemplify and spread abroad the doctrines and methods of the more highly endowed and placed. With these considerations in mind, we may come to the ample sources for studying the preaching of the seventeenth century in England, confident that such study will reveal without serious error the actual conditions and features of that "classic period of the British pulpit."

Some general characteristics of preaching the British pulpit shared with those of other lands in this epoch, and some were more peculiarly its own. The gains of the Reformation were still visible in the sermons of the seventeenth century. These, in the Protestant preaching, were chiefly the place given to the exposition of Scripture, and the polemic against Rome. Scottish preaching, after Knox, continued to exhibit both of these more than the English. In fact, the English Reformers, though recognizing the authority of Scripture, were not so much given as their Continental and Scotch neighbors to its detailed exposition in the pulpit. If anything, the Puritan preaching of the seventeenth century—influenced so largely by Calvinistic principles—shows more attention to this than that of the preceding age. The Anglican sermons are about the same in this regard, being more inclined to the topical than the expository method. The use of Scripture is generally reverent and sensible, but there is not a little forcing of the Word in the interest of those fanciful and quaint conceits in which the taste of the times delighted, and also in the interest of sectarian interpretations and doctrines.

The controversial element remains very considerable in amount, and often very acrimonious in spirit. Not only was this true of the polemic against Romanism, but it received peculiar emphasis in the fierce sectarian disputes of the age. These had not degenerated into mere logomachy, for the preachers were in the main powerfully convinced of the truth of their principles and were hopeful of making them triumphant in the State. This imparted a tone of moral and spiritual earnestness to the preaching of the age which was not wholly discredited, even by its most extreme and dogmatic controversialism. Yet we can not but feel a twitch of pain in reflecting that even saintly souls like Rutherford and Baxter could, in the language of *Hudibras*,

> "Prove their doctrine orthodox
> With apostolic blows and knocks."

In the matter of division and analysis, the scholastic method of many of the Continental preachers finds abundant employment among their British brethren. Especially do the Puritan divines often descend into a minute and exhaustive subdivision of their matter, which is offensive to modern taste and must have been wearisome and hurtful to spiritual as well as literary effect in any age. Along with this there was an undue amount of pedantry in preaching. Greek and Latin quotations and learned allusions abound. Certainly only a few of the hearers could have followed or appreciated these, and they must be reluctantly set down to a desire to impress people with the learning and authority of the preacher, rather than to impart true spiritual profit to the hearers. It may, indeed, be true that much more of this sort of thing appears in the printed discourses—being intended largely for educated readers—than was actually given in the delivery of the sermons.

Along with this pedantry, we must notice another blemish generally apparent in the preaching of the age, and found in other lands than England. This was the tendency to affectation of style. In the British divines it did not so much tend to bombast and meretricious eloquence as in some of the Italian and French preachers, but, as in case of many of the Germans, it took the shape of conceits of fancy, plays upon words, antitheses, paradoxes, and the like. It was a token of the age, and was not peculiar to the pulpit, but is sadly out of place there. We find it, not only in such poetic preachers as Donne and Taylor, but even in Puritans like Adams, and Separatists like Bunyan. Here again, as with the display of learning, the effort to strike the hearer is too apparent; and to a modern reader the effect is often repellant and wearisome rather than attractive.

One other general criticism on the sermons of the time—in which the British preachers again were not unlike their Continental neighbors—relates to their length and fullness. As in the case of Spener, Bourdaloue, Saurin, and others, we restless moderns can not but wonder at the patience of audiences that could sit through one of these long English discourses. And they were not only long, but many of them, especially of such men as Howe and Barrow, were so filled with thought as to be a severe tax upon attention. There are not wanting traditions that the hearers, though usually respectful, sometimes resented this undue demand upon their patience. Broadus[5] quotes, from Calamy, the following description of a fast-day service conducted by Howe: "It was upon those occasions his common way to begin about nine in the morning, with a prayer for about a quarter of an hour, in which he begged a blessing on the work of the day; and afterwards read and expounded a chapter or psalm, in which he spent about three-quarters of an hour; then prayed for about an hour, preached for another hour, and prayed for about half an hour. After this, he retired and took some little refreshment for about a quarter of an hour (the people singing all the while), and then came again into the pulpit and prayed for another hour, and gave them another sermon of about an hour's length; and so concluded the services of the day, at about four of the clock in the evening, with about half an hour or more in prayer."

If we inquire what it was that, in spite of such faults and blemishes as have been noted, made this preaching great, the answer is not far to seek. Most of the sources and elements of its power have already been indicated or implied in the preceding discussion, but, by way of summary, we may mention as specially noteworthy the following four things:

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[5] *Hist. of Preaching,* p. 211 f.

(1) *Loyalty to the Word of God.* It was one of the Anglican divines of this period—William Chillingworth—who gave utterance to the famous dictum, "The Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." This principle was the very lifeblood of the English preaching of the seventeenth century; its antecedents necessitated and its problems demanded an intelligent, strong, and confident appeal to the authority of God as revealed in His Word. That appeal was made with power and effect.

(2) *Consciousness of strength.* The preachers themselves earnestly believed in the thing they were doing. Never did the legendary Arthur have more confidence in the virtues of his famous brand, Excalibur, than did these great divines in the "sword of the Spirit," as they wielded it in their stout battles against sin and error. They were no perfunctory officials going through the forms of a task prescribed by custom and accepted with weariness, but earnest men who felt that things could and must be brought to pass by preaching the Word.

(3) *Thoughtfulness.* Notwithstanding the learned lumber, the tedious detail, the catchy and strained fancifulness that many of these sermons show, there is also, in many of them, a depth, fullness, comprehensiveness, and power of thought that have been sometimes equaled, but scarcely, if ever, surpassed, in the history of preaching. This is, of course, not true of all—it could not be; but it is so characteristic of many as to be a token of the age.

(4) *Use of language.* It was the tongue of Shakespeare and of Milton, in the days when the work of those masters of speech was new, that these old English divines employed. Its wealth of words, its felicity of phrase, its flexibility of use, its music, its varied adaptation to thought, mood, and need—all these were at the preacher's service, and for the most part he used his instrument well. The strong Saxon soil, the clear and tonic Norman air, and the fresh glow of classic light

united to produce the flowers and fruits of that rich and varied diction which characterizes the sermons of that time.

II. PREACHERS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

In undertaking to sketch the leading preachers of England and Scotland during the seventeenth century, we are confronted with the three usual problems of selection, grouping, and comparative fullness of treatment. Leaving the last to take care of itself as we proceed, we find that the first is greatly simplified by being narrowed to the question of whom to leave out; there can be little doubt as to those whose claim to consideration is established. In the grouping of these for study we might follow the course of events through the century and consider the prominent and influential preachers in each successive epoch—the reigns of the first Stuart kings, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, the Revolution; but, as there would be some overlapping and confusion in this method, it is perhaps better to follow the more clearly marked line of distinction into Anglicans on the one hand, and Puritans and Dissenters on the other, while observing the chronological order in the presentation of individuals. We therefore begin with the great preachers of the Anglican Church.

Launcelot Andrewes (1555-1626)[6] was born in London, in the reign of Bloody Mary. He was carefully educated, and pursued his university studies at Cambridge. He was ordained to the English priesthood and was rapidly advanced in church offices, being early made dean of Westminster, and bishop successively of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester. Of his ample learning, delightful old Thomas Fuller has this to say:[7] "The world wanted learning to know how learned this man was; so skilled in all (especially Oriental) languages that some conceive he might, if then living, almost have served as interpreter-general at the confusion of tongues." As was eminently fitting, he was one of the company of scholars whose labors produced the Authorized Version of the Bible. Andrewes was a thorough-going high churchman, devoted to episcopacy and King James. He often preached special sermons before the king, and the royal pedant is said to have greatly delighted in them. The sermons of Andrewes are at times artificial and stilted in tone, and often overloaded with learning and Latin quotations,[8] not free from the whimsical fancies of the age, but weighty in thought, exhaustive in treatment, and much occupied with careful exposition of Scripture:[9] but his exposition is sometimes vitiated, both by polemical bias and the play of fancy. In his inner life Andrewes was deeply pious, and though his sermons bristle with sharp controversy, his prayers and meditations breathe the spirit of mystical devotion.[10]

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[6] Andrewes' *Works*, in *Lib. of Anglo-Cath. Theology*, Vol. I, containing ninety-six *Sermons*, and including seventeen Christmas sermons given before the court during the years 1605-24, several years omitted.

[7] *Works of Thos. Fuller*, ed. by Nichols, pub. by Tegg, London, 1868, Vol. III, p. 391.

John Donne[11] (1573-1631) was, according to Fuller,[12] "born in London (but extracted from Wales, by his mother's side great-great-grandchild to Sir Thomas More, whom he much resembled in his endowments)." He studied at both Oxford and Cambridge, but having been brought up a Romanist, he could not get a degree. Yet, as he studied law and prepared for civil life, he carefully examined the different doctrines, and became a Protestant. But he was yet a long way from a spiritual conversion, and had no thought of becoming a preacher. He was a man of society, spent his patrimony freely, took his share of the youthful gayeties of the day, and was far from being free of vices. Donne had real poetic talent,[13] and had he devoted himself to poetry, could doubtless have attained high rank. Many of his poems are marred by the grossness of the age—a thing which he later bitterly deplored—but some of them have decided merit. Donne won the love of a young lady of beauty and rank, but her father, with reason, opposed the marriage; but he married her secretly and was afterwards forgiven. He was tenderly attached to his wife, and his best poems are those which her love inspired. As his life amended and he became mature in years, he was persuaded by his friends—including King James I—to become a minister of the Established Church. He was, no doubt, soundly converted, but his past life and those stained writings of his early days—which he could not recall—made him reluctant to become a clergyman. But his scruples were overcome, and so in mature life, and after a season of careful preparatory studies, he was ordained and began to preach. He was a favorite of the king, and his advancement in church offices was rapid. He was appointed a royal chaplain, then vicar of St. Dunstan, dean of St. Paul's, and to some other places of honor and emolument. It was as chaplain to the king and dean of St. Paul's that he did his principal work as a preacher. He lived about fifteen years after his ordination, and died greatly admired and beloved.

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[8] See Pattison, p. 172, for an example; and almost any sermon in the collection. Andrewes was also too much devoted to the minute scholastic analysis of his themes.

[9] Andrewes, with the other great English divines, is often referred to in the scholarly Commentaries of Bishop Ellicott. See also a sketch by J. H. North in *Classic Preachers of the Eng. Ch.*

[10] See an excellent monograph on this side of Andrewes by Dr. Alex. Whyte, which I once read with interest, but have not by me at this writing.

[11] See the excellent *Life* by Izaak Walton; and *Works;* also a fine sketch by Bp. Lightfoot in *Classic Preachers of the English Church;* also a sermon in Fish, I, 153 ff.

[12] *Op. cit.,* p. 362.

Donne ranks deservedly high among the preachers of his time. He studied carefully for his new work, and was well equipped for it in general learning and mental gifts. Not only was he heard with pleasure, and even with what now seems extravagant appreciation of his eloquence, but his published sermons have enjoyed great popularity. They show careful and laborious study of the Bible, though not always a well-balanced exegesis. Donne was strong and convinced in his Anglicanism, though not a bitter extremist; he was devout in spirit, rich in fancy, and vigorous in style, though this is marred by the affectations and pedantry and straining for effect which were common to the age. Yet even now Donne's sermons will repay occasional reading.

Joseph Hall (1574-1656)[14] was one of the best and

[13] See notice and specimens in Warner *Lib.*, Vol. VIII, p. 4771.

[14] *Works of Bishop Hall,* ed. of Peter Hall. Sermon in Fish, I, p. 167.

purest men of his time. He was born of respectable and pious parents, at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. His father had a large family, and Joseph was a younger son. In a quaint autobiographical sketch he speaks in the most affectionate terms of his mother—esteeming her worthy to be compared with Aleth, the mother of Bernard, and Monica, the mother of Augustine. Notwithstanding their large family, the parents made arrangements for the education of Joseph, whom they early designed for the ministry. By the help of a gentleman who had married his aunt, the boy was kept at Cambridge till he took his degree, and was made a fellow of his college. Afterwards he taught rhetoric at Cambridge for two years, and then entered the minstry, having received an appointment at Halsted in Suffolk. He says:[15] "Being now therefore settled in that sweet and civil country of Suffolk, near to St. Edmond's-Bury, my first work was to build up my house, which was then extremely ruinous. Which done, the uncouth solitariness of my life, and the extreme incommodity of that single housekeeping drew my thoughts after two years to condescend to the necessity of a married estate; which God no less strangely provided for me; for, walking from the church on Monday on the Whitsun-week, with a grave and reverend minister, Mr. Grandidge, I saw a comely and modest gentlewoman standing at the door of that house where we were invited to a wedding dinner; and inquiring of that worthy friend whether he knew her, 'Yes,' quoth he, 'I know her well, and have bespoken her for your wife.'" The friend then told how he had talked with the lady's father about it, and the gentleman was not averse to the match; and then the words of the author go on: "Advising me not to neglect the opportunity, and not concealing the just praises of the modesty, piety, good disposition, and other virtues that were lodged in that seemly presence, I listened to the motion, as sent from God; and at last, upon due prosecution, happily prevailed; enjoying the comfortable society of that meet help for the space of forty-nine years."

After several years' service in his first charge, Hall accompanied a friend—Sir Edmund Bacon, a descendant of the famous philosopher—on a trip to the Continent, and improved his opportunities of observation and learning. About a year and a half after his return he was transferred to Waltham, where he spent twenty-two years as rector, filling, in connection with that, offices at Prince Henry's court and as a prebendary at Worcester. He filled several missions abroad by royal appointment, the most important being at the famous Synod of Dort, in 1618, where he rendered distinguished services. Later he was made bishop, first at Exeter, and then at Norwich. He was envied and annoyed, first by one party and then by another—as is the fate of moderate men. He was accused before Laud as being too favorable to the Puritans; and later, on the assembling of the Long Parliament, as being a bishop, he was deprived of his see, put in the Tower for awhile, robbed of his property, and badly treated generally, dying in poverty, but in peace, in 1656.

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[15] See the brief autobiography prefixed to *Works,* Vol. I, p. XIX.

As a preacher Bishop Hall ranked with the first of his age in character, learning, and eloquence. His sermons do not rise above the faults of the time in respect of forced interpretation of Scripture, conceits of style, pedantry, and the like. But they abound in noble thought and spirit, and notwithstanding the faults mentioned, their style is elevated, strong, and eloquent. His most famous work is his *Contemplations Upon the Principal Passages in the Holy Story.* Doubtless much of this was originally sermons. Devout, noble, and helpful, it deserves its fame as one of the original and enduring literary monuments of the Anglican Church. In regard to his preaching, he says himself,[16] in speaking of his work at Waltham and Halstead, that he preached three times a week, "Yet never durst I climb into the pulpit to preach any sermon whereof I had not before, in my poor and plain fashion, penned every word in the same order wherein I hoped to deliver it; although in the expression I listed not to be a slave to syllables."

William Chillingworth[17] (1602-1644) was born at

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[16] *Op. cit.*, p. XXVI.

[17] *Works of Chillingworth*, with life by Birch, three vols., Oxford, 1838, containing the nine sermons which remain. Sermon in Fish, I, p. 193 ff. See also a judicious appreciation of Chillingworth and his influence on liberalism in English religious thought in Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, etc., I, p. 261 ff.

Oxford, his father being a reputable citizen who afterwards served the city as mayor. William Laud, afterwards noted as archbishop, stood as godfather to the child. He was educated at Oxford, taking the degrees in regular course. The points in controversy between the Catholics and Protestants being much discussed, Chillingworth fell under the influence of a Jesuit, Fisher, and was induced to become a Catholic, and then to go to the Catholic College at Douay in France for further study. But it was only a temporary aberration. Laud took the matter up and corresponded with Chillingworth, who soon saw the error of his course and returned to his first faith. This led to much criticism among the Catholics, and to Chillingworth's writing his famous treatise, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation.* He was offered places in the Church, but had scruples on some points in the Articles and would not subscribe. Finally, however, he overcame these, and received several appointments as preacher; but his ministry was of short duration, only about six years. He was a stanch royalist and churchman. He has deservedly high rank as a preacher. His use of Scripture is reverent and sensible, and his exposition strong and clear. His style is vigorous and not so loaded with affectation and pedantry as is common with others of that age. The argument is able, but the analysis is not always clear; and the unity and structure of a well-articulated sermon are not always in evidence.

William Laud (1573-1645)[18] has gained an unenviable name in English history as the extreme champion of High Church views and the active abettor of the tyrannous measures of Charles I in church and state. But he is entitled to at least a brief notice among the preachers of this troubled epoch. He was born at Reading, Berkshire, the son of a wealthy clothier, who gave him the best advantages for education, both at the schools of his native town and at Oxford, where he took a degree with distinction and was made a fellow of St. John's College.

[18] *Works of Archbishop Laud* in the *Anglo-Catholic Theology,* Vol. I, containing the seven sermons—all that remain. They were all preached before the kings—two for James I and five for Charles I—and by their command, on special occasions, some of great historic interest.

Ordained in 1601, he began his notable career as a churchman in several minor places, till in 1611 he became president of St. John's College and a royal chaplain. Promotions rapidly followed. He became dean of Gloucester, bishop of St. David's, of Bath and Wells, of London, and finally archbishop of Canterbury. His persecutions and tyrannies led to his fearful account with the Long Parliament, by which he was tried for high treason, and after a long process, in which he defended himself with ability, he was condemned and executed in 1645.

Laud's remarkable career and mistakes as a churchman and the apparent tool of Charles I in his efforts to impose Anglican uniformity must not blind us to his merits as a man and preacher. That he sincerely believed in the doctrines and principles which he advocated and for which he suffered can not be doubted. His writings and the testimony of his friends show that with all his unrelenting severity toward Puritans, he was a man of piety. We find this strange paradox too often to question its reality in his case. As a preacher Laud is to be judged by seven published sermons, preached mostly on state occasions—king's birthdays, anniversaries, and the like. They are not so much occupied with gospel doctrine as with the discussion of the high theory of royal and ecclesiastical supremacy which Laud held. They are heavy and pedantic, like Andrewes' sermons, though scarcely so able. Yet in their clear analysis and vigorous presentation, they show that Laud must have had considerable powers as a preacher had they been more fully given to the work of the pulpit.

The later group of Anglican preachers come within the troubled era of the second half of the century—the times of the Commonwealth, Restoration, and Revolution. It was a time of many vicissitudes and trials, but among Anglicans (as well as others) there were men of mark in the pulpit, of whom a few must be named.

One of the most famous of the Anglicans was Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667),[19] son of a barber at Cambridge, where he was born and educated. The gifted child entered the grammar school at six, studied diligently, and was a wonder to his friends and teachers. He entered Caius College, Cambridge, at thirteen, and took the degrees in course and was made a fellow at twenty! Though under age, he was ordained while in college, and at the request of an older college-mate, who was sick, took his place as a supply at St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The remarkable preaching of the rarely gifted youth attracted large crowds; for no such eloquence had been heard in that famous pulpit since the death of Dr. Donne, a few years before this time. He was regarded as "an angel come down from heaven," and was recommended to Archbishop Laud for an appointment. At an interview, Laud remarked upon Taylor's extreme youth, and the young divine responded with as much sweetness as wit that "it was a fault for which he begged his grace's pardon, but if he lived he would mend it." But though the archbishop recognized Taylor's unusual talents and learning, as well as beauty of character, he felt that a few more years of study would be better for him, and therefore had him elected a fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. Thus the future preacher and bishop had the distinction of enjoying the high honors and privileges of both the universities. In a few years Laud caused Taylor to be appointed to the charge of Uppingham, Rutlandshire.

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[19] Works of Taylor in various editions, Heber's the best. *Life* by Bishop Reg. Heber; volume on Taylor in the *English Men of Letters* series, by Edmund Gosse. Sermon in Fish, I, 567; another in *World's Great Sermons,* II, 29. See also Tulloch, *op. cit.,* I, p. 344 ff.

Here for four years he faithfully discharged the duties of a pastor, married a good and sensible wife, and produced his first published writings. Taylor was a pronounced royalist and churchman, and was driven from his rectory at Uppingham. He was for a time a chaplain to the king, but later, during the Civil War, found a place of refuge as chaplain to the Earl of Carbery, at Golden Grove in Caermarthenshire, Wales. Two clergymen of the Church of England, friends of Taylor, had established a school near the home of Lord Carbery, and they employed Taylor as one of the teachers. Thus, during the Commonwealth, by preaching to the little congregation at Golden Grove and teaching, he managed to take care of his family in congenial employment. His pen also was busy, and during his ten years of retirement at

Golden Grove he gave to the world some of the most famous of his writings. These included the treatise on *Liberty of Prophesying, The Great Exemplar,* the companion works on *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying,* and two series of sermons, the first, *Twenty-eight Sermons* (1651), and the second, *Twenty-five Sermons Preached at Golden Grove* (1653), the two being afterwards published under one title, *Eniautos* (*A Year*), as embracing sermons for the Christian year.

But the shadows of trial and suffering soon began to gather. The deaths, near together, of both the devout Lady Carbery and of Taylor's amiable wife gave meaning and beauty to his immortal treatise on *Holy Dying.* Other sorrows fell, and trials came thick and fast. Criticisms and attacks assailed Taylor; he in some way lost his position at Golden Grove, fell into poverty, was imprisoned for a short time in Chepstow Castle—for what cause is not very clearly made out—and seems to have alienated some of his best friends. Meantime he had married his second wife, Joanna Bridges, who had a little home some twelve miles from Golden Grove, and here during his trials his children were cared for. Soon after his release from prison one of his little sons died, and not long afterwards two more took smallpox and died. This left him one son only of his first marriage. Soon his friends made some arrangement for him to be supported by private contributions, while he acted as a sort of chaplain and priest among his now persecuted fellow-royalists. Later, with Cromwell's consent, he was appointed to an English Church parish at Portmore, near Dublin, Ireland, where he found for several years a refuge for himself and his little family. He had come to London to see about the publication of one of his works when the joyful news of the impending Restoration of Charles II was announced, and Taylor was one of those who signed the call for his return.

It seems strange that a man of Taylor's loyalty and rare ability should not have been appointed to a high place in the restored English Church; but either because of some lingering prejudices, or because his services were deemed more important in Ireland, he was made vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin and elevated to the bishopric of Down and Connor in Ulster. He rendered distinguished services in the reorganization of the University; and was zealous and active as a bishop in his difficult diocese. But Ulster was the stronghold of the Presbyterians, and they provoked the mild author of the *Liberty of Prophesying* to become an intolerant and even a persecuting prelate! The place and the task were alike uncongenial to Taylor; his disappointments were great; his burdens and sorrows heavy, and he soon broke down under the load. Death came as a welcome messenger in his fifty-fourth year, after a life of many trials and incessant labors.

Jeremy Taylor is one of the small but distinguished group of preachers whose sermons alone, leaving out his other writings, give him a place in the first rank of English men of letters. Coleridge[20] regarded him as one of the four great masters of English during the first half of the seventeenth century, the others being, of course, Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton. Gosse apparently endorses this view, and then seeks to explain the comparative neglect of Taylor in regard to the other three. The critic is perhaps not far wrong in saying "that the fame of Jeremy Taylor has been injured among general readers by the fact that he is a divine, and among divines by the fact that he is an artist." The second part of this criticism is indicative of the distinguishing quality of Taylor's sermons. In thought they are not strikingly original or profound; in general structure and form they do not depart from the accepted rules of homiletical composition. Their title to pre-eminence lies in their exquisite literary quality. The two chief faults of the age are in them—pedantry and fancy. These are heightened by excess of imagery and ornament. Beauty of style is too much sought after. The sermons lack virile directness and popular force. They suited the small audience at Golden Grove, and the quiet of an island of flowers in a stormy sea; they are redolent of beauty and charm; their exquisite fancy, richness of imagination, purity and elevation of feeling, elaborate and musical diction, are generally recognized by readers and critics. Their spiritual aim and ethical effect are

[20] See Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor*, p. 211.

worthy, but after all it must be owned that they belong rather to literature than to life. The following paragraph gives, as nearly perhaps as any such brief quotation could, a fair sample of Taylor's manner:[21] "Since we stay not here, being people but of a day's abode, and our age is like that of a fly and contemporary with a gourd, we must look somewhere else for an abiding city, a place in another country to fix our house in, whose walls and foundation is God, where we must find rest, or else be restless forever. For whatever ease we can have or fancy here is shortly to be changed into sadness or tediousness. It goes away too soon, like the periods of our life; or stays too long, like the sorrows of a sinner. Its own weariness, or a contrary disturbance, is its load, or it is eased by its revolution into vanity and forgetfulness. And where either there is sorrow or an end of joy, there can be no true felicity, which must be had by some instrument and in some period of our duration. We must carry up our affections to the mansions prepared for us above, where eternity is the measure, felicity is the state, angels are the company, the Lamb is the light, and God is the portion and inheritance."

Robert Leighton (1611, or 13-1684),[22] born at Edinburgh or London, and educated at Edinburgh, was the son of an earnest Presbyterian minister, who suffered persecution. Robert also was Presbyterian in his early life, but in hope of reconciling parties he became, after the Restoration under Charles II, an Anglican, and reluctantly accepted a Scottish bishopric. Several years later he was made archbishop of Glasgow, but was not contented, and finally resigned and ended his days in retirement. Bishop Burnet[23] says of him: "He had the greatest elevation of soul, the largest compass of knowledge, the most mortified and heavenly disposition I ever yet saw in mortal; he had the greatest parts as well as virtue, with the most perfect humility, that I ever saw

[21] *Holy Living and Dying,* Bohn's ed., p. 312; quoted also by Gosse, p. 94.

[22] *The Whole Works of Robert Leighton, D. D.,* with a *Life,* by John M. Pearson; Blaikie, p. 142 ff.; and *Evang. Succession,* 173 ff.

[23] *History of His Own Times,* quoted by Pattison, p. 187.

in man; and had a sublime strain in preaching, with so grave a gesture, and such a majesty, both of thought, of language, and of pronunciation, that I never once saw a wandering eye when he preached, and have seen whole assemblies often melt into tears before him." Leighton was undoubtedly a man of deep piety and amiable character, but his sermons, though sweet and spiritual, were like the man himself, lacking in force.[24] Yet they are full of pious feeling, devout in tone, clear and simple in style for that age, not overloaded with pedantry or flowers, and sincerely devoted to the edification of the hearer.

Isaac Barrow (1630-1677)[25] was the son of a London merchant, who, both by interest and feeling, was attached to Charles I. The mother died when Isaac was only four years old, and the boy grew up with such propensities to untidiness and fighting that his father is said to have remarked that if it pleased the Lord to take any one of his children he hoped it would be Isaac. The boy was sent to the famous Charterhouse school, but his faults hindered his progress until he was, by a happy thought, sent away to a school in Essex, where he waked up and began to apply himself to study. He received his university training at Cambridge, where he not only distinguished himself as a scholar, but was noted for his good morals and excellent conduct. Taking the degrees in course, he was elected a fellow of Trinity College, and applied for the Greek professorship, but was not elected. His attainments were simply marvelous. He had mastered Latin and Greek as a matter of course, besides he had learned what there was to know in his time of astronomy, botany, and anatomy, and for a time had studied medicine; but his conscience impelled him to theology, in which he became deeply learned, leaning to the Arminian system. But his favorite intellectual pursuit was mathematics, where he not only became expert as a master and teacher, but made original and valuable contributions toward later developments. But perhaps his chief distinction in this field was that he was the friend and the teacher of Isaac Newton.

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[24] Cf. Broadus, p. 203.

[25] *Works of Barrow*, edited by Tillotson, with two accounts (by Hill and Hamilton) of his life prefixed. Sermon in Fish, I, p. 264. Wace, in *Classic Preachers.*

Missing the Greek professorship on account of his Arminian views—which were unacceptable to the Cromwell government—Barrow raised a little money by the sale of his books, and traveled, spending some time at Paris, Florence, and Constantinople, where he remained a year, chiefly occupied in reading the entire works of Chrysostom in the original. Returning in 1660, he was ordained, and now received the Greek professorship at Cambridge, together with some smaller posts as preacher. Then he became professor of geometry, and later by special appointment he held the Lucas chair of mathematics, which he voluntarily resigned in 1669 into the hands of his great pupil, Newton. This was in order to give himself more to preaching, as he might be called on. In 1672 he was appointed Master of Trinity College by Charles II, who remarked that he was giving the post to the best scholar in England. Barrow discharged his duties with fidelity and success, preaching as occasion offered. He also wrote out many sermons which were never actually used. He was now at the height and near the end of his brilliant career. One of his biographers[26] gives this suggestive hint of his character: "He had possessed but a scanty estate, which yet was made easy to him by a contented mind, and not made a trouble by envy at more plentiful fortunes; he could in patience possess his soul when he had little else; and with the same decency and moderation he maintained his character under the temptation of prosperity." Ever careless of himself, he contracted a fever through over-exertion and died during a visit to London, in May, 1677, in his forty-seventh year. He was surely worthy of the memorial to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

As a preacher, Barrow needed the corrective of the active and practical life of a pastor.[27] He never had a pastoral charge, nor filled any position in the Church at all worthy of his unrivaled powers. He was not popular as a preacher. Audiences grew weary of his too lengthy discourses and the fearful tax upon attention caused, both

[26] Hill, in preface to *Works,* Vol. I, p. XIX.

[27] Cf. Broadus, p. 215.

by their depth of thought and fullness of style. Once—the story goes—he was actually silenced by the exasperated sexton, who rang the bells after an hour or two of preaching. Once again, it is said, some one timidly and suggestively asked Barrow if he did not himself become fatigued in preaching, and he replied that he did sometimes become weary of standing so long! Charles II wittily called him a very unfair preacher because when he treated a subject he did not leave anything for any one else to say. Readers of Barrow's wonderful sermons can easily account for these stories, and see how severe a strain this sort of preaching must have put upon the attention of even the cultivated and thoughtful few. It never could have appealed to the multitude. But the unhurried reader may find even now in these great sermons a rich treasury, both of thought and expression. Thorough in thinking, analytical and exhaustive in treatment, logical in reasoning; full, yet not redundant, in language; majestic and lengthy, yet not involved or obscure in sentence structure, the discourses of this great and luminous intellect still compel admiration and stimulate thought. Broadus[28] judiciously counsels: "Read Jeremy Taylor to enrich the fancy, but Barrow to enrich the intellect and to show how the greatest copiousness may unite with great compactness and great energy of movement." One paragraph must suffice as illustrating what has been said of Barrow's manner. It is from the great sermon on *The Crucifixion of Christ*,[29] where the preacher is elaborating the point "that this way of suffering had in it some particular advantages conducing to the accomplishment of our Lord's principal design," and after instancing its publicity, says: "Another advantage of this kind of suffering was, that by it the nature of that kingdom which He had intended to erect was evidently signified, that it was not such as the carnal people did expect,—an external, earthly, temporal kingdom, consisting in domination over the bodies and estates of men, dignified by outward wealth and splendor, managed by worldly power and policy, promoted by force and terror of arms, affording to men the advantages of outward safety, peace, and prosperity; but a kingdom purely spiritual, heavenly,

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

[29] Fish, I, p. 270.

eternal, consisting in the government of men's hearts and spirits, adorned with endowments of piety and virtue, and administered by the grace and guidance of God's Holy Spirit, maintained and propagated by meek instruction, by virtuous example, by hearty devotion and humble patience, rewarding its loyal subjects with spiritual joys and consolations here, with endless rest and bliss hereafter; no other kingdom could He be presumed to design who submitted to this dolorous and disgraceful way of suffering; no other exploits could He pretend to achieve by expiring on a cross; no other way could He govern who gave Himself up to be managed by the will of His enemies; no other benefits would that forlorn case allow Him to dispense; so that well might He then assert, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' when he was going in this signal manner to demonstrate that great truth. It was a touchstone to prove men's disposition, and to discriminate the ingenuous, well-disposed, humble, and sober persons, who would entertain our Lord's heavenly doctrine with acceptance, notwithstanding these disadvantages, 'not being offended in Him,' from those perverse, vain, proud, profane people, who, being scandalized at His adversity, would reject Him."

Toward the end of the century a group of divines marks the transition from the quaint beauties of Adams, Donne, Hall, and Taylor, and the elaborate and ponderous stateliness of Owen, Howe, and Barrow, to a simpler and more direct and popular method of preaching. Of these, Tillotson and South are the most notable and will receive fuller notice directly, but with them two others should at least be named. Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699)[30] was more distinguished as bishop, theologian, and controversialist than as preacher, but he was famous in the pulpit also. The garrulous Pepys[31] speaks of hearing "the famous young Stillingfleet," whom some of the bishops and others believed to be "the ablest young man to preach the gospel of any since the apostles," and declares that "he did make a most plain, honest, good,

[30] Among the great mass of Stillingfleet's sermons and other writings, listed in the accounts of his life and in the catalogue of the British Museum, reference is here made to four volumes of *Sermons Preached on Several Occasions,* pub. 1696-1701.

[31] Quoted by Pattison, p. 207.

grave sermon, in the most unconcerned and easy yet substantial manner that ever I heard in my life." Among Stillingfleet's published sermons (the second in Vol. I) there is a strong and manly discourse on the text, "Fools make a mock at sin," preached before Charles II and his court in 1666. For boldness combined with good taste, it is wholly admirable. There is no bravado, no "braving the lion in his den," no covert allusions or dark hints, no pointed or sensational attack on persons or conditions, nor yet any subservient flattery or glozing over well-known evils. It is an unflinching, respectful, serious, intelligent, and well-reasoned exposition of a theme which surely made its own application at that place and time. In general, Stillingfleet's sermons are marked by a high and clear intelligence, judicious weighing of things, and a fairly clear style for that age. There is no soaring, no ornament, little or no play of imagination or pathos. These discourses do not kindle now, and they hardly did so when delivered; but they are forceful, able, and of a high tone. Yet it is an ethical and philosophical tone. Even on such texts as Luke 15:18 (the Prodigal's resolve), and 1 Timothy 1:15 (the "faithful saying"), the evangelical note is hardly struck at all; it is ethical reasoning throughout. Tulloch,[32] not without reason, reckons Stillingfleet among those whose influence favored Latitudinarian and Broad Church tendencies.

William Beveridge (1638-1708),[33] bishop of St. Asaph, was an exceedingly learned man and withal a devoted and beloved pastor and bishop. Among the "classic preachers"[34] he is described as the "Scriptural" one, and his sermons are often quoted in exposition by Ellicott and other commentators. Beveridge's sermons—of which a great number have been published—cover a wide range of doctrinal and textual exposition. While not so labored as those of Andrewes, they, too, are rather overloaded with learning—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew quotations. There is rarely any beauty of language or happy conceits of thought or phrase, but a plain and forcible exposition of Scripture. Imagination is wanting, and while there is an undercurrent of deep and genuine feeling, there is no warmth, no glow of passion, nor intensity of appeal.

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[32] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 411 ff.

[33] See *Sermons* (Vol. I-VI) in the *Anglo-Catholic Theology.*

[34] *Op. cit.*, study by W. R. Clark.

John Tillotson (1630-1694)[35] was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire. He did good work at the preparatory schools, especially in the languages, and entered Cambridge University in 1647. He took the degrees in regular course. He served two years as a curate in Hertfordshire, and made good promise by his amiability and eloquence. His promotion was steady and deserved. He married a niece of Cromwell, and doubtless this led him to take a more liberal view of dissenters than did many of his fellow-Anglicans. He filled various rectorships and other church offices in London and Canterbury. He was opposed to the measures of James II, and favored the cause of William and Mary. On their accession he was made, in 1689, dean of St. Paul's. Sancroft, being a Non-juror, was removed from the archbishopric of Canterbury, and Tillotson was appointed in his place in 1691. He was also made a member of the privy council, but he did not long survive his highest honor, dying in November, 1694.

As a man, Tillotson was able, learned, faithful, amiable, and charitable. His acceptance of William and Mary and his elevation to the see of Canterbury made him enemies among the stronger Anglicans, but he bore their attacks with marked patience and restraint. After his death a bundle of harsh letters was found among his papers, on which he had written, "May God forgive them. I do."

As a preacher, Tillotson occupied in his own day a much higher rank than his published sermons would seem to justify. Bishop Burnet[36] says, "He was not only the best preacher of the age, but seemed to have brought preaching to perfection; his sermons were so well liked that all the nation proposed him as a pattern and studied to copy after him." All his life he was heard with pleasure and profit by large audiences, and his published sermons were much read long after his death. While he was not so strong, either in thought or style, as some of his great predecessors and contemporaries, his sermons are much simpler in plan and language, and so they appealed more to the people. In fact, he introduced a new mode of sermon composition, which not only affected the subsequent development of the English pulpit, but was strongly influential in Holland and elsewhere in Europe. Broadus is doubtless correct in assigning the comparative neglect of Tillotson to-day to the fact that his arguments against infidelity and Romanism no longer appeal to the modern mind, and his style, which was new in his own time, has no longer the freshness which it then had. Tillotson's sermons are marked by great clearness of thought, and express sound sense and vigorous argument; they do not abound in beauty or warmth.

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[35] *Works,* with *Life* by Birch; sermon in Fish, I, p. 252.

[36] Quoted by Broadus, p. 218.

Robert South (1633-1716)[37] was, like Barrow, the son of a London merchant, who was also an intense loyalist. The boy was well educated from the start, being trained at Westminster School, under the famous Dr. Busby. The tombs of Busby and South are still seen near together in Westminster Abbey. South got his university training at Oxford, taking his M. A. degree in 1657. He got into some trouble on account of his Royalist opinions and his courage in expressing them. On the Restoration he was, of course, in favor, and received rapid promotions. He became canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1670. Various changes and promotions followed. He refused an archbishopric in Ireland under James II, whose Declaration of Indulgence he conscientiously opposed. He refused to sign the invitation to William and Mary, but after the Revolution he accepted the fact of their sovereignty, though not approving of it. He refused to take a bishopric which had been vacated by a Non-juror, and did not favor the Act of Toleration. He was not very active under Queen Anne, but in his last years was engaged in preaching and publishing his sermons.

As a preacher South ranks, for many reasons, among the greatest of his age and country. He had adequate intellectual outfit, being naturally gifted and carefully trained; his learning was ample; his mind clear, strong, and intense. He disdained the elaborate fancifulness and labored conceits of the preceding age. He sharply criticised the overwrought style of Jeremy Taylor. In his own preaching he was clear and forcible, with occasional beauties, though these were unsought and unstudied. The fatal defect in South's preaching was its lack of spirituality and tenderness; he was more mind than heart. His invective is sharp, cutting, and by no means always just; but his good sense and steady courage command respect, while the freshness, vigor, and splendid movement of his style give him an assured place among the great masters of English prose. So able a critic as Henry Rogers says:[38] "Of all the English preachers, South seems to furnish, in point of style, the truest specimens of pulpit eloquence. His robust intellect, his shrewd common sense, his vehement feelings, and a fancy always more distinguished by force than by elegance, admirably qualified him for a powerful public speaker. His style is everywhere direct, condensed, pungent. His sermons are well worthy of frequent and diligent perusal by every young preacher." One of his most notable sermons is that on the *Image of God in Man,* from which the following extract is taken. He is discussing the unfallen man, the ideal Adam, in whom the image of God had not yet been marred. In laying out the thought that this image was impressed upon the understanding, the will, and the affections, he begins with the understanding, as follows: "It was then sublime, clear, and aspiring—and, as it were, the soul's upper region, lofty and serene, free from the vapors and disturbances of the inferior affections. It was the leading, controlling faculty; all the passions wore the colors of reason; it was not consul, but dictator. Discourse was then almost as quick as intuition; it was nimble in proposing, firm in concluding; it could sooner determine than now it can dispute. Like the man, it had both light and agility; it knew no rest but in motion, no quiet but in activity. It did not so properly apprehend, as irradiate the object; not so much find, as make things intelligible. It did arbitrate upon the several reports of sense, and all the varieties of imagination, not like a drowsy judge, only hearing, but also directing their verdict. In sum, it was vegete, quick, and lively, open as the day, untainted as the morning, full of the innocence and sprightliness of youth, it gave the soul a bright and a full view into all things, and was not only a window, but itself the prospect. Briefly, there is as much difference between the clear representations of the understanding then and the obscure discoveries that it makes now as there is between the prospect of a casement and of a keyhole."

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[37] *Sermons,* in various editions; *Life,* prefixed; study by W. C. Lake in *Classic Preachers;* sermon in Fish, I, p. 285, reprinted in *World's Great Sermons,* II, p. 221.

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[38] Quoted by Pattison, p. 210.

With this great group of divines the seventeenth century of Anglican preaching passes into the eighteenth. We must now retrace our steps from the beginning of the century, taking up in similar manner the notable series of dissenting preachers, who were the contemporaries, the rivals, and in many cases the equals of their brethren of the Established Church. Of these we may distinguish the Puritans proper, that is, the Low Church Episcopalians inclining to Presbyterianism or Independency, and then the Presbyterians—Scotch and English—the Independents, and the Baptists. All of these groups furnished distinguished preachers whose names and methods we must now briefly present.

Thomas Adams (d. after 1630),[39] known as "Puritan Adams" and also as the "Shakespeare of the Puritans," has left a good name and some striking sermons behind him; but very little is known of his life. From allusions in his sermons it is gathered that he was pastor for a time at the village of Willington in Bedfordshire, during the early part of the reign of James I, and later in London. He appears as a preacher at Paul's Cross in 1612, but evidently lived long after that date, as his sermons were published in 1630, during his lifetime. Besides a considerable number of sermons, Adams published an exposition of the Second Epistle of Peter, which probably represents a series of expository discourses. All this indicates a long ministry and much preaching.

The *Sermons* and *Exposition* have been highly regarded by many competent critics. Southey is quoted by

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[39] *Works;* Brown, *Puritan Preaching,* p. 89 ff.; sermon in Fish, I, p. 180.

Brown[40] as naming Adams the "prose Shakespeare of Puritan theologians, scarcely inferior to Fuller in wit or to Taylor in fancy." His keen portrayal of human nature, his weight of thought, clearness and vigor of expression, and wealth of fancy are all evidenced in his work. The following from a discourse on *The Three Divine Sisters—Faith, Hope, and Charity,* gives some inkling of his quality:[41]

"Hope is the sweetest friend that ever kept a distressed soul company; it beguiles the tediousness of the way, all the miseries of our pilgrimage. Therefore, *dum spiro spero,* said the heathen; but *dum expiro spero,* says the Christian. The one, while I live, I hope; the other also, when I die, I hope: so Job, I will hope in Thee though Thou killest me. It tells the soul such sweet stories of the succeeding joys; what comforts there are in heaven; what peace, what joy, what triumphs, marriage songs, and hallelujahs there are in that country whither she is traveling, that she goes merrily away with her present burden! It holds the head while it aches, and gives invisible drink to the thirsty conscience. It is a liberty to them that are in prison, and the sweetest physic to the sick. Saint Paul calls it an anchor. Let the winds blow, and the storms beat, and the waves swell, yet the anchor stays the ship. It breaks through all difficulties, and makes way for the soul to follow it. It teacheth Abraham to expect fruit from a withered stock; and Joseph, in a dungeon, to look for the sun and stars' obeisance. . . . Though misery be present, comfort absent, though through the dim and waterish humor of thy heart thou canst spy no deliverance; yet such is the nature of Hope, that *futura facta dicit.* It speaks of future things as if they were present. 'We are saved by hope.' We have our inheritance in hope; which gives us the right of the substance, though not the substance of the right: assurance of the possession, though not possession of the thing assured. This tells us that no man should grieve much and long; God making our misery either sufferable or short."

Thomas Goodwin (1600-1679)[42] was born in Suffolk. He received his university education at Cambridge, where he became fellow of Catherine Hall, and, after ordination, a licensed preacher to the University. Later he was pastor in London, and a member of the famous Westminster Assembly of divines. This indicates the change in his church views and relations. Under Cromwell he was president of Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1647 he received an urgent invitation from John Cotton, of Boston in New England, to come to that colony and work with him in the New World. Goodwin had made his preparations to go, even his books had been sent aboard the ship, but he yielded to the earnest remonstrances of his people and remained their pastor. Goodwin was a man of excellent character and abilities. He had a decided evangelical religious experience, both at his conversion and in the subsequent growth of his Christian life. It is this spiritual note which characterizes the sermons of Goodwin, though they do not lack strength of thought and adequacy of learning. In comparing him with others, Brown says:[43] "Comparing him with eminent contemporaries like John Owen and Richard Baxter, it has been said that Owen preached earnestly to the understanding, reasoning from his critical and devout knowledge of Scripture; Baxter preached forcibly to the conscience, reasoning from the fitness of things, while Goodwin appealed to the spiritual affections, reasoning from his own religious experience, and interpreting Scripture by the insight of a renewed heart."

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[40] *Op. cit.,* p. 89. [41] Fish, I, p. 183. [42] Brown, p. 98 ff.

While Goodwin's sermons have something of the well-known faults of the times, his own declaration shows that he avoided the extremes of fancy and pedantry, for in contrasting his own methods with those of others, he thus at the end of his long life opens his heart about his own preaching:[44] "But my heart, upon this, my turning to God and setting His glory as my resolved end of all my actions and ways, did soon discover to me the unprofitableness of such a design [*i. e.*, imitating a certain flowery preacher]; and I came to this resolved principle, that I would preach wholly and altogether solid and wholesome words, without affectation of wit and vanity of eloquence. And in the end, this project of wit and vainglory was wholly sunk in my heart, and I

[43] P. 100.

[44] Id., p. 105 f.

left all, and have continued in that purpose and practice these threescore years, and I never was so much as tempted to put in any of my own withered flowers that I had gathered and valued more than diamonds, nor have they offered themselves to my memory to the bringing them into a sermon to this day; but I have preached what I thought was truly edifying, either for conversion or bringing them up to eternal life."

Richard Baxter (1615-1691)[45] is perhaps the greatest single name in the history of English Puritanism, and this is so rather by virtue of character than by eminence of intellect or of learning. The life of Baxter falls into three well-defined periods: (1) The early years, 1615-1646; (2) The pastorate at Kidderminster, 1646-1660; (3) The later years, 1660-1691. It was a long battle with bodily feebleness and a great variety of opposing circumstances, but it was rich in wholesome Christian influence and fruitful of good works.

Richard Baxter was born at Rowton in Shropshire, of respectable but humble parents. Being of a delicate constitution, he was unfitted for hard physical labor, but his acuteness and eagerness of intellect qualified him for scholarly pursuits and culture. But having no means to secure an academic education, he was left to secure his intellectual culture by such irregular schooling and private reading as he could find. At one time he read diligently in the library of the Rev. Mr. Wickstead, a chaplain at Ludlow, being especially interested in devotional works. He learned much and was able to pass a satisfactory examination for orders at the age of twenty-three, when he was ordained by the bishop of Worcester, and began preaching at Dudley and Bridgenorth. Though in ill-health he was very studious, and in 1640 became curate and lecturer at Kidderminster, which was later to be the scene of his remarkable pastoral labors. This first term of service lasted only two years, but left an impression which led to his recall a few years later. During the Civil War Baxter twice served for a short time as chaplain in the Parliamentary army, and also preached as occasion called for at Coventry and other places. Besides his customary bad health, he suffered a long and dangerous illness which brought him near the grave. It is significant that during this period of disquiet and sickness he produced the best known and best loved of all his works, *The Saints' Everlasting Rest.* Both by temperament and conviction Baxter was essentially a moderate, conservative, mediating man. He abhorred tyranny and extremes on either side of the civil conflict; he sympathized with the Parliament, but he protested against the execution of Charles I, and had the courage to tell Cromwell at the height of his power that the Commonwealth was an usurpation, its measures were objectionable, and that the old form of monarchy was more acceptable to the people. While in the army he labored to moderate extremes of all sorts. In church matters also he occupied a middle position, rejecting High Church pretensions, and yet being neither a fully convinced Presbyterian nor Independent. So also in theology he took up a mediating position between Arminians and Calvinists. He formulated and urged various schemes of toleration and comprehension for all parties and opinions which divided the leaders of his age. His theories were impracticable, but his spirit and character commanded the respect of the good and thoughtful, though he was made to suffer at the hands of the intolerant and partisan.

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[45] *Works,* with *Life* by Orme in Vol. I; Brown, *Puritan Preaching,* Lect. VI; sermon in Fish, I, p. 210.

In 1646 the people at Kidderminster, remembering his earnest work of a few years before, urged that he be made their minister, but the place was still held by the unworthy old incumbent with whom Baxter had formerly worked, and he was unwilling to displace the old man and set him adrift. Baxter therefore accepted the post of "lecturer," and really did the work of the parish from the beginning, though for a time the old vicar was officially its incumbent. In this unpromising parish, composed mostly of weavers, with only a few people of culture and ideals, with the additional difficulty of having had very unworthy ministers for a long season, afflicted with ill-health and other trials, Richard Baxter labored for fourteen years. It is one of the most notable instances of pastoral work and success in all history. A transformation was wrought. It was a case where intense and laborious personal and pastoral work was supplemented by devoted and earnest preaching. In his *Reformed Pastor,* his autobiographical sketch, and his sermons, Baxter gives good insight into his methods of visitation, catechising, and teaching. It is amazing and almost incredible how a feeble man could have done all this work besides producing some of his best known writings and constantly preaching.

Baxter welcomed the Restoration in 1660. Like many other moderate royalists, he hoped the restoration of the old form of government would settle the country, and that the new king would have learned something from the mistakes of his predecessor. He welcomed the king, took part in the Savoy Conference, declined an offered bishopric, and desired to be reinstated at Kidderminster under the new government and continue his labors there. But for some reason this was declined, and for the rest of his life he was without a settled charge, though frequently preaching as opportunities were offered, mostly in London, where he married and chiefly resided. In 1685 he was arraigned before the infamous Judge Jeffreys on a charge of preaching sedition. His trial was a horrible travesty, and he was condemned to imprisonment in the Tower, where he spent eighteen months, occupying himself with his writings. At last released on the plea of ill-health, he gradually declined, and died in 1691.

In preaching, the bodily weakness and want of comeliness in Baxter were offset by a bright and speaking eye and a mellow and persuasive voice. His actual preaching produced a profound effect, but we can not judge his sermons fairly by the standards of modern taste and methods. Like those of all the Puritans, they seem to us intolerably prolix, minute, tedious in detail. But when compared with others that have come down from that time laden with the same faults, they show to advantage, at least in two particulars: the style, though quaint and prolix, is clear and strong; and the sermons are remarkably free from the affectations and pedantry and straining after effect which we find in so many. The one distinctive trait, or rather pre-eminent virtue, in Baxter's preaching, as reported by tradition and evident now in the printed sermons, is what Broadus aptly calls its "tremendous, earth-shaking earnestness." All his writings have this note, and his own oft-quoted lines infallibly describe it:

> "I preached as never sure to preach again,
> And as a dying man to dying men."

Brown also well states the matter thus:[46] "This man's power, then, and the secret of his success lay in the natural human way he spoke to men, and the divine earnestness which possessed his soul. He spoke directly from Christ to the people. Christianity was to him no mere set of doctrines to be received or a code of ethics to be followed; it was the power of an endless life."

Some indication of this note of profound personal conviction may be seen in the brief extract which follows from a sermon on *Making Light of Christ and His Salvation*:[47] "Dearly beloved in the Lord, I have now done that work which I came upon; what effect it hath, or will have, upon your hearts, I know not, nor is it any further in my power to accomplish that which my soul desireth for you. Were it the Lord's will that I might have my wish herein, the words that you have this day heard should so stick by you that the secure should be awakened by them, and none of you should perish by the slighting of your salvation. I can not now follow you to your several habitations to apply this word to your particular necessities; but O that I could make every man's conscience a preacher to himself that it might do it, which is ever with you! . . . I will say no more but this at this time: It is a thousand pities that when God hath provided a Saviour for the world, and when Christ hath suffered so much for their sins, and made so full a satisfaction to justice, and purchased so glorious a kingdom for His saints, and all this is offered so freely to sinners, to lost, unworthy sinners, even for nothing, that yet so many millions should everlastingly perish because they make light of their Saviour and salvation, and prefer the vain world and their lusts before them. I have delivered my message; the Lord open your hearts to receive it. I have persuaded you with the words of truth and soberness; the Lord persuade you more effectually, or else all this is lost. Amen."

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[46] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

[47] Fish, I, p. 222.

The Presbyterian group of preachers contains a number of strong and learned men, mostly Scotchmen, but some Englishmen also. Only a few of the leaders can be selected for brief notice.

Alexander Henderson (1583-1646)[48] was, after Knox and Melville, the most important and influential of the founders of the Kirk of Scotland. In early life an Episcopalian, he was converted under a sermon by Robert Bruce, and soon became convinced that Presbyterianism was right, adopting that belief with characteristic earnestness. He was one of the leaders in framing the famous Covenant of 1638 to resist "prelacy" in Scotland; he was largely instrumental in securing the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant with England in 1643; and it was he more than any other one man who gave to the Westminster Confession and the two Catechisms their final form. Henderson was born in Fifeshire, and got his academic training at St. Andrews. He served as pastor at Leuchars, near St. Andrews, and, after 1638, at Edinburgh, where he also was rector of the University. As a preacher he was both popular and powerful, balanced in thought, strong in argument, effective in manner. The published sermons of Henderson were all preached in that critical time in 1638 between the signing of the Covenant at Edinburgh and the meeting of the Assembly at Glasgow. They show a masculine intellect, a firm faith, a quiet but determined courage. The tone is noble and modest, the grasp of the subject is clear and firm; there is power of appeal and a secure sense of being right without pride or bitterness.

David Dickson (1583-1663),[49] affectionately known as "Dickson of Irvine" from having served for twenty-three years as pastor at that town, was a greatly beloved and useful preacher. He was born at Glasgow and educated at the University of Edinburgh. He began his notable ministry at Irvine in 1618. Here he was a faithful and beloved pastor, a steady student, a popular and forceful preacher and writer. His expositions of Scripture were sound and scholarly, and were long useful. He is remembered in hymnology, too, for his translation or paraphrase of the hymn, *O Mother Dear, Jerusalem,* of which he has been often erroneously supposed to be the author. Reluctantly leaving his small parish, he yielded to a sense of duty and became professor of divinity, first at Glasgow, and then at Edinburgh. After the Restoration he was ejected, and did not long survive. He was a noble man and preacher, pious, evangelical, moving, and successful. Crowds attended his preaching, and many were converted and built up under it. The sermons show strong grasp of the theme, fine spiritual insight, and a beautiful blending of severity and tenderness in rebuking sin, with a quaint and refreshing style that charms both by its simplicity and pungency.

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[48] See *Sermons, Prayers, and Pulpit Addresses*, by Alex. Henderson, ed. by R. Thomson Martin, 1888; printed from an old ms. but well attested; with *Life* by Wodrow prefixed; Blaikie, p. 98 ff.; *Evangelical Succession*, 2d Series, p. 89 ff.

[49] See *Select Practical Writings of David Dickson*, ed. by T. Thompson, including a number of sermons; also Blaikie, p. 102 ff.

Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661)[50] presents us with the striking contrast of a holy, mystical, devout soul joined to a sharp, narrow, partisan, dogmatic, and intolerant mind. His famous *Letters* to his flock and friends are one of the classics of devotional literature; but the other side of him is remembered by the famous rebuke he received at the mouth of Cromwell, who once sternly suggested to him to consider the possibility of his being mistaken. He was born in the parish of Nisbet, in Roxburgshire, and was educated at Edinburgh. On his ordination he became pastor at the little village of Anworth, where his faithful and much-blessed ministry was distinguished by personal piety and devotion, by earnest and fruitful preaching, and by wisdom and tenderness in counsel, as his admirable *Letters* show. He later became professor at St. Andrews, was a leading delegate at the Westminster Assembly, and otherwise much concerned in the great disputes of the age. Rutherford appears to least advantage in his controversial works, which, though strong and sometimes profound in thought, are marred by bitterness and intolerance; but his devotional works and sermons exhibit a poetic and mystic temperament which, after the fashion of the age, often found expression in quaint and fanciful ways. He loved to preach, and preached with effect. There is a quaint, delightful flavor in Rutherford's sermons. They show all the varied qualities of his mind—devout mysticism, philosophical thinking, and sharp controversy. But he glorifies his Saviour in all. There is a particularly interesting and striking series of discourses on "The Forlorn Son," as he calls the Prodigal.

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[50] See *Communion Sermons* of Rutherford, ed. by A. A. Bonar, 1876 (with biographical notice), and *Quaint Sermons* by Rutherford (same editor), 1885; notice by Blaikie, p. 112 ff., and lecture by A. T. Innes, Esq., in *Evangelical Succession,* p. 127 ff.

Of the English Presbyterian preachers, the most important name is that of Edmund Calamy (1600-1666),[51] who was born and brought up in London. He took his university degree at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and being ordained in the English Church, served for a time as chaplain to the bishop of Ely, then as lecturer at Bury St. Edmunds, and later as rector at Rochford. But becoming more and more dissatisfied with episcopacy, he announced himself a Presbyterian about 1639. He then became "lecturer," or preaching pastor, at the strong Presbyterian Church of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, London. Here a ministry of twenty years was greatly honored and blessed. He was heard by large audiences of cultured and thoughtful people. Like Baxter, he was moderate and conciliatory, desiring to find a middle way in which all could unite. He opposed the execution of Charles I, and favored the recall of Charles II, who offered him a bishopric if he would come back to the Established Church. Under the Act of Uniformity he was forced to resign his place, but did not try to gather an independent congregation, living quietly in London a few years more. The sermons of Calamy show that his reputation as one of the most popular and effective preachers of his time was well deserved. They are fearless and yet devout in spirit, strong in thought, effective in expression.

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[51] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, for his life; and for sermons, *The Art of Divine Meditation* (a series), 1680; and *The Godly Man's Ark* (often reprinted, most recent ed., 1865).

There were many good and learned divines and preachers among the Independents, though these were naturally neither so numerous nor so influential as the Episcopalians and Presbyterians. Chief among them were Owen and Howe.

John Owen (1616-1683)[52] was born at Stadham, near Oxford, the son of a clergyman, and descended from an old Welsh family. John was put to a tutor at Oxford, and quickly prepared for college, which he entered at the age of twelve! Though an ambitious and diligent student, he took part in the games and activities of the University and did not lose his health. There is no definite account of his religious experiences, but they came early, and he escaped the vices of college life. During the ascendency of Archbishop Laud at Oxford, Owen, against the wishes of his kindred, left the University. He had, however, already secured his degree of M. A. at the age of nineteen, and had also been ordained to the Episcopal ministry. He became private chaplain and tutor in two families, who were royalists, and on the breaking out of civil strife, Owen promptly sided with the Parliament. This cost him his place and decided his future. His royalist Welsh uncle who had long cared for him now cast him off, and he was left, without means and in great depression of spirits. to shift for himself as best he could. In some way he received help from friends, and later secured a church at Fordham, where he led a quietly studious pastoral life, married, and enjoyed peace. Later he received appointment as preacher at Coggeshall. It was here that he finally became an Independent in his views of church polity. He several times preached by invitation before Parliament, and reluctantly accompanied Cromwell on his campaigns in Ireland and Scotland. During the Commonwealth Owen filled with admirable ability and courage the exceedingly difficult position of Vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, preaching also at Christ Church. He was not a subservient man, and in some way offended Cromwell, and gave up his hard post in 1658. He retired to his native village of Stadham, where he had acquired a little home. He spent his time largely in writing, though occasionally preaching till silenced by the Acts of Charles II. Even then he preached sometimes in secret, and more openly as the rigidity of the persecuting laws became somewhat relaxed. He was still regarded as the leader of the Independents, and his active pen ceased only with his life.

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[52] Owen's *Works*, complete, ed. by Goold, with *Life* by Thomson prefixed.

Owen was a man of exalted character, esteemed by friends and opponents for his inflexible adherence to principle. Twice married, his domestic life was happy. As a pastor he was faithful and beloved; as a theologian he ranks among the greatest of his age, and his numerous works—some of them still valuable—were called forth by the needs of his time. His *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* is a monumental work. As a preacher Owen was heard with interest and respect; but making every allowance for the taste of the age, it is difficult to see how his sermons could have been other than tedious and heavy, even to a Puritan audience. The thought has, indeed, the weight and fullness of other great minds of the time, but the logical coherence and clearness of Barrow and Howe, for example, are wanting; the popular tone of Baxter, and even of South, is not in sight, and as for style, nothing comparable to the beauties of Taylor or the simplicity and directness of Tillotson is to be thought of. In sum, Owen was far greater as a man, a leader and thinker, than he was as a preacher; but the greatness of his character and the power and value of his thinking gave interest and influence to his preaching in spite of its want of the distinctively oratorical qualities.

John Howe (1630-1705)[53] was a clearer thinker and a more effective preacher than Owen, but was in other respects not unlike him. He, too, was the son of an Anglican clergyman, and born at Loughborough, in Leicestershire, but his father was ejected for non-conformity, and retired, first to Ireland, and later to a place in Lancashire. John received good teaching at the hands of his father, and was sent to Cambridge, where he took his B. A. degree in regular course. Then he went also to Oxford, and again received the degree there, and later that of M. A. also, with a fellowship at Magdalen College. He was ordained by non-conformist divines, and began preaching first in connection with his university work, but later settled as pastor at Great Torrington in Devon. Then he served both Oliver and Richard Cromwell as one of the chaplains at Whitehall, returning at Richard's fall to Great Torrington, where he served again till the Act of Uniformity silenced him in 1662. He preached secretly as he could until 1671, when he retired to Ireland, where a lenient bishop permitted him greater liberty in preaching while he served as chaplain to Lord Massarene. In 1675 the relaxation of the persecution permitted his return to London, where his preaching to a congregation of Dissenters was connived at for a time, but in 1685 he went to Utrecht for a sojourn, preaching "in his own hired house" and in the English church for a year or so, till the Declaration of Indulgence, in 1687, permitted his return as pastor to his London flock. The Revolution and Act of Toleration now left him unmolested as an Independent preacher to this London church to the end of his life, in 1705.

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[53] *Works* and *Life* of Howe, by Dr. Edmund Calamy, is the edition here referred to. But numerous other editions, partial and complete are accessible. Sermon in Fish, I, p. 238.

In person Howe was tall and dignified; in mind great and learned; in character singularly unselfish, devoted, and pure. His extensive and exhaustive sermons taxed the patience even of his select hearers. It is said that one of his women parishioners once remarked that Mr. Howe was indeed a great divine, "but, dear good man, he spends so much time in laying the cloth that I lost my appetite for the dinner." One of his best sermons, *The Redeemer's Tears Over Lost Souls,* as given by extracts in Fish's *Masterpieces,* exhibits this wearisome prolixity and other defects of Howe's preaching, but it also shows the sweep and depth of his thought, the elevation of his thinking and feeling, and the occasional flowing eloquence of his style. The oft-quoted opinion of Robert Hall[54] is well worth giving here entire: "I have learned far more from John Howe than from any other author I ever read. There is an astonishing magnificence in his conceptions. He had not the same perception of the beautiful as of the sublime; and hence his endless subdivisions. . . . There was, I think, an innate inaptitude in Howe's mind for discerning minute graces and [also] improprieties, and hence his sentences are often long and cumbersome. Still he was unquestionably the greatest of the Puritan divines."

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[54] *Works* of Robert Hall, Vol. III, p. 78; an appendix giving reported conversations.

The Baptists, though comparatively few in number and opposed by some of the strongest social and political influences, had among them some preachers of power and distinction and not unworthy to be mentioned along with the celebrated men of other faiths who have been named.

John Bunyan (1628-1688),[55] the world-famous author of the *Pilgrim's Progress,* also of the *Holy War, Grace Abounding,* and other devotional works, is better known as writer than preacher. But a preacher of wonderful force and power he certainly was. One would expect to find in the sermons of the author of *Pilgrim's Progress* that admirable combination of spiritual insight and fervor, of picturesque and vivid imagination, and of racy, homely, vigorous, and appealing English diction which characterize that immortal production. This expectation is not fully met in the published sermons. In fact, one feels a distinct disappointment—the sermons are those of the Puritan pattern of the day, prolix, tedious, minutely divided, with labored effects and conceits, and the style is often too homely and dry. But put the *Pilgrim's Progress,* and its praises by the critics, out of your mind; recall and allow for the customary Puritan faults; then read a few of the sermons, and perhaps the spiritual warmth, the force of imagination, the clearness and power of style will appeal to you still and stand on their own footing as elemental characteristics of Bunyan the preacher. Then you will not wonder that back of these few published Puritan sermons there lay a well-defined popular tradition of Bunyan's attractiveness and power as a preacher of the gospel, and that this was well sustained by the crowds that attended and the fruits that followed his preaching.

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[55] *Life* by John Brown; his own narrative in his *Grace Abounding,* often prefixed to various editions of *Pilgrim's Progress;* several editions of his *Works;* Lec. V in Brown's *Puritan Preaching;* sermon in Fish, I, p. 225. For literary appreciation see Macaulay's *Essay* on Southey's *Life of Bunyan,* and his estimate in *History of England,* chap. VII.

John Bunyan was born at Elstow, a village of Bedfordshire, of poor and untaught parents, his father being a tinker, that is, a mender of metal vessels, a trade which John himself followed at times, as well as lace-making by hand. His mother died when the boy was quite young, and the father's marriage a few months afterwards was deeply resented. John joined the army (probably, but not certainly, the Parliamentary side) when sixteen or seventeen years old, and became very godless, profane, and wicked. On leaving the army (1646) he settled to his trade as tinker at Elstow, and though utterly without means, he married a girl as poor as himself. He says,[56] "This woman and I came together as poor as poor might be, not having so much household stuff as a dish or spoon betwixt us both." But she brought piety and two books that had been her father's: *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven,* and *The Practice of Piety.* These the young couple read and studied together, and the godly wife's prayers and influence were at length rewarded with the conversion of her husband. She died early and unknown, but her work remains. Bunyan was baptized into the fellowship of the Baptist Church at Bedford, by the pastor, John Gifford, in 1655. Soon he was asked to preach, his gift being recognized, and consented, making from the start a profound impression. He also began to write, his first published work being a controversy with a Quaker. Working with his hands and preaching as occasion called for, he was useful and busy. About 1658 he married his second wife, Elizabeth, much younger than himself, whose sufferings during his long imprisonment and piteous appeals before the judges have won for her a place of pathetic interest in the religious annals of the age. On the Restoration, in 1660, Bunyan was forbidden to preach, arrested for disobeying, and thrown into Bedford jail, where he spent twelve years. Friends helped his wife and children; he made lace in the prison, received visits from his wife and children, especially his

[56] Brown's *Life,* p. 54.

blind daughter, and other friends. But the chief interest of this time of trial is that it gave to the world *The Pilgrim's Progress,* which was written in Bedford jail. Toward the last the rigors of prison life were much relaxed and Bunyan was allowed occasionally to go out and even to preach. At last, in 1672, the act of pardon let him out of prison and gave him liberty to preach. He soon became pastor of the Baptist Church at Bedford, and served to the end of his life. His preaching attracted and profited large congregations, and he often visited London, where he was gladly welcomed and heard. It was on one of these visits at the home of a friend that he became ill and died, in August, 1688. He was buried in Bunhill Fields, City Road, London, where his tomb is visited by many who have learned to love him through his wonderful allegory of the Christian life.

Recurring to Bunyan's preaching, let it be remembered that its chief excellence lay in the vividness and reality of its spiritual power. He himself is quoted by Dr. Brown[57] as saying, "I preached what I felt, what I smartingly did feel, even that under which my poor soul did groan and tremble to astonishment." And one of his pastors, in a preface to one of his earlier works, wrote:[58] "He hath through grace taken these three heavenly degrees, to-wit, union with Christ, the anointing of the Spirit, and experience of the temptations of Satan, which do more fit a man for that mighty work of preaching the gospel than all the university learning and degrees that can be had." The closing sentences from a long and earnest sermon on the *Barren Fig-Tree*[59] will give a slight taste of Bunyan's quality as a preacher: "And now, could the soul be annihilated, or brought to nothing, how happy would it count itself! But it sees that may not be. Wherefore it is put to a wonderful strait. Stay in the body it may not; go out of the body it dares not! Life is going; the blood settles in the flesh, and the lungs being no more able to draw breath through the nostrils, at last out goes the weary, trembling soul, and is immediately seized by devils, who lie lurking in every hole in the chamber for that very purpose. His friends take care of the body, and wrap it up in the sheet or coffin; but the soul is out of their thought and reach, going down to the chambers of death! I had thought to have enlarged, but I forbear. God, who teaches man to profit, bless this brief and plain discourse to thy soul, who yet standest a professor in the land of the living, among the trees of His garden! Amen."

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[57] *Puritan Preaching,* p. 146. [58] Brown's *Life,* p. 113.
[59] Fish, I, p. 236.

Vavasor Powell (1617-1671),[60] sometimes called the "Whitefield of Wales," was born of good family in Radnorshire. He was well educated in youth, and took a course at Oxford. Ordained as a minister of the Established Church, he began his work without a deep spiritual life, but on reading Puritan books and talking with leaders, he was converted and became a Non-conformist, and later a Baptist. A great ministry in Wales followed, and multitudes of converts were won. In 1642 he returned to London and did great preaching in the city, making many converts, and forming a church. In 1646 he again went on a mission to Wales, armed this time with a letter of commendation from members of the Westminster Assembly. This tour also was greatly successful, and interesting stories are related in illustration of his power over audiences. Being republican in sentiment, he fell under Cromwell's displeasure. First by one side, and then the other, he suffered imprisonment at various times, spending in sum eight years in thirteen different prisons. He was in the Fleet prison in London when he died. His death was peaceful and triumphant. He published some sermons and other works, including a concordance. He evidently had that fervid eloquence for which so many of his countrymen have been noted. The effects of his preaching were immediate and powerful. It is said that he established as many as twenty churches in Wales, and that he gathered some twenty thousand followers.

Benjamin Keach (1640-1704)[61] was the most famous and able Baptist preacher and divine of his time. He was born in Buckinghamshire, and converted at the age of fifteen. By a study of the Bible he became convinced of Baptist doctrines and lived to be one of their clearest and ablest defenders. At first Arminian in sentiment, he soon embraced the Calvinistic theology. He was ordained as pastor of a Baptist church in Southwark, and held it the rest of his life. He was a stout disputant, and crossed swords to good purpose with Baxter and other strong controversialists. His services were in frequent demand, both by pen and disputation, among his Baptist and other dissenting brethren. He suffered, not only the usual persecutions during the period after the Restoration, but was shamefully treated besides. In 1664 he published his *Child's Instructor,* in which he argued against infant baptism. For this he was arraigned before Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon) and condemned to the pillory, where he was subjected to ignominy and insult, but bore his sufferings in the spirit of a martyr. He was a voluminous author, and wrote many controversial and devotional works, besides his published sermons. These show a fine insight into Scripture, a clear and convincing argumentation, a devout and earnest spirit, and a style usually simple and clear and not without graces of expression and occasional eloquence. His exposition of the Parables is a series of sermon notes. The interpretation is for the most part sensible and judicious, but sometimes falls into the forced allegorizing and fancifulness too common in that and other ages. *A Golden Mine Opened* is a volume of forty sermons published in 1694. They present a varied character, a good deal of strength, and not a few quaintnesses in the way of both title and treatment. The first one, for example, bears the title, *A Trumpet Blown in Zion, or an Alarm in God's Holy Mountain.* The sermon in Fish's *Masterpieces* scarcely gives Keach at his best, but presents his clearness, force of reasoning, and view of Scripture in a characteristic way. Keach's success is the best commentary on his character and work. The odds against him were great, but he won the fear and respect of his foes, and the esteem and confidence of his friends, dying in peace and honor at sixty-four years of age.

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[60] Article in Cathcart's *Baptist Encyclopaedia; Life*, by David Davies, Lond., 1896; a list of his writings is given in the Appendix, but no sermons seem to be available in English.

[61] Article in *Baptist Encyclopaedia*, Benedict's *History of the Baptists*, Vol. I; Keach's *Golden Mine, Exposition of the Parables;* sermon in Fish, I, p. 299.

PART SECOND

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER VI

General View of the Eighteenth Century. Catholic Preaching in Southern Europe

For preaching, as for other departments of human activity, the history of Europe in the eighteenth century is neither so interesting nor so important as in the seventeenth and the nineteenth. In general history this relatively lower value of the eighteenth century has often been noted, and sometimes exaggerated. For altogether apart from the place of the eighteenth century as a link in the chain of events and causes, it has to its credit many great movements in the progress of European civilization. The rise of Russia and of Prussia to vital influence in Europe, the development of the British colonial enterprises in India and America, the century-long conflict between England and France on many fields, the independence and federation of the United States, and the great upheaval of the French Revolution make it forever impossible to underrate the historic significance of the century in which these momentous events took place. And in the less dazzling but no less important affairs of commerce, science, thought, literature, and the arts, both industrial and æsthetic, there were affairs not only of great intrinsic importance, but of still greater value as preparations for the more extensive and wonderful achievements of the nineteenth century.

This line of remark applies also to the history of religion in general and of preaching in particular in Europe during the eighteenth century. As compared with both the immediately preceding and following centuries there is noticeable depression of both inner power and of appealing interest. It was not a distinctively great epoch, yet not wanting in strong men nor in important and fruitful movements.

The striking features of the century, in the larger affairs of Christianity and in its pulpits as well, are in contrast—rationalism and evangelism. This is especially true of Protestantism; Romanism was not so greatly affected either in one direction or the other, but suffered from a general decline in which there are only a few traces of power. The Catholic countries in Southern Europe lay depressed and cold, while France suffered from the decay following the exhausting glories of the great age of Louis XIV, till the great explosion of the Revolution shook the foundations of religion as well as of the state.

In the leading Protestant countries—Germany and England—and from them elsewhere, there was a cold wave of skeptical recoil from the religious enthusiasm of earlier times. Deism and latitudinarianism in England, philosophic skepticism (partly due to English Deism and partly to French infidelity) and rationalistic criticism in Germany, combined to make the eighteenth century the "dark age of Protestantism"—as it has not inappropriately been called. In Germany the feeble remnants of Pietism offered some resistance to the prevalent Rationalism. In England the reaction was far more effective and of far greater after results. This was the great Whitefield-Wesley revival, for which there was in America also a corresponding movement in the Great Awakening. The English revival did not at first greatly affect the Continent of Europe, but its influence and fruits were felt there early in the nineteenth century. But in Great Britain itself, and thence in after generations throughout the world, that great evangelical reaction was one of the most mighty and significant movements in all the history of Christian preaching. The features of preaching thus generally indicated will be more particularly dealt with as we discuss pulpit conditions in the separate countries and their groups of preachers, giving our first attention to the Catholic preaching in Southern Europe.

I. Spanish and Portuguese Preaching

The political and religious history of Spain during the eighteenth century need not detain us long, for general affairs had no more than the usual connections with our particular subject of preaching; and preaching was only an accepted and established custom of ecclesiastical life which had no special or vital influence upon the progress of events. The century is notable in Spanish history as that of the Bourbon dynasty. This famous House came to the throne of Spain in the person of Philip V, duke of Anjou and grandson of Louis XIV. His accession led to the famous War of the Spanish Succession, which involved all Europe, established the fame of the English Duke of Marlborough, and ended with establishing the Bourbons in Spain, though at fearful cost to the country. On the whole, the Bourbons—Philip V, Ferdinand VI, Charles III, Charles IV—proved rather good monarchs as monarchs go. They sought the good of the people they ruled and were above the average in personal character, but they confronted difficulties in internal government and in foreign complications to which their abilities were not equal, and the history of Spain during the century is that of continued decline and loss. In religious affairs Catholicism remained supreme, but two important checks to the absolute domination of the papacy were administered during the century; one was the curbing of the power of the Inquisition, and the other was the overthrow of the Jesuits, whose expulsion from Spain (1767) was followed by the suppression (1773) of the Order by the Pope, an action forced by the Spanish Government.

The Bourbons encouraged literature,[1] but the decay which had set in toward the close of the preceding period was incurable, and their efforts were not crowned with distinguished success. Philip V founded a Spanish Academy, modeled after that of France, which did some good work in purifying the language, but failed to stimulate the production of a great literature. Ticknor says:[2] "All elegant culture had so nearly disappeared before the accession of the Bourbons, and there was such an insensibility to its value in those classes of society where it should have been most cherished, that it was plain the resuscitation must be the work of time, and that the land must long lie fallow before another harvest could be gathered in. During the entire reign of Philip V . . . we shall find undeniable traces of this unhappy state of things; few authors appearing who deserve to be named at all, and still fewer who demand a careful notice." From the middle of the century there was some improvement, and the historian names and discusses a few writers in the various departments of literature, but there were none of commanding genius in any sphere, only a few who attraced much notice, even at home, and fewer still whose names became known in the world.

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[1] See Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. III, p. 213 ff., for the literary history of the Bourbon period.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

In such a state of national decline and literary eclipse we should look in vain for preaching to be marked by either intellectual force or spiritual power. The triumph of the Inquisition in the complete suppression of Protestantism and of any freedom of thought in the dominant Church left the Roman doctrines outwardly established as the staple of preaching, but shorn of vital power and wanting the stimulus of a healthy opposition. The inflated style of Gongora still held place among many of the leading preachers;[3] and along with this there was a coarse and irreverent style of open-air and mission preaching which made up in vulgarity what it lacked in real popular force. A sharp satirical attack was made on this style of preaching by Father Isla (1703-1781),[4] a Jesuit, educated at Salamanca, and himself a preacher of no mean powers. He is one of the few writers of his time whom Ticknor mentions with warmth, and that historian's account of him is, in part, as follows: "From the age of twenty-four he had been a successful preacher, and continued such until he was cruelly expelled from his own country. But he perceived how little worthy of its great subjects was the prevalent style of Spanish pulpit oratory—how much it was degraded by bad taste, by tricks of composition, by conceits and puns, and even by a low buffoonery in which the vulgar monks, sent to preach in the churches or in the public streets and squares, indulged themselves merely to win applause from equally vulgar audiences and increase the contributions they solicited by arts so discreditable. It is said that at first Father Isla was swept away by the current of his times, which ran with extraordinary force, and that he wrote in some degree as others did. But he soon recognized his mistake, and his numerous published sermons, written between 1729 and 1754, are marked with a purity and directness of style which had long been unknown, and which, though wanting the richness and fervor of the exhortations of Luis de Leon and Luis de Granada, would not have dishonored the Spanish pulpit even in their days." Besides condemning the bad preaching of the age by his own later example, Isla published a clever satire called *Father Gerund,* in which he lashed with wit and force the popular preachers of this sort. He described the character and methods of his man and put into his mouth specimens of preaching, taken from actual sermons, which amply sustained his strictures. The book set all Spain laughing—after the manner of *Don Quixote*—and, along with the French influence from Bossuet and others, effectually drove from Spanish preaching the excesses which it attacked.

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[3] Ticknor, *op. cit.*, p. 237 and note.

[4] See Ticknor, *op. cit.*, p. 259 f.; and an excellent monograph by Bernard Gandeau (Paris, 1891), *Les Prêcheurs Burlesques en Espagne au dix-huitième Siècle, Étude sur le Père Isla.*

Only a few other Spanish preachers are noted by the authorities[5] as of more than the average worth. Of these Pasquale Ranzon (d. 1711) is named as having enjoyed a considerable reputation at the opening of the century. Along with him should be mentioned his contemporary, Benito Viñales de la Torre, who was professor of theology at Barcelona, and later a court preacher, in the early period and had some fame for eloquence. Others are mentioned by Zanotto as having published sermons—including a few who preached in the Spanish settlements in America—but as the historian gives neither extracts nor comments, they could scarcely have been men of great importance.

In Portugal political, ecclesiastical, and literary conditions present only a few matters of unusual interest. The first half of the century was a period of poverty, misgovernment, and decline, redressed in the latter half by the strong ministry of Pombal. The Lisbon earthquake, in 1755, awakened the sympathy of the world. As in Spain, the Inquisition was curbed and the Jesuits expelled. Literature feebly imitated French models, lacked originality and power, and has no names of eminence. Letters flourished more in Brazil than in the mother country. Preaching shared the decline of the times and presents no characteristics of power. The authorities referred to name at least one man, Emanuele de Gouven, as rising above the average. He was an Augustinian monk who had unusual gifts of voice and oratory, drew great crowds, and published some sermons. There was also John of St. Margaret, who taught philosophy and theology, was regarded as quite an orator, and published a number of political, moral, and panegyrical discourses. A few others also are mentioned, but without special notice or commendation.

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[5] See works of Zanotto and Lentz, previously mentioned, and articles in Wetzer und Welte, *Kirchenlexikon.*

II. ITALIAN PREACHING

The general condition of affairs in Italy during the eighteenth century showed no improvement over that of the seventeenth. The country was still the football of foreign rulers. Only decadent and intriguing small States like Genoa, Venice, Tuscany, Parma, and the Papal States, maintained some semblance of Italian native governments, and these were weak, disunited, and corrupt. The failure of the Hapsburg line of Spanish sovereigns and the accession of the Bourbons left the Italian interests of the rival houses a constant source of dispute between Austria and Spain. In these quarrels and the terrible wars they caused France was involved, in the early part of the century through the Bourbons, and later, toward its close, by the Revolution. Meantime the House of Savoy secured the kingdom of Sardinia and was preparing for its future mission as the maker of united Italy. But this was far away. The Italians were throughout the eighteenth century divided, decayed, despoiled, almost hopeless. Even the intervals of "languid peace" in this century of strife brought no true prosperity or power to the Italian people. Capable patriots were too few; mere insurrections were futile; the day for Italian independence and unity was indeed far distant, not yet even in sight.

Italian literature in the eighteenth century,[6] though not great in range or power, nor comparable to that of the sixteenth or of the nineteenth century, shows improvement over that of the seventeenth. Its distinctive achievements are in the field of the drama, but with some lyrics and satires of note; there is not much of notable prose. The lyrical dramas and other poems of Metastasio gave him an European and permanent renown among the writers of his country. Goldoni's comedies and his autobiography are also among the treasures of Italian literature; while the fine and earnest satires of Parini directed attention to the follies and weaknesses of the age. Less worthy than these were Gozzi, who wrote striking comedies; Cerretti, who was a minor poet and a rhetorician distinguished for the excellence of his teachings and of his own style, and Meli, "the greatest of Sicilian poets," who was also professor in the University of Palermo. But the greatest name in Italian literature in this century is that of Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), whose powerful tragedies, with all their defects, bear the unmistakable stamp of genius. The degenerate and oppressed condition of his country appealed powerfully to Alfieri, and his pleas against tyranny in his dramas and other writings did much to awaken and encourage the spirit of liberty among his countrymen.

Ecclesiastical affairs in Italy were much complicated with the political and religious disputes of the time throughout Europe. The popes who ruled during the eighteenth century were for the most part highly regarded as men of good personal character, and they attempted various reforms in ecclesiastical discipline. But they were in the toils of the papal system, and much tossed about among the warring interests of their age. The disputes over Jansenism and Jesuitism, the aggressions of Bourbons and Hapsburgs, and finally of republican France; the vain efforts at reform of the clergy and correction of abuses, together with the natural desire to preserve their States and their dignity, gave the popes of the eighteenth century many an anxious hour and brought more than one to a premature grave. Doctrinal, churchly, and moral conditions were much as they had been in the preceding century. The people were outwardly connected with the church and observed its feasts and fasts and other customs, but the demoralization of all classes was fearful; and the influence of French skepticism, especially toward the end of the century, was plainly to be seen.

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[6] See Sismondi's *Literature of Southern Europe*. Bohn's ed., Vol. I, p. 475 ff.; and the *Warner Library* for notices of the various authors mentioned.

Preaching suffered under these untoward conditions.[7] After the improvement brought in by Segneri and his followers there was another decline, and the whole eighteenth century was more or less affected by it, though its earlier decades showed still the wholesome influences of Segneri and the great French preachers of the preceding period.

Naturally the doctrinal and moral content of preaching changed little, if at all. Protestantism and free thought had been suppressed. The only material for a critical judgment of Italian preaching during this epoch is a consideration of its style, spirit, and fruits, and our discussion needs not to keep these sharply distinguished as it proceeds. A general description, derived chiefly from Zanotto and Micocci, and the examples quoted by these critics, will suffice to set before us the main features of eighteenth century preaching in Italy.

Perhaps the most conspicuous fault of the preaching of the age as a whole was its artificiality. There was a straining after oratorical effect, a perpetual effort to strike the fancy and stir the feelings of the auditors. Naturally, as Zanotto says, this induced sentimentality rather than true sentiment. There continued to be much imitation of foreign—especially French—models. Bombast and bad taste disfigured style, and there was a deplorable lack of true spiritual fervor and power.

Though there was a good attendance on the part of the people, it was largely conventional and habitual rather than serious and devout. The preacher was regarded rather as a performer who should strike and please by his oratory than as a religious guide and helper who should lead and lift his hearers to God. Naturally this conception of preaching led to the treatment of striking topics rather than to exposition of Scripture or of doctrine with a view to spiritual edification. Some of the topics chosen for discourse show how far from the proper office of the pulpit some of the preachers strayed in their efforts to find striking themes. Some discoursed on philosophic subtleties instead of the doctrines of the Church, others took such subjects as *Egotism* and *Antipathy;* even such trivial topics as *Curiosity, Laughter, Tranquillity,* and the like. We see in all this the Catholic and Italian aspect of that cool, rationalistic wave of eighteenth century thought which desolated the contemporary Protestant preaching of Germany and England.

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[7] See Zanotto, *op. cit.*, cap. IX, X; and Micocci, *Antologia della Sacra Eloquenza Moderna*, p. 21 ss.

As to the causes of this decline of pulpit power in Italy, so far as it was local and Catholic instead of general—even world-wide—it is interesting to see how a Romanist critic, after admitting the facts, summarily states the reasons for them. Micocci[8] lays down the general principle that "corrupt times and men also corrupted eloquence;" and this remark is preceded by the five following considerations as causes or elements of the decay: (1) The fight against the Jesuits and their suppression in 1773 removed many able preachers from the Italian pulpits. (2) Jansenism, which, after the suppression of the Jesuits, spread much in Italy, joined itself with the "raving rationalistic philosophy" in criticising the enthusiasm of sacred eloquence as fanatic exaggeration, and thus had a freezing effect on preaching. (3) The spread of extracts, translations, anthologies, from the French orators of the classic age injured originality and the following of native models. (4) Foreign domination corrupted both morals and literature and created a style of eloquence no longer properly Italian. (5) There arose a tendency to conciliation and compromise with the errors of the age, and thus to a weakening of religious feeling. With the third and fourth of these assigned reasons no exception is here taken. The others also are doubtless partly true causes,

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

and satisfactory from the Catholic point of view. But one who is accustomed to Protestant modes of thinking feels rather disposed to wonder why the measure of liberty of thought indicated by these movements did not improve instead of injuring preaching. It would seem that the suppression of Jesuitism—after the actual removal of some strong preachers of that order—was in the line of enlightenment; and the spread of Jansenism (a more Scriptural view of Roman doctrine) should have also been an advance. But the explanation of this failure probably lies in the hint that Jansenism rather tended to rationalism, and this is what the critic probably had in view in his fifth reason; so that the slight advance toward a larger liberty of thought and expression in the pulpit was counteracted by the drift toward a cool and deadening skepticism.

On the whole, it appears that the Catholic preaching of Italy in the eighteenth century—like the rationalist Protestant pulpit in other lands—lacked the vital element of conviction, of enthusiasm, and therefore of a spiritual and compelling earnestness. But there were also better elements in this preaching, and as the century went on these asserted themselves rather more. There came to be less of bombast and straining, less display of classic learning, a better proportion in the treatment of materials, more of Scriptural comment and quotation, and a clearer moral and spiritual aim in preaching.[9]

A few of the more notable preachers of the earlier half of the century are noted and characterized, and some examples of their work given, by the critics whose works are here followed. One of the best of these earlier preachers was Bernardo Maria Giaco (1672-1744), a Neapolitan by birth, gifted in mind, trained by Jesuits, but taking the cowl of a Capuchin. He was of feeble constitution, and therefore did not produce much, though diligent in teaching and preaching as his health permitted. Some of his panegyrics and other discourses were published after his death. The specimens quoted show that Giaco had the oratorical gift, but he had not escaped from the swelling and overdone style of his time. He shows fine imagination and facility in language, but lack of restraint and of power. More polished and likewise imaginative and oratorical was Saverio Vanalesti (1678-1741), a Jesuit from Naples, whose florid and picturesque style was greatly admired by many.

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[9] Zanotto, p. 328.

More important than either of these was Sebastiano Paoli (1684-1751), of Lucca, whom Zanotto describes as "a man of superior genius who obtained great renown, not only as orator, but also as a literary man furnished with varied erudition." Giving himself to preaching as well as to letters, he was heard with applause in various Italian cities and also at Vienna, where he preached the Advent sermons in 1721 at the court of the emperor, Charles VI, and the Lent sermons the next year. In these, after the manner of the French court preachers, he managed to speak with conscientious boldness and yet retain the respect and appreciation of the sovereign. A few sentences from one of these discourses show something of his spirit and style.[10] Addressing himself directly to the emperor, he says: "Yes, most august one, there will come a day of confusion and disorder, when, to make place for the new reign of God, the foundations of your own shall be turned upside down. I hope that you shall see again, written then indelibly in that vast and interminable eternity, your victories and your triumphs. I hope that you shall rejoice to read, there above, the series of those glorious undertakings which you have made in the world for the advantage of your realm and for the support of our Catholic religion. But this can not prevent that you also shall be subject to inquiry—inquiry accompanied, for you and for all those who are like you, by two terrible circumstances; which, as I hope, they shall render you more glorious because innocent, so you must believe they would render you more wretched if you should be guilty. Princes know much: it is their fault if, knowing, they do not govern their realms with due attention. Princes have much power: it is their fault if, having power, they do not purge their realms of vices. These are the two circumstances which will aggravate in that day the faults of princes; and these shall be the two points on which I shall give myself now, for the first time, the most happy honor of discoursing to you."

[10] Zanotto, p. 339.

Girolamo Tornielli (1693-1752) is justly esteemed the greatest of the Italian preachers of the first half of the century. He was born at Cameri, near Novara, and entered the Jesuit Order at seventeen years of age. He pursued the prescribed studies with earnestness and success, and then taught for some years, thus developing his powers of exposition. Having given evidence of oratorical ability, he was in great demand as a preacher in the principal cities of Italy, where he attracted great audiences of cultivated people and won considerable renown. While preaching at Bologna he ruptured a blood vessel, and died at his work. He had a poetic turn and wrote some songs to the Virgin, but his fine imagination showed to better effect in his sermons than in his poems. He published a series of Lenten discourses and another of panegyrics, which were reprinted several times after his death. He was not a deep or logical thinker, but his strong fancy and skill in elaboration of language suited the taste of the age and captured his hearers. Extracts from his sermons[11] show a lively imagination and some oratorical skill, but also the common faults of excess and over-anxiety to strike and captivate. The following estimate by Micocci[12] is overdrawn, but may be quoted as the judgment of a modern Catholic and Italian critic: "In his sermons are admired all the gifts of a great orator. His style is spontaneous, insinuating; the sentence is harmonious, orderly; there is not a word which is not appropriate and fitting; and he was adorned with a wise and opportune erudition, joined with a judicious use of the writings of the Fathers. Lively are his images, his thoughts select and sublime, his reasoning clear, just, effective. Moreover, he had learned to study nature and to know men; hence he depicts with fidelity and vividness the manners of the age, and succeeds admirably in moving the feelings. That which in others would have been pomposity in him is nature; and to these fine gifts he joined an admirable delivery and gesture."

A simpler, more direct and spiritual manner of preaching is found in two men of this time who have each been honored with a place in the Roman calendar of saints. The earlier of these, belonging to the first half of the century, was St. Leonardo of Port Maurice (1676-1751), who adopted a popular and simple style of speech, discarding the highflown manner of the pulpit orators, and sought to awaken in his hearers a real longing for spiritual things. Later in the century came the famous St. Alfonso dei Liguori (1696-1787), founder of the Redemptorist Order, a preacher of some note and power, but better known as the writer of devotional and moral treatises.

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[11] Zanotto, p. 342 ss.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

Recurring to the line of pulpit orators, the authorities we have been following give the names and brief descriptions of quite a number who fall within the second half of the eighteenth century, when the stilted and fanciful method was yielding to a clearer and more direct appeal, and the rationalism and skepticism of the age called for a stronger note of controversy in preaching. Among these were named with respect and some measure of praise Emmanuele Lucchese (1720-1766), a Sicilian, who preached with acceptance at the courts of Savoy and Naples, and before the Venetian senate; Giovanni Granelli (1703-1770), a Jesuit, who filled from time to time the most eminent pulpits in Italy, and was heard with applause by the empress, Maria Theresa, at Vienna; Ignazio Venini (1711-1778), also a Jesuit, who was compared by admiring contemporaries with both Segneri and Massillon, because of his searching addresses to the conscience and his knowledge of human nature; Girolamo Trento (1713-1784), likewise of the Order of Jesus, distinguished for vivid imagination and a certain dignity of manner; Piero da Pedarobba (1703-1785), a Minorite, noted for moving eloquence and a lofty character which won his hearers; and Giuseppe Luigi Pellegrini (1718-1799), of Verona, highly esteemed by his contemporaries and heard with edification in many places, especially at Venice and Vienna, who distinctly discarded the lofty, artificial style of the French orators and sought to touch by simpler methods the hearts and consciences of his hearers.

The line of eighteenth century preachers in Italy is closed by Adeodato Turchi (1724-1803), who is perhaps the greatest of them all. The glowing words of Micocci[13] are no doubt too strong when he speaks of

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 29 s.

Turchi as "an orator among the most illustrious whom sacred eloquence boasts," but his characterization is not beyond bounds, when he adds: "His style, sufficiently eloquent, runs along always as limpid and free as his thought; but sometimes there is a little redundancy and he has foreign modes and phrases not conformed to Italian taste. Altogether, he holds an eminent place in the history of sacred oratory, since he knew how to maintain the dignity of gospel preaching amid the aberrations of the philosophic innovations of his time, which tried, with partial success, to overthrow true Christian eloquence." The more sober estimate of Zanotto emphasizes Turchi's defects, but yet accords him a sure place among the greater Italian preachers.

Turchi was born at Parma, and was named Carlo at his baptism, but on becoming a Capuchin monk in after years he assumed the name of Adeodato. He was trained by the Jesuits, though he did not join their order. On his graduation he taught theology for a time in several schools, but his gift of eloquence marked him for the career of a preacher, which he discharged with success, giving the customary season's sermons in a number of the cities—Arezzo, Pisa, Florence, Genoa, Bologna, Rome, and others. He gave the Advent sermons with great applause at Parma, and then at Naples. At last he was settled as preacher at the ducal court of Parma, and was later consecrated to the bishopric of that diocese, an office which he filled with distinction for fifteen years before he died. Turchi was of an amiable and jovial disposition, and greatly beloved by his friends. He was earnest in his preaching and set himself firmly and intelligently against the skepticism of the age. The somewhat extended extracts given by Zanotto from his sermons indicate a clear intelligence, acute observation, a vivid style, and earnest moral purpose in his preaching. The following paragraph from the introduction to a sermon on the future life will give at least a slight suggestion of Turchi's manner:[14]

"We have them also in our days—those who call themselves fine spirits,[15] unprejudiced, philosophic, who say they do not believe in a life to come, and are inwardly persuaded that man ends all at death. They seem to be enamored of nullity and to hold as the supreme good their total annihilation. But how did there ever arise so great a love of nullity along with a desire so accepted and so innate as we have in us of living forever and never making an end? I confess, my hearers, that this idea of destruction and of annihilation causes me shuddering and horror. This 'I' at least which I feel so vividly in myself, and to which I am for very necessity so strongly attached, shall it so soon melt away and be dissipated into nullity and be confounded in the chaos of senseless matter to be reproduced in its time into a tree, a rock, a ferocious beast? In order to adopt an opinion so desolating it is necessary to be perfectly stupified; I add more, it is necessary to be impious. An honest man groans only to think of it! Libertines alone can agree to it, and that not because they do not *feel,* but because they do not *wish* a life after death. That is their rock [of offense], that is the terrible phantom which terrifies them. They fear a punishment for their brutal life. They would have no difficulty in believing the other doctrines of religion; but when there is discussion of a future life, of a terrible judgment which threatens them, of an endless punishment for their misdeeds, ah! there they rage, they writhe, and that they may not believe this sole article they refuse to believe all the rest. And ah! if they could only annihilate along with their own spirit the law-makers, the magistrates, and the laws that pursue the delinquents in human society! What a fine world this would be for them where it would be possible to commit with impunity every strange crime, without fear of punishment either in the present life or in the life to come; what a fine world it would be for them! As for me, I would gladly leave it while they were dividing it and rejoicing together, and would not hesitate to depart from it at the earliest possible moment." After this exordium, he invites the doubters to reason with him calmly and charitably, and exhorts the great intellects to address their powers to this question, earnestly insisting that those very powers themselves are proof that man is not merely material, but spiritual also; and that his moral sense fortifies this argument. On the whole, the pulpit oratory of Italy in the eighteenth century finds no unhappy nor unfit culmination in Adeodato Turchi.

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[14] Zanotto, p. 405 s.

[15] "Begli spiriti," an evident adaptation of the French *beaux esprits.*

CHAPTER VII

GERMAN PREACHING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The history of the German people during the eighteenth century is that of a great period of transition and preparation.[1] The desolation and decay of the seventeenth century were beginning to be redressed, but there was no political unity in Germany during the eighteenth century. The Holy Roman Empire, so-called, was merely a shadow, hastening to its final departure under the strong hand of Napoleon in 1806. The German people regarded the Empire with some reverence as a name and a symbol, but it had no real authority and no appreciable weight in European affairs. The Hapsburg dynasty were intrenched in Austria and some of the other German States, and also ruled over Bohemia and Hungary, but the union of Austria and Hungary in an empire was a far distant event not yet imagined. Austria was the strongest power in Germany, which was divided into a number of petty states and principalities, as it always had been. One among these, however, pushed its way to the front and grew, during the eighteenth century, into a position of first-rate importance in European affairs. This was the kingdom of Prussia. During the seventeenth century the Electors of Brandenburg had developed that duchy into a strong German power. Frederick I, son of the Great Elector, determined to become a king; but as only one king at that time was allowed among the Electors, he could not make the duchy of Brandenburg into a kingdom, so he took his title from his eastern province of Prussia and had himself proclaimed and crowned king of Prussia in 1701. His son and successor, Frederick William I, strengthened the kingdom, disciplined the army, and laid up a considerable treasure. This enabled his distinguished successor, Frederick II, called the Great, to prosecute those remarkable wars which finally left Prussia, at the end of the century, among the first powers of Europe. The death of the Emperor Charles VI, without male heirs, left his daughter, Maria Theresa, the heir to his ancestral estates; but there was question whether a woman could hold the empire. By an act called the Pragmatic Sanction, Charles VI fixed the succession upon his daughter. Her claims were accepted by some of the powers, resisted by others. She was a woman of remarkable strength, energy, and character, and succeeded in holding the affections of both her Austrian and Hungarian subjects. The century was marked by her conflicts with Frederick II, who robbed her of the province of Silesia, and established Prussia as the German rival of Austria. We know how this duel terminated in 1866 and 1871, but these events were yet far distant. The great rivalry between these two powers did not wholly obscure the importance of the lesser German States. Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, Hesse, and others made some contributions to the progress and the history of the German people. Joseph II of Austria, the son of Maria Theresa, undertook to introduce reforms tending toward greater political and religious liberty, but he was ahead of the age in his ideas and unable to carry out his plans.

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[1] See Bayard Taylor's *History of Germany;* Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire;* and the appropriate volumes and chapters in the *Historians' History of the World;* appropriate discussions in the *Church Histories* of Kurtz, Newman, and others.

In the sphere of thought Germany was not idle during the eighteenth century. Philosophic skepticism made its appearance with the work of Wolf as Professor at Halle, in 1705. English deism gave rationalism its start, and French infidelity under Voltaire and others greatly stimulated skepticism and irreligion among the German people. The religious complexion of the people remained outwardly as it had been settled after the Thirty Years' War. Austria and Bavaria, with some minor States, remained Catholic. Prussia, Saxony, and others remained essentially Protestant. The Lutherans were naturally in the ascendant, but there were also Reformed churches and teachers of some standing. The overthrow of the Jesuits and the reforms of Joseph II somewhat weakened the Catholic power in Germany. In the Lutheran churches the controversy between the Pietists on the one hand and the Rationalists on the other was considerable. The rulers of Prussia endeavored to effect a union between the Lutherans and the Reformed, but with only a moderate degree of success. Controversies raged over these efforts, as well as over theology. One of the notable religious events of the century was the founding and development of the Moravian Brethren, whose persecutions in Bohemia and Moravia led them to seek a refuge in Saxony, where they found welcome upon the estates of the pious Count Zinzendorf, who became their leader and virtually their founder. This sect has been distinguished throughout its history for a kind of mystic piety and the earnest prosecution of missionary labors in all parts of the world.

German literature during the eighteenth century[2] slowly grew into the greatness and glory which characterize its modern development. Early in the century it began with imitations of English and French masterpieces, but soon Gottsched undertook to purify the language and reform somewhat the literature of his people. He was attacked by Bodmer and others, but his teachings and example as to purity of style had some effect. Some minor poets, such as Haller and the earnest Christian, Gellert, prepared the way for a better time, so that about the middle of the century Germany was ready for the birth of her great classic period in literature. This was led by the pious and gifted Klopstock, who opposed the current rationalism, and wrote his notable religious poems. He was followed by the great Lessing, whose criticisms and dramas abide among the classics of German literature. Following these, or contemporary with their latter years, came Herder, not a creative genius of the first rank, but a critic and lover of literature, whose influence and inspiration were a strong force in the development of German letters. The closing decades of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth were rendered illustrious by the work of Schiller and Goethe, whose varied and abundant labors in prose and poetry, but especially the latter, lifted German literature to its modern eminence.

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[2] Priest's *Short History of German Literature;* and the notices and examples of the different authors as given in the *Warner Library.*

In religion the eighteenth century in Germany witnesses a conflict between three forces. First of all, there was the age-long and the world-wide moral struggle. The deterioration of morals caused by the wars was very great. Pure religion had a hard time to maintain itself where the bonds of society and of political loyalty were so constantly interrupted. Then there was the conflict already alluded to against infidelity and rationalism. While German thought did not wholly reject the Bible and the Church, as did the more revolutionary tendencies in France, nevertheless it undermined the authority of both. Rationalism accepted the Bible as literature open to criticism, and regarded the Church as a convenient institution for the teaching of morals and the outward maintenance of worship and religion. Against both these forces—moral deterioration and religious rationalism—the devout believers in Christianity maintained a brave and glorious struggle. While the eighteenth century was a dark age, it is nobly illustrated for Germany as well as for England by the earnest work of those who still accepted the Christian religion as divine and gave their lives and talents to its defence and propagation. All the influences which have been thus briefly sketched naturally had their effect upon the preaching of the century, of which we shall now make some survey, and then discuss some of the greater and more important preachers.

I. General Survey[3]

The Catholic preaching of Germany during the eighteenth century was neither so strong nor so varied and distinctive as that among the Protestants. It was slower to feel the better manner, which in Italy had come in with Segneri, and in France with the classic preachers, than was the Lutheran and Reformed preaching. And later on in the century it was likewise slower to feel the chilling influence of the philosophic rationalism which characterized many of the Protestant preachers in Germany and many of the Catholic preachers in France. Yet it was to some extent affected by both these forces. It showed in process of time more tendency to break away from the old, crude scholastic structure, but found it hard to shake off the stilted, forced, pedantic style so common in those days. There was still too much straining after effect, and employment of devices and conceits to strike and dazzle the hearer. Along with the philosophic rationalism, and the so-called Illuminism which followed it, near the turn of the century there arose a more spiritual and evangelical tendency in German Catholic preaching which came to fuller expression and power early in the nineteenth century.

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[3] The works of Schenk, Lentz, Rothe, Hering, Broemel, Nebe, Christlieb-Schian, Ker, Fish, Zanotto, Renoux, previously mentioned. Articles in *RE*, in Wetzer und Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, and in the *Allegemeine deutsche Biographie*, where needed. Additional works: Doering, *Die deutschen Kanzelredner des 18ten u. 19ten Jahrhunderts;* Sack, *Geschichte der Predigt in der deutsch-evangelischen Kirche von Mosheim*, u. s. w.; Schuler,

It is scarcely necessary to say that the content of Catholic preaching continued to be the accepted Romanist doctrines, with the usual polemic against Protestantism. But, as in France, the presentation of morals—particularly as the century advanced—gained upon that of doctrine and became characteristic. The polemic against Protestantism found among some a new sting in the current rationalism which desolated many Lutheran pulpits, but in others was modified toward the latter part of the century by the rise of a more spiritual movement under Sailer and his school.

Protestant critics, like Lentz[4] and Rothe,[5] in showing the faults of Catholic preaching, are apt to be a little one-sided and sweeping in their judgments. On the other hand, Kehrein,[6] from the Romanist point of view, assumes a more judicial attitude, and shows that both the

Geschichte der Veränderungen des Geschmacks im Predigen; Kehrein, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kanzelberedsamkeit der Deutschen,* u. s. w.; Brischar, *Die Katholischen Kanzelredner Deutschlands seit den drei letzten Jahrhunderten.* Sermons and biographies of individual preachers as far as available.

[4] *Geschichte der Christlichen Homiletik,* Bd. II, S. 364.

[5] *Geschichte der Predigt,* S. 474.

[6] *Geschichte der Katholischen Kanzelberedsamkeit,* Bd. I, SS. 59 ff., 107 ff., 153 ff.

faults and virtues of the age were found in both the Catholic and the Protestant pulpit, though he seems to grant that improvements were rather slower in maturing among the Catholics. The old faults of pedantry, bad mixture of style, cram of quotations, catchy expedients to amuse and strike, with wearisome and minute divisions of the subject-matter, lingered on too long. Kehrein pays a just tribute to Spener[7] in leading a reform among Protestants, and to some extent among Catholics, too. The Wolfian philosophy is also credited with some influence[8] on the prose style of Germany, and therefore, in a second degree upon preaching, in the direction of clearness and purity and the effort to say the thing for the benefit of the hearer. But this trend went to the extreme of the over-use of definition and logical demonstration, landing often in dry rationalism.

In the period from about 1770 on into the nineteenth century Kehrein[9] notices the influence of the new literary spirit in Germany—the great classic period of modern German literature—the special leading of Mosheim and his following in improving pulpit methods among Protestants; and the somewhat helpful but also somewhat injurious effects of the philosophy of Kant and Fichte—helpful in stimulating practical moral appeal, injurious in leading some preachers into an unintelligible philosophic style and a moralizing rationalistic tone. But these, together with the other and earlier influences noted, naturally had more distinct as well as more ample illustration in the Protestant preaching of the period, which must now be briefly described.

In discussing the Protestant preaching in Germany during the eighteenth century it is not necessary to consider the Lutheran and Reformed Churches separately, though well to bear in mind this confessional distinction occasionally in regard to doctrine, localities, and individual preachers. We may also lose sight of the stricter and broader Lutherans, as new issues and alignments arose, and the older polemics gave place to newer and perhaps less rancorous disputes. The polemic spirit, characteristic of the German theological mind, was by no means dead or absent from German preaching in the eighteenth century; but the field of battle and the weapons of warfare were somewhat changed.

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[7] *Op. cit.*, S. 65 f. [8] *Op. cit.*, S. 66. [9] *Op. cit.*, S. 148 ff.

The preachers and preaching of German Protestantism during this epoch fall into three distinct and clearly marked groups or schools,[10] making, of course, the necessary allowances for some mingling of tendencies and methods, and remembering always that these distinctions can never be anything more than approximations to scientific exactitude. The three tendencies or schools are the Pietistic, the Rationalistic, and the Supernaturalistic or Mediating. In a way, these forces or modes of thought operated side by side, and often in conflict; but Pietism historically preceded the other two, which more nearly paralleled each other.

The Pietist principle was exaggerated and weakened by the followers of Spener and Francke, and lost its hold upon the leaders of the German pulpit; the Rationalist movement was the natural recoil from the one-sidedness and the faults of Pietism, aided by the rise of philosophic skepticism and of the new critical method of Bible study and exposition; the Supernaturalist, or Mediating, school of preachers arose in obedience to an instinct which recognized the failure of both the other methods of preaching, yet sought in mending their faults to keep whatever was good and permanent in each. The influence of Pietism distinctly declined after the first third of the century; the other two schools were at close grips through the remainder of the period and on into the early decades of the nineteenth century. Neither could be with entire correctness called dominant at any time; but along about the middle of the century the mediating principles of Mosheim and others were largely exemplified in the German pulpit; yet the parallel force of rationalism was strong and aggressive, and reached its height toward the end of the century; but this supremacy was held in check and in part counteracted by the evangelical work of such men as Reinhard, Lavater, and others about the turn of the century.

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[10] Nearly all the authorities mentioned above, but especially Ker, *Lects. on Hist. of Preaching*, Lects. XII-XV, and the art. in *RE*. Here, however, it is well to refer also to Christlieb's original article in the older edition, as Schian has considerably modified the point of view in regard to Rationalism.

Now, as to the characteristics of these modes of preaching something must be said. The earlier Pietism, as we have seen,[11] laid great and needed stress upon Christian feeling, upon the experience of grace, upon the union of the soul with Christ and its edification in Christ; it discarded the scholastic analysis of themes and sought to interpret and apply the Word of God directly to the conscience and life of the hearers; it struck anew and with telling effect the evangelical keynote of sin and grace, and the worthlessness of work-righteousness. But in its critique of over-refinement in analysis and effort to strike, it neglected form too much; and in its insistence on feeling and experience it did not give due heed to intellect and the moral life. In its later forms it fell into cant, its faults became more and more manifest, and its inadequacy to represent either in chair or pulpit the whole of Christian teaching grew more and more apparent.

But over against this decay we must take note of the continuance of Pietism in two vigorous offshoots. One of these was in South Germany, particularly about Stuttgart, where the pious and scholarly Bengel exerted a blessed and long-continued influence in favor of a deep spiritual and evangelical method of interpreting and applying Scripture. The other was chiefly in Saxony, but spread through the world. This was the great Moravian movement, reinforced and then led by Zinzendorf, combining an often extreme type of mysticism with beautiful piety of life and admirable missionary zeal.

The older form of opposition to Pietism, proceeding from the stiff scholastic orthodoxy of Lutheranism, now virtually disappeared. The newer check took two directions, both with much of good in them, but the latter with evil tendencies that came to a sad outcome in Rationalism. The earlier form of recoil from the one-sidedness, narrowness, and cant of Pietism at its worst was led by such men as Rambach, Reinbeck, Sack, Cramer, and more especially Mosheim. This school maintained a no less real, but a broader, evangelical teaching and life, presenting the full scope of doctrine and duty on the basis of sound Christian experience and faith. It rejected the pietistic contempt of form and style, and insisted that the accepted principles of oratory should be employed in the preaching of Christian truth. This wholesome reform was both needed and welcome, and students of German preaching are practically unanimous in putting Mosheim along with Spener as one of the great leaders in the modern development of pulpit eloquence in Germany.

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[11] *Ante*, pp. 51, 70, 73.

The rationalistic development of preaching was in part, but in part only, a reaction from Pietism. The philosophic teaching of Wolf at Halle, early in the century, affected both in matter and form the preaching of those who fell under its influence. Its severe critical, not to say skeptical, reasoning was opposed to the simple faith of the better Pietism, and to the vaguer raptures of the more extreme type; its exactness of definition and clear statement of argument had a salutary influence upon style in the matters of directness and simplicity. But when, later in the century, the Wolfian skepticism was reinforced by the influence of the English deism and of the French infidelity, Rationalism reached its height; and its influence on preaching was disastrous. In some cases, too, the formal side of this preaching showed evil traces in the over-use of argument and the tedious multiplication of definitions. Along with this the new critical attitude toward the Bible must not be forgotten; the rationalistic method was beginning its modern course of development. In some preachers it helped to a far better understanding and application of Scripture; in others it came to a virtual denial of any proper divine or supernatural element in the Bible, and thus to a weakening of its authority as the certain voice of God on doctrine and morals.

In regard to doctrine, the rationalistic preaching was very unsatisfactory. It had no well-defined conviction, but a critical attitude. The distinction—now beginning to be made—between religion and theology was employed to evade or depreciate doctrine, as of little utility to the common man, and therefore not required in pulpit discussion. But even such scanty treatment as is given, directly or indirectly, to the great distinctive truths of Christianity is disappointing. This is true, even of the best representatives—such as Spalding and Zollikofer—

and, of course, of the more extreme types. The nature of God, the incarnation, the atonement, the resurrection, justification by faith, and the other great teachings are little heard of; and when they are presented, it is with no certainty of grasp or loyalty of personal acceptance.

At first, and in the hands of such men as have been named, the treatment of morals was far more satisfactory than that of doctrine. In fact, in the earlier stages of the rationalistic movement this was its strong point. It was here that its critique of the later Pietism was effective, and its own work was vigorous and clear. But alas! even here degeneracy soon appeared, and devout Germans to this day mention with shame the wretched travesty upon Christian preaching which was found in some of the rationalistic pulpits of the latter part of the eighteenth century.

A few illustrations, gathered from authentic sources, will make plainer this woeful fall.[12] One of these later preachers, in discussing the life of our Lord, took as his theme, "Recollections of Jesus Christ," and, among other things, considered why Jesus did not set up a home! Another, at Easter, discussed the "Danger of Being Buried Alive;" another, "The Fear of Ghosts." In pushing the theory of practical utility in preaching, some of these pulpiteers descended to such themes as "The Advantages of Travel," "The Preference of Stall-feeding for Cattle Over Grazing," "The Unspeakable Blessing of Potato Culture." The value of coffee as a beverage was urged; while the importance of vaccination for the smallpox was a frequent topic of pulpit discourse.

But the evangelical note was not wholly wanting; the work of Spener and Bengel and Mosheim was not in vain. The extreme of rationalism was its own severest critic to sensible men, and the futility of even the boasted Illuminism as a substitute for religion was apparent to many. To some extent even Herder—child of culture that he was—saw this and strove for a deeper Christian teaching and life, but the later supernaturalism found clearer expression and more effective and lasting influence in Lavater and Reinhard.

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[12] All the authorities which have been named mention these things; but see especially Schuler, *Gesch. der Veränderungen des Geschmacks,* etc., III, S. 202 ff.

II. The Catholic Preachers

The excellent works of Brischar[13] and Kehrein[14] name and discuss a number of German Catholic preachers for this period; they also, sometimes by full sermons and sometimes by illustrative extracts, put before us the means of judging the work of the most important men. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the fullest indebtedness to works which have rendered unnecessary independent research in a difficult and unaccustomed field.[15]

At the beginning of the century a number of Jesuit preachers are named by Brischar, and described with approval; such as Reittmair (d. 1711), spoken of as "the sacred Tully;" Scheffer (d. 1717), and Tam (d. 1719). Of these and a few others, the author says:[16] "They held themselves far from the tastelessness, the false pathos, and the mixed diction of the degenerate style then in vogue." He further praises their good German style, and the examples given seem to justify his approval. Later came a number of others who did good work, but especially Franz Hoger (1664-1720), who with large experience of the world combined a trace of mysticism, and was a master of his material, with a fine gift for antithesis and the use of figures, which naturally sometimes leads him too far. Along with him is named Matthäus Pecher (1663-1729), who had great learning, showed some originality in the choice and statement of his themes, was something of an artist and poet, and acquired great reputation as a preacher.

But the most notable of German Catholic preachers in the first half of the eighteenth century was Franz Hunolt (d. about 1740 or 1746—dates seem uncertain).[17]

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[13] *Die Katholischen Kanzelredner Deutschlands seit den drei letzten Jahrhunderten;* von Johann Nepomuk Brischar, 5 Bde., 1867.

[14] *Geschichte der Katholischen Kanzelberedsamkeit der Deutschen von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit;* von Joseph Kehrein, 2 Bde., 1843.

[15] Other authorities on German preaching, though themselves largely indebted to Brischar and Kehrein (except Lentz, who preceded them), have also been consulted; and, where needed, articles in Wetzer und Welte, and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.*

[16] *Op. cit.,* Vorrede, XII.

[17] Wetzer u. Welte, VI, col. 430; *Allg. deut. Biog.,* Bd. 13, S. 421; Brischar, Bd. 5, S. 1 ff.; Kehrein, Bd. I, S. 121.

He is described in the encyclopaedias as the most famous Catholic German preacher of his century. The article in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* says that in a time when German preaching had fallen very low Hunolt's sermons show great excellence in the way of simplicity, directness, naturalness, and earnestness of aim. Other critics agree in general with this judgment, and the examples given by Brischar seem to bear it out. Hunolt was born in Siegen, Nassau, but the date is uncertain. He presumably enjoyed the Jesuit course of instruction, as he belonged to that order, and his sermons exhibit the traces of culture. He was made cathedral preacher at Treves sixteen years before his death, and filled the place with distinction. His sermons were published in 1740 under the title *Christliche Sittenlehre der evangelischen Wahrheiten,* as though seeking to combine the ethical with the evangelical doctrines of Christianity. The collection was several times republished, and seems to have had considerable reading and influence. From the specimens of Hunolt's preaching given by Brischar, one would rate him highly on his merits, and still more highly by comparison. He shows keen penetration and knowledge of human nature—doubtless helped by the confessional—with a plainly seen and earnest desire for the salvation and improvement of his hearers. The division is simple, usually twofold, the language plain and straightforward. We find no swelling words and catchy phrases, but strong appeal, candid dealing, and notable power in the use of telling illustration from life. He was a strong preacher, and doubtless deserved his fame.

The second half of the century, as we have seen, witnessed both in the Catholic and Protestant pulpits of Germany a deterioration in the tone and content of preaching, along with much improvement in form and style. The philosophizing and rationalizing spirit invaded the pulpit and chilled preaching to the quick. It is not worth while to adduce names and instances of this perversion among the Catholics—some of the Protestants will be considered later—but only to mention several of the better sort, who strove against the spirit of the age in its worse, and sought to exemplify it in its better tendencies and aims.

Ignaz Wurz (1731-1784)[18] was born at Vienna, entered the Jesuit Order at sixteen, pursued the usual thorough course of training, including a few years of service as teacher, and then was designated as preacher. His gifts at once attracted attention, and his character respect. In 1764 he preached a notable sermon at the coronation of the Emperor Joseph II. He was made professor of pulpit eloquence at Vienna, and wrote a treatise upon it, quite useful in its time.[19] He held this office when his order was suppressed, in 1773, but lectured on for awhile till opposition forced him to desist, in 1776, when he retired to a pastoral charge which had long before been assigned to him by the foresight and kindness of the Empress Maria Theresa. It was here—at Pierawart, in South Austria—that he ended his days in peace.

As a preacher Wurz was much admired and beloved, and occupies a distinguished place in the history of German Catholic preaching. He preached and published many sermons. In the preface to his sermons he declares, with equal candor and good sense, that he has not sought the strange and out-of-the-way things, but the old and yet ever-new commonplaces, while endeavoring to conceive and express these in his own way. He has taken from theology and philosophy what seemed necessary or useful to his purpose, but has studiously avoided "school-theology, school-method, school-quarrels, adherence to any one system, and the like." In a manly sermon on the true cause of religious unbelief—based on Caiaphas' demand to Jesus to declare himself (Matt. 26:63)—Wurz shows that much of the current demand for positive proofs of religion was mere dogmatic prepossession, and proceeded from a corrupt heart and a will anxious to throw off restraint. One of his most notable discourses was the funeral sermon for Maria Theresa.[20] The text is taken from 2 Maccabees 7:20, 21—the account of a brave Jewish woman who had suffered the loss of her sons under the tyrant, and of whom it is said: "But above all was the mother marvelous and worthy of mention . . . filled with a noble temper and arousing her womanly thought with manly passion." This last expression gives him his theme, and he extols the beloved and admired empress from the two points of view that "she exalted the virtues of the female sex by her manly courage," and "adorned her manly undertakings with the virtues of the female sex." On these two pillars he builds the stately edifice of his panegyric. It does not reach the height of Bossuet, nor the exquisite phrasing and unction of Massillon, but it does strike a manly and loyal note of true appreciation of a great and worthy character, and in this point of view at least has some advantages over the courtlier funeral orations of the French preachers. The style of Wurz is marked by purity, clearness (wonderful for that time), vigor, loftiness, and harmony.

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[18] *Allg. deut. Biog.*, Bd. 44, S. 354; Kehrein, I, 130 ff.; and II, 241 ff.

[19] *Anleitung zur geistlichen Beredsamkeit.*

[20] Kehrein, II, 241 ff.

At the turn of the century the noblest figure among German Catholic preachers is that of the eloquent and spiritual John Michael Sailer (1751-1823), professor in various institutions, and finally bishop of Regensburg.[21] Sailer was born of humble and poor parents at a little village in Upper Bavaria, and was pure in character and promising in mind from a boy. In one way and another he managed, by the encouragement and assistance of his parents and the village priest, to pick up the rudiments of learning and finally to go to Munich, in 1761—ten years old!—for study in the schools there. A kind schoolteacher gave him bed and breakfast, he got his mid-day meal for looking after the child of a gentleman in the city during some hours, and his supper with other charity students in one of the schools. He pursued this program, and similar ones, as long as necessary; studied hard, and managed to get on till, in 1770, he entered the Jesuit Order, and began the studies required, at Ingolstadt. But the downfall of the Jesuits, in 1773, interrupted his carrer under their auspices. In some way, however, he managed to keep on his studies at Ingolstadt for several years more, meantime having been ordained to the priesthood in 1775. He had, as most thoughtful young men, his mental and moral conflicts during this period, but came through them into peace. He began his long and fruitful career as an author with a Latin treatise on Christian evidences—the result of his own mental struggles. He was made tutor and then (1780) full professor at Ingolstadt; but soon the school was reorganized on a different basis, and Sailer with others was retired on a small pension. About this time he produced an excellent and long-famous book of devotion which fed many pious souls, but provoked others—less pious, perhaps—to bitter controversy. The over-orthodox saw in its fresh phraseology and turns of thought heretical departures from the faith, while to many others these things and the warm spiritual tone of the book seemed a deep Jesuit trick to catch the unwary and make converts to Romanism! Sailer's friendship with Lavater and with other of the so-called *Illuminati* of the age exposed him to sharp attacks from the extreme Catholics and cost him a professorship which he held for awhile at Dillingen. At last the royal family of Bavaria recognized in Sailer one of the best men, best Catholics, and best scholars of the age, and gave him a professorship in the once more reorganized University of Ingolstadt in 1799. But owing to the Napoleonic wars and troubles of the time, the institution was moved, in 1805, to Landshut, where Sailer became rector. Here, as preacher and lecturer, his learning, eloquence, and piety drew crowds to hear him, both in pulpit and chair, and his spiritual influence was profoundly felt. His critics continued to pelt him from both sides, and additional offense was given to his Catholic opponents by his spiritual sympathy with the evangelical movement which arose in South Germany with Boos, Gossner, Lindl, and others, who were ultimately driven out of the Catholic Church, and some went off into fanticism. It was, however, only their mystical, pious, evangelical views which appealed to Sailer; he remained true to his church. In the reorganization of affairs after the downfall of Napoleon, Ludwig I of Bavaria tried to have Sailer made a bishop, and finally succeeded in having him made assistant and then full bishop at Regensburg. But the honor came to him only in his old age; and after a few years of labor at his post he died.

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[21] *Allg. deut. Biog.*, Bd. 30, S. 17 ff. (a very careful and excellent article); Wetzer und Welte, X, col. 1536; Kehrein, I, 159 ff., and II, 285 ff.; Renoux, p. 332 ss.

Sailer was justly esteemed—in spite of his critics—a great Catholic teacher and preacher of the more pious and evangelical sort. His devotional books and sermons, his liberal and evangelical spirit put him on a different plane from that of the average Romanist priest in his own or any age. Kehrein[22] says that Sailer's writings all give evidence of "genuine Christian spirit, of true Christian love of humanity, and of great skill in language description. He sought above all to represent religion as the highest and most important thing for men." Sailer himself is quoted as saying, "A Christian discourse must never enjoin a mere morality, never the law without the Lawgiver, never virtue without religion, never love without the Spirit who pours love into the heart, never holiness without the Redeemer Christ." The sermon given[23] from Sailer is one of a pair on *The Gospel of the Divine Vocation of Men on Earth,* suggested by the war of the Archangel Michael with Satan (Rev. 12:7, 8), and preached on St. Michael's day. The example of the great archangel is for us all. To fight *for* God, and to conquer *with* God is the sum of a Christian's calling here below. Not that God needs our championship, but it takes a fight against evil if by us the Light, Love, and Life that God is can come victoriously into the hearts of men. The theme is unfolded with clearness and simplicity, enforced by frequent statement, and discussed—barring a few errors of detail here and there—with admirable skill and power. It is a strong, earnest, spiritual discourse, and worthy of the preacher's fame.

Contemporaries of Sailer, whose work, like his, passed over into the nineteenth century, but chiefly belongs to the eighteenth, are three men who, above many others, deserve a brief mention. J. A. Sambuga (1752-1815)[24] is described as "the cherished shepherd of his spiritual flock, whose temporal and eternal welfare lay much upon his heart," and as a preacher of no mean gifts. J. A. Schneider (1752-1818)[25] ranks high among the best Catholic preachers of Germany, having filled important pulpits at Leipzig, Dresden, Cracow, and other places. His sermons show clearness, force, fire, and culture.

[22] *Op. cit.*, I, S. 159 ff.

[23] *Op. cit.*, II, S. 285.

[24] *Op. cit.*, I, S. 167.

[25] *Id.*, S. 180.

He was very acceptable to cultivated and fashionable audiences, but without flatteries and worldly compromises. J. L. Colmar (1760-1818)[26] was born and educated and began his work in Strassburg. He was made bishop of Mainz in 1802, at the instance of Napoleon, and did a great work for the rehabilitation of the Catholic Church there after the ravages of the Revolution. His mild and loving disposition won many friends of all classes and churches; but he was a man of great firmness and courage, who often in those trying days risked liberty and even life in the performance of duty. His preaching—as both the statements of Kehrein and the sample given show—was clear and simple, breathing a spirit of true loyalty to his faith and of concern for the spiritual good of his hearers. It is far removed from the tawdry and stilted style affected by so many in those days.

III. PROTESTANT PREACHERS

After all, it is the Protestant preachers who have given all that is really distinctive, both in matter and form, to modern German preaching. In the eighteenth century, as we have seen, these preachers may be generally and correctly classified into the three groups of Pietist, Rationalist, and Supernaturalist (if contrasted with the Rationalists) or Mediating (if compared with both the others). Taking up first the Pietist group, we find among the leaders three representatives of very different types—Bengel, Oetinger, and Zinzendorf.

John Albert Bengel (d. 1752)[27] was born near Stuttgart, educated there and at Halle, held several pastorates before finding his lifework as pastor and professor at Stuttgart, where he lived and labored for many years. It is not distinctively as a preacher that Bengel is important in the history of preaching, for while he was a beloved man and pastor, a warm, gentle, balanced, thoughtful, and instructive preacher, his greatness did not lie in his pulpit work. As a lecturer and commentator on the Scriptures he won and retains an exalted place among those scholars whose learning and piety have unfolded and enforced the Word of God. His famous *Gnomon* (*i. e.*, index-finger), a brief and wonderfully suggestive Latin commentary on the New Testament, is the best known, but not the only fruit of his exegetical studies. His teachings and character strongly and permanently influenced for good many preachers, both in his own and subsequent days, and did much to preserve in South Germany an evangelical type of preaching which escaped both the decay and the extremes of the later Pietism.

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[26] Kehrein, I, S. 180, and II, S, 331; Renoux, p. 324 ss.

[27] Ker, 225 ff.; Christlieb-Schian in *RE* 15, S. 686; and Hartmann (revised by Hauck), *RE* 2, S. 597 ff.

F. C. Oetinger (1702-1782),[28] likewise of South Germany, was an admirer and in some ways a follower of Bengel. But he lacked the balance and poise of his master, was a mystic to the verge of theosophy. He was born in Würtemberg, studied at Halle, and held various pastorates, the last and longest being at Murrhard, where he died at an advanced age. In spite of his philosophical and theosophical speculations, he held fast to the Scriptures as the Word of God, opposed Rationalism, and often preached to the edification of his people. This is the more remarkable seeing that he was no orator, and often was obscure in style. Yet he was evangelical, and spoke with a warm heart.

Count Nicholas Zinzendorf (1700-1760)[29] was one of the most notable men of his age, and his interesting life-story deserves a fuller notice than is possible here. He was derived from a noble Austrian family who became Protestants, and, because of the rigid dealings against them, sold their possessions on Austrian soil and came to Saxony. Nicholas was born in Dresden, of a second marriage, and, on his mother's marrying again after his father's death, was left to the care of his grandmother and uncles. He thus received a kind, but peculiar, bringing up. Sent to Halle to school, he was teased by his comrades and tyrannized over by his teachers, but his sound conscience and fine intelligence compelled respect and won success. Here, too, he fell under the pastoral care of the pious Francke, and the pietistic strain in his character was encouraged and established. From Halle he went to Wittenberg to study law, at the wish of his guardian, but was more interested in theology, and remained under the influence of Pietism, developing thus early his own type of religion—that of a complete surrender to Christ and abiding personal union with Him. Still acting on the persuasion of his relatives, he took an official position in Dresden, but his heart was far more engaged in religious affairs. He acquired an estate, with his patrimony and a legacy from his uncle, and with the aid of a like-minded pastor, who was a Pietist, he endeavored to establish a religious community controlled by his ideas. At this juncture he learned that the remnants of the Unity of Brothers (Bohemian and Moravian, especially the latter) were seeking to emigrate from Austrian to some Protestant territory, where they might enjoy immunity from persecution. He offered these pious people an asylum on his estate at Bertelsdorf, which henceforth became known as Herrnhut (the Watch of the Lord) and the center of the Moravian brotherhood. Thus Zinzendorf became the rescuer and virtually the second founder of that pious and active Christian community. He was their protector, teacher, poet, bishop, preacher. He visited other parts of Germany, also England and America, in the interests of his community. His travels and labors of administration were extensive and laborious, and his writings were not inconsiderable in amount. Worn with toil, but happy in its large fruits, he died in his sixtieth year, full of peace.

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[28] Sack, S. 161 ff.; *RE* 14, S. 332 ff. (Joh. Herzog), and 15, S. 686 f.

[29] Ker, p. 229 ff.; Rothe, S. 444; *RE* 21, S. 679 (Becker, revised by Müller).

As a preacher Zinzendorf had great natural gifts, and added to these a religious experience of sincerity and depth. He had a clear intellect, a warm heart, and oratorical fire; with these a rich fancy and a passionate love for Christ and the souls of men; wealth of ideas and of language was not lacking; and thus his outfit as a preacher was adequate. But he was careless of form and style, spoke often without sufficient preparation and with a jargon of mixed French, German, and other words which was hostile to any elegance of speech. His sermons would not be tolerable reading now, though many of his hymns remain in use. Rothe well says of him:

"Had Zinzendorf grasped Christianity all around, and developed his talent under the control of the understanding and of a sound taste, he would have been one of the most extraordinary of preachers."

In the early part of the century there were several preachers of note in the Reformed Church in Germany,[30] who were more or less under Pietist influence. H. J. Ulrich (1683-1731) was *antistes* at Zurich, an active pastor and highly esteemed preacher, who declined more than one important call to Germany, and whose sermons were translated into Dutch. But he was of the older scholastic type, with its rigid analytical form and abundant pedantry. D. E. Jablonsky (1660-1741), long time one of the court preachers at Berlin, was not so original as Ulrich, but was "especially distinguished with the beautiful gift of bringing religious truths home to the heart by naïve, touching pictures." He had had a varied history and training—at Dantzig, Frankfort on the Oder, and at Oxford, for his learning; and as pastor at Magdeburg, Lissa, and old Königsberg—before his long and useful ministry at Berlin. He was interested and active in the evangelical union efforts, and was much beloved and very useful as a preacher, though of the old-fashioned scholastic sort and not highly endowed with oratorical qualities.

Passing now to the preachers of the Rationalist group, we shall omit the extreme types and only name a few of the best representatives. Of these one of the earlier and more moderate was J. F. W. Jerusalem (1709-1789),[31] who was born at Osnabrück, studied under the famous professor Gottsched at Leipzig, traveled in Holland and in England, where he came in contact with the liberal Baptist preacher, James Foster. He was much inclined to philosophy and liberalism; tried to extract the kernel of Christianity from all sectarian shells, and was one of the first by voice and influence to insist upon that marked and almost one-sided ethical preaching so characteristic of the eighteenth century everywhere. He became court preacher, and tutor to the heir-apparent of the ducal house of Brunswick, at Wolfenbüttel. He was a strong preacher, full of fire and style; and he had many admirers and imitators. Rothe compares Jerusalem to Mosheim in his appeal to the cultured classes, and in his oratorical feeling; but rates him far below the great historian in evangelical conviction and power. His idea of preaching—given largely in his own words[32]—was that as a recognized institution of society it must give "instruction in religion as the great means of enlightenment, the strongest guide to righteousness, and the surest source of all true peace;" that it must "lead men to enlightenment and morality," must study social conditions, warn against dangers to public and private virtue, and by teaching and example advance the cause of good morals.

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[30] See Lentz, II, S. 325; Rothe, S. 420 ff.; articles in *Allg. deut. Biog.*

[31] Lentz, II, S. 221; Rothe, S. 427 ff.

John Jacob Spalding (1714-1804)[33] was of Scotch descent and was born the son of a Lutheran pastor in Pomerania, who gave him the foundations of his education. Later he attended school at Stralsund, and the University of Rostock. He was not greatly helped at Rostock, but going as tutor to Greifswald, he continued his studies. Later he assisted his father for a time, then went as pastor to Lassahn for eight years, and thence to Barth, where he served fourteen years. In 1764 he was called to one of the greater churches in Berlin and held it till 1788, when, on account of old age and dislike of certain state-church policies, he retired from active work, though he lived on in peaceful and gradual decline till 1804.

Spalding was happy in family and social life. He was three times married, and fortunately each time. His last wife tenderly cared for his old age; he was wont to call her his guardian angel. His sons and daughters were a comfort to him, especially one daughter who was married to S. G. Sack, one of the several notable preachers of that name. Spalding's intercourse with the leading clergymen and other influential men of the age was constant and mutually helpful. Among his friends were Jerusalem, the Sacks—father and son—and Lavater, who when a young man paid Spalding a long visit at Barth, and learned much from him, though they differed so widely in their views of Christian truth and policy.

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[32] Quoted in footnote by Rothe, S. 428.

[33] Schuler, *Gesch. der Veränderungen*, etc., III, S. 57 ff.; Doering, S. 463 ff.; Lentz, II, S. 227; Rothe, S. 431; Ker, p. 248 ff. Of Spalding's own works, *Gedanken über den Werth der Gefühle im Christenthum*, of which there is an Eng. transl. by A. B. Evans; and *Ueber die Nutzbarkeit des Predigtamts und deren Beförderung*, of which the same translator has given an abridged paraphrase and arrangement.

Spalding's personal attitude toward the fundamental Christian doctrines was not so heterodox as is commonly assumed. But, as is often the case, he advocated tendencies and views which others took up and pushed to their logical results in opinions and practices far out of harmony with evangelical Christianity. While he personally seems to have accepted the supernatural element in Christianity, the general authority of Scripture as a divine revelation, and the deity and atoning work of Jesus Christ, he depreciated all these in his teaching and example and laid emphasis on morality and utility as the chief ends in preaching. He taught that the difficult doctrines, such as the Trinity, the Person and Atonement of Christ, and the like, should have no place in sermons to the people. As a preacher Spalding was winsome in bearing, with a good though not strong voice, an earnest though quiet manner, appealing to intellect and conscience rather than to feeling. His principal activity was as pastor and preacher, but he was also from the first a writer on various subjects, and he published a number of sermons.

The best known and most influential of his books[34] were those on *The Value of the Feelings in Christianity*, and *The Utility of the Preaching Office*, from which both the dominant theory of his ministry and the qualities of his mind and style may be easily gathered. He discusses the feelings in a cool, sensible, intellectual way; but in opposing the pietistic, one-sided valuation of them he goes too far the other way and does not value them enough. In eloquently and cogently defending the usefulness of preaching as a social force he lays the weight of his argument on its ethical rather than evangelical aspect, and thus really discounts its true function. It is the oft-repeated story of attacking one extreme by going

[34] See preceding note.

to the other, criticising one-sidedness by being one-sided in the opposite quarter. In reading these books now one must have the feeling that both of them were overrated alike by admirers and critics; but they were voices of the time on one side of a great divide in the theory and practice of preaching.

George Joachim Zollikofer (1730-1788)[35] was not a Lutheran, but pastor for many years of the Reformed Church at Leipzig. He was born at St. Gall, Switzerland, the son of an accomplished and eloquent lawyer who was fond of theology also, and to whom the boy owed much in the direction of his bent and his early culture. He, of course, attended the schools of his native place, then pursued academic learning at Frankfort-on-the-Main, at Bremen, and then at Utrecht. After traveling in Holland and studying quietly at home for a year, he began his work as pastor in several small places. But he acquired fame as an eloquent preacher so quickly that he was called, in 1758 (when twenty-eight years old), to the Reformed Church at Leipzig, where he found his life-work. Naturally he was not at his maturity at first, but steadily grew in power and influence, and was esteemed one of the best pulpit orators of the age as well as a man of pure and lofty character. He was orderly and neat in preaching, as in home and habits, careful of details, and courteous in manner; broad in culture, without being a great scholar; well endowed with the externals of oratory—a good voice, excellent accent, pleasing delivery; with a clear and persuasive style, a good flow of thought, and a serious and impressive demeanor in the pulpit. He was very eloquent and classic according to the then accepted standards, but was cool, moralistic, and vague in theology, with no firm grasp of evangelical realities either in thought or, apparently, in experience. He was no great theologian, and his philosophy was mildly but intelligently Wolfian. His religious opinions tended to Pelagian views of man and Socinian views of the person and work of Christ. He is quoted as saying:[36] "If the apostles had written to Christians of our times, in our language, and with reference to the character and grade of our knowledge, they would certainly have expressed themselves very differently; they would have left out of their mode of expression all that relates to sacrifice, priests, means of cleansing, ransom, holiness." The closing words of a sermon on the *Ennobling Nature of Christianity* will give a fair sample of Zollikofer's preaching:[37] "Wouldst thou then feel and assert thy dignity, O man! Wouldst thou display it in all its luster? Then be a Christian, be wholly a Christian; be wholly animated by the sense and spirit of Christianity. Believe its doctrines with thy whole heart; follow its precepts with fidelity and fortitude; firmly repose on its promises; frame thyself entirely on its Founder, Jesus! The spirit of Christianity will free thy soul from every base sentiment, every unworthy desire. It will elevate thy mind, enlarge thy heart, make thee feel thy powers, and ever transmit thee new. It will raise thee above all that is visible and earthly; will constantly give thee a greater resemblance to Jesus, the pattern of all human perfection; and constantly unite thee more intimately with God. Animated by the spirit of Christianity, thou wilt justly esteem every faculty, every talent, every power that God hath given thee; carefully incite and exert them, constantly produce as much good by them as thou canst. Informed by the spirit of Christianity, thou wilt never act like a slave; never allow thyself to be governed by any sensual appetite, or any unruly passion; thou wilt not cringe with servility before any mortal; thou wilt constantly think and act with generosity and freedom. Animated by the spirit of Christianity, thou wilt ever be more active, more indefatigable in goodness; wilt never be weary in striving upward, and contending for the prize that awaits the conqueror. Animated by the spirit of Christianity, thou wilt already in this mortality think and act like an immortal; and wilt perform a thousand acts of goodness, and enjoy a thousand comforts, which he can neither perform nor enjoy who is unmindful of his immortality, or can not rejoice therein. O how exalted and divine is the spirit of Christianity! the spirit of wisdom and power, of love and felicity! May its animating influence quicken, warm, and enliven us all! May it rouse us to the noblest sentiments of ourselves, inspire us with godlike energy, with the most active zeal in goodness, and penetrate and warm us with love toward God and man! How great, how illustrious will then our dignity be, and how much greater and more illustrious will it become, from one period of our lives to another, and from eternity to eternity!"

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[35] Schuler, III, S. 194 ff.; Lentz, II, 327 ff.; *RE* Bd. 21, S. 711; Sack, S. 185 ff.; Ker, p. 250 f.; sermon in Fish, I, p. 485.

[36] By Sack, *op. cit.,* S. 189.

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[37] Fish, I, p. 494.

The epitaph on Zollikofer's tomb[38] at Leipzig was certainly meant to be highly eulogistic, but it is indeed pathetic: "He lives on here in his influence, and there in the sphere of souls where Socrates and Jesus live."

Other preachers of the Reformed Church in this period were more evangelical than Zollikofer. Especially worthy of mention are the elder and younger Sack,[39] A. F. W. Sack (1703-1786), and his son, Samuel G. Sack (1738-1817), who was also son-in-law to Spalding.

Coming now to the Supernaturalist or Mediating school, we find that the way was ably led by John Jacob Rambach (1692-1735),[40] who, both in his sermons and in his lectures at Halle, insisted on a sound interpretation and application of Scripture as against the wrong methods of both the philosophic and the extreme pietistic schools. He urged that a sermon should have good order, clearness, simplicity, solidity. Along with him should be named J. G. Reinbeck (1683-1741),[41] who was nearer to the philosophical school than Rambach, studied under Wolf at Halle, and admired without blindly following him. He began his ministry as assistant at Halle, but was later called to Berlin and preached there till his death.

But the greatest name among his brethren of this school is that of the eminent scholar and church historian, Johann Lorenz Mosheim (1693 or 4-1755).[42] Of him Rothe says: "Through him preaching in Germany first came under the jurisdiction of taste. Furnished by nature with decided oratorical talent, and standing midway in the stream of the contemporary spiritual life upon the summit of his time, familiar with polite literature in the same degree as with theology and philosophic learning, master as few in his time of the German language, cultivated moreover by study of the French and English pulpit orators—especially Tillotson; moved and fructified inwardly by the newly germinating consciousness on the natural side of the spiritual life, he was just the man to grasp and lead to actual realization the idea of a distinctively spiritual eloquence."

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[38] Cited by Ker, *l. c.*

[39] Lentz, II, 325; Rothe, S. 421.

[40] Schuler, II, S. 127; Lentz, II, 170; Rothe, S. 409 ff.

[41] Lentz, II, S. 176.

[42] Lentz, II, S. 187 f.; Schuler, II, S. 159 ff.; Rothe, S. 424; Nebe, II, 137 ff.; Ker, p. 241 ff.

Mosheim was born at Lübeck, the son of an army officer, who was a Catholic, but his mother, to whom his early training was chiefly due, was a pious Lutheran. The boy had good educational advantages, and improved them; was tutor in a gymnasium and student at the University of Kiel, where he was ordained and served as assistant pastor. He was professor and preacher at Helmstädt, and later at Göttingen. He was never a pastor, but often pastor's assistant, and sometimes court preacher at Wolfenbüttel and at Brunswick, in connection with his duties as professor and lecturer on church history. His grasp of evangelical truth was firm, his own religious experience deep and genuine. His manner of preaching was much influenced by the English Tillotson and the French Saurin. Naturally from his position and culture his appeal was chiefly to the educated classes, with whom he was deservedly popular as a preacher and highly esteemed as a man. We have already seen that his influence on preaching in Germany has been wholesome, profound, and permanent.

After Mosheim, whose activity closed about the middle of the period, we pass on to a distinguished group whose work fell toward the close and at the turn of the century. Among these must be reckoned the famous literary man and writer, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803),[43] who was born in East Prussia of poor but pious parents, in whose humble home the Bible and hymn-book were the first books to awaken the interest of the future great writer. His remarkable talents attracted attention, and in one way and another his early education was provided for. Among his pastors and helpers was an army surgeon,

[43] Rothe, S. 441; Doering, S. 103 ff.; Sack, S. 138 ff., and others. Excellent sermon on the Bible in Fish, I, p. 497 ff.

who led Herder to study medicine; but his preference was for theology and literature, in which he soon became proficient. After teaching for a time, he became pastor among the Germans at Riga, where he remained several years, then traveled, then was pastor at Brückeburg, and finally was made court preacher at Weimar in the famous days of Goethe and others. His literary tastes and talent for writing made him at once one of the brilliant coterie which adorned German letters at that celebrated epoch, and both his religious views and his preaching were inevitably modified, and not in the direction of sound evangelical thinking, by that worldly and philosophic atmosphere. But it is rather remarkable that he did not drift further away from a firm supernaturalism than he seems actually to have done. Herder was of a deeply poetic and spiritual nature, and his religious side had been warmed and nourished by the influence of Hamann and Jung-Stilling. In character he was devout, pure, and lovable—a true friend, an affectionate husband and father, a kind and sympathetic pastor. His preaching naturally exhibited the qualities of his thought and style as a writer and cultured student. His sermons[44] are described as "poetic rhapsodies," often somewhat vague in thought and obscure in style, too frequently lacking in definite theological view, but warmly spiritual in feeling. But the sermon given by Fish does not merit Rothe's strictures, being a clear, strong, devout, and sincere defense of the divine origin and right use of the Scriptures.

More distinctively a preacher, though far less of a thinker and literary man, than Herder was the famous court preacher at Dresden, Franz Volkmar Reinhard (1752-1812).[45] He was, take him all in all, the leading preacher in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century, and therefore claims a somewhat extended notice.

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[44] Rothe, *l. c.*

[45] Reinhard's life is best understood from his own *Geständnisse* ("Confessions"), giving account of his preparation for his lifework, his ideas and methods of preaching, etc. They are in the form of letters to a friend, were published in 1810, and have been well translated into English by O. A. Taylor, Boston, 1832. Reinhard's sermons were published at various times, and the collected edition is in thirty-nine volumes. The two volumes, published 1709, of sermons preached during the previous year were used for the study given in the text. See also Lentz, II, S. 242; Rothe, S. 454 ff.; Nebe, II, S. 181 ff.; Ker, p. 252 ff.; Fish, I, p. 515 ff.

Reinhard's father was an old-fashioned Lutheran pastor at the little village of Vohenstrauss, in the duchy of Sulzbach, where Franz was born, in 1752. The elder Reinhard was a highly respected man and a preacher of considerable powers and local reputation. The boy owed much to his father's careful training and worthy example. He was taught Latin and trained to Bible study. His future homiletical skill was foreshadowed in his reproducing at ten years of age the outlines of his father's sermons after hearing them. Thus his fondness for clear division and logical order was fixed for life. In 1768 he was sent to school at Regensburg, and soon afterwards his father died, having made such provision as he could for the son's further education. Reinhard's means were very limited, but he invested some of them in books—having already developed a passionate fondness for German literature, especially Haller and Klopstock, whose poems he read with delight. He found helpful teachers at Regensburg, and studied hard, being especially influenced by Demosthenes, whose virile and chaste eloquence appealed more to his taste than the ambitious and affected stuff which often passed in that age for real oratory.

By the kind help of friends and his own strict frugality Reinhard was enabled further to pursue his studies at Wittenberg. Here he began to preach, testing first his powers, as a novice, and later taking up the work more seriously. He prepared himself for a teacher, taught as tutor and with success, then was made professor at Wittenberg, and taught with great applause. He was also made preacher to the University, and took up this office with great and conscientious devotion. Such was his preparation for his work as a preacher, and this was the beginning of his great career in the pulpit. Recognized as one of the ablest preachers of his time, he was called, in 1792, to be court preacher at Dresden, and he filled the post with distinction for the twenty remaining years of his life, to 1812. Reinhard was twice married, both times happily, and in private life as well as in official station bore a character above reproach and adorned with the Christian virtues. While conscientious in the acceptance and discharge of his pastoral duties, Reinhard was pre-eminently a preacher, and it is in this light that we must now view him.

In the sixth letter of his *Confessions*[46] he speaks of the wholesome influence of Demosthenes upon his ideas of eloquence, and insists that a discourse should be well ordered, its matter devoted to the best interests of the hearers, clothed in fit and impressive language, without bombast, but easily flowing. "Then," he says, "my discourse will be clear for the intellect, easy to be remembered, exciting to the feelings, and captivating to the heart. Then I shall speak of religion with that perfect simplicity, exalted dignity, and benevolent warmth with which we ought always to speak of it." This was a clearly defined and high ideal, and Reinhard faithfully endeavored to live up to it, with as much success as the common and the individual human imperfections admitted.

In the ninth letter,[47] with accustomed clearness and evident sincerity, Reinhard explains his theological position. In his growing youth there was the inevitable spiritual crisis and struggle, but he came to peace by trust in God through Christ. Of his manhood he says: "In my struggles after the truth I could not fail to perceive that strict and systematic connection, unity of principle, and consistency of thought in religion could be acquired only by adhering either entirely to reason or entirely to the Scriptures; and hence in reality only by the Rationalist or the Supernaturalist." He was led to make his choice between the two and adopt the supernaturalist position chiefly by two potent considerations: (1) His early acquired and persistent reverence for the Bible as the true Word of God; and (2) the need and yearning of his heart for release from sin and the assurance of things divine—which he could find only in Christ and in the Bible. But this did not lead him to throw away reason nor shut him up to narrow views. He shows that those who try to take a middle course between these two principles are vacillating and uncertain, with no sure guide and no definite system of thought. He mildly complains that he had been misjudged by some critics who accused

[46] Taylor's trans., p. 40 ff.

[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 62 ff.

him of insincerity, and by some friends who felt moved to apologize for him. But for himself, both mind and heart found rest in his position, and what he had found he must preach to others.

In his preaching he candidly admits many imperfections. His homiletical training had been scanty and faulty, and he could not propose himself as a model. His sermons were written out—two each week—and committed to memory. They were thus often produced with haste and lacked polish. His method of division was often too formal, but he needed this logical arrangement for himself, and found it helpful to his hearers. His thought and style are confessedly often out of the reach of uneducated people, but he had first the University audience at Wittenberg, and then the cultivated congregation at Dresden.

A perusal—partly cursory and partly more careful—of a number of Reinhard's sermons preached during the year 1808 leaves these impressions: His faults were those of too great sameness here and there, and occasional forcing of his topic from his text—due in large part to his being hampered by the prescribed gospel or epistle for the day. The excellencies of Reinhard, however, outweighed these drawbacks. The reader even now will find in his sermons clarity of thought and usually of style, elevation of mind and character, serenity and firmness of faith in the eternal verities of Christianity, reverence toward God, and a sincere desire to benefit man; no self-seeking nor ambition for oratorical or philosophical display, no sensationalism or novelty, but the instinct of instruction and helpfulness.

The last of this remarkable group to be noticed here is the famous and gifted Swiss, Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801).[48] He was the youngest of twelve children of a physician of standing at Zurich. A highly nervous, imaginative, and sensitive child, he seems not to have been understood or properly managed in his home. But instead of becoming embittered and ruined, his isolation drove him to God in prayer and childlike trust. Thus as early as his eleventh year he found in need the divine consolation and help, and through life the reality and the love of God in Christ were an anchor to his soul. Already he began to exhort his school-fellows and to develop that remarkable faculty for natural and tactful religious conversation which distinguished him through life. He was ever gifted with that sort of individual appeal which the nomenclature of modern religious effort calls "personal work." His quickness in reading character from faces led him early into the study of physiognomy, of which he made a sort of fad—chiefly by way of recreation from graver pursuits—and tried to raise to the dignity of a science.

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[48] Doering, S. 189 ff.; Sack, S. 120 ff.; *RE*, Bd. 11, S. 314; an old volume (1778) of Lavater's *Kasual-predigten*, containing also some *Gedichte*.

Lavater was well educated in the schools and at the University of Zurich, and studied theology under Breitinger and Bodmer. An episode in his early career gives an illustration of generosity and courage characteristic of the man. A councilor and prominent citizen of Zurich wronged a poor man whose cause Lavater espoused, both publicly and by writing a scathing letter to the offender. As Lavater had impulsively acted without the forms of law, the enraged and discredited citizen threatened a lawsuit, and it was deemed best that the young man should leave Zurich till the storm blew over. This was the occasion of that long visit which he paid to J. J. Spalding at Barth, and improved so well by intercourse with that distinguished preacher.

On his return to Zurich, Lavater took up the work of the ministry in earnest, serving several years in various churches and subordinate positions till finally he was invested as chief pastor and preacher at the St. Peter's Church, and so continued till his death, in 1801. He was happily married and was exemplary and affectionate in his domestic life. As a pastor he was much beloved in personal contact with his flock. His genial and clever ways endeared him to his friends without damage to the spiritual influence of his sincerely pious character. He had his critics and foes. These made merry or serious attack upon his studies and writings on physiognomy, and accused him of undue self-esteem amounting to vanity. There was some justice in these criticisms; but he lived to realize that he could not make a great science out of his fad, and he grew in the grace of humility. In the trying times of the French Revolution and the beginning of Napoleon's dictatorship in Europe, Lavater was the brave and loyal Swiss patriot, as well as the faithful Christian pastor. During the occupation of Zurich by the French under Massena, in 1799-1800, Lavater was true and faithful to his country and his charge. While ministering to the wounded in the streets after some affray, he was shot in front of his own house by an enraged French soldier to whom he had declined to give a glass of wine. He lingered for a year, but at last died from the effects of this brutal wound. Let it be remembered that he refused to reveal the identity of his assailant, but the rather prayed for his conversion.

Lavater was a great gospel preacher. He firmly held the evangelical doctrines, sincerely accepting and teaching the divine revelation and authority of Scripture, the deity and atonement of Christ, the need of regeneration, and the work of the Holy Spirit, with those involved and accompanying truths which go to make up the evangelical system. But he escaped the narrowness and cant which have too often been justly criticised in many who held these views. Lavater's preaching was characterized by warmth of heart, earnestness of soul, richness of fancy, clearness and vigor of thought, and force yet variety of style. Naturally his manner would differ with occasion and degree of preparation. He did not write his sermons, and the carelessness of the popular speaker sometimes appeared in his style. Comparatively few of his sermons were written out after delivery and published.

Looking through an old volume of these one may find several discourses to attract his notice and reward his reading. There is a strong and tender one on 1 John 4:19, "We love Him because He first loved us;" and from Peter's answer to our Lord in John 6:68, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life," there is a rhapsody of trust in Jesus amid temporal, moral, intellectual, and spiritual difficulties. But perhaps the most characteristic and striking sermon of the collection is a fast-day sermon, preached in Zurich in 1771, and published by request, but reluctantly, and with an apology and statement that the author had tried to reproduce it exactly as it had been delivered. The text is 2 Kings 22:11, the account of King Josiah's rending his garments on finding the book of the law and realizing how far he and his people fell short of its observance. There is, first, a good exposition of the Scripture narrative, then an earnest prayer, and then the application to occasion and audience. Why should we here in Zurich act in the spirit of Josiah, and rend, not our garments, but our hearts? Three reasons are urged: (1) Because we do not love God as we ought; nor (2) our neighbor, (3) nor practice self-denial. This simple, even commonplace, division gives basis for a discussion which brings out many of the best qualities of the preacher—his soulful love and trust toward God, his deep and affectionate concern for his flock, and the elements of his oratory already mentioned. Of course, the faults of his temperament and style also appear in some degree. An extract will give a fair sample of Lavater's manner. It is taken from an impassioned appeal at the end of the first division of the sermon—that a sense of the love of God and our failure suitably to respond to it should lead us to penitence: "Yes, rend now, O ye blinded ones, rend not your garments, but your hearts, that ye love not a God of whose love heaven and earth are full; that ye love not a God who, out of the light that no man can approach unto, came down into the night of our human woe and took upon Himself the sin and death of a whole world and gave up the last drop of His sin-abolishing blood for our eternal salvation, willingly and amid unspeakable sufferings; that ye love not a God who, with all His love-worthiness, with all the riches of His eternal glory, would give Himself to you, quicken you with His life, animate you with His Spirit, enlighten you with His own wisdom, flood you with the joy of His divine love, make you partakers of His divine nature; that ye love not a God without whose love no intelligent creature either in heaven or on earth could be blest, without whose love heaven itself would be a hell! Yes, only rend your hearts,—or rather, rend thou them, O omnipotence of my God! Rend thou them, adorable holiness of Him before whom the seraphim veil their faces! Rend thou them, O Spirit of my crucified Redeemer, who didst cleave the rocks and graves and rend yon veil of the Temple! Rend ye them with your dazzling light, ye ever-shining wounds of Him who founded the earth and whose works the heavens are! Rend thou them, O blood that flowed on Golgotha—most holy blood, whose emblem we have this day drunk in the cup of thanksgiving and love—that they may awake these sleeping souls—that their eyes may be opened to love that which alone is worthy to be loved, which alone and eternally can satisfy them and make them blest!"

In the same sermon, further on, after making an earnest appeal to Zurich lest trouble should befall the state, Lavater gives us this warm outburst of self-revelation: "Yet why do I thus speak? I, who am myself a sinner in this town, like others? I who so often myself forget my God and break my holiest resolutions and vows? How dare I, weak, unstable, who feel myself so far removed from being able to say after the apostle, 'Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ,' how dare I thus speak of other sinners? Ah! forgive it me, thou most gracious (*allerbeste*) God, Thou who knowest my sincere longing for the salvation of these souls as well as Thou knowest my own frequent and great weaknesses. Be it so, Thou knowest that it comes not out of a proud or harsh, but out of a sympathetic heart, which often must wish that to itself also some one might even thus frankly and shamingly speak."

In closing thus our study of eighteenth century German preaching with a view of a soul like Lavater's, it will surely not be out of place to give one more quotation from him, this time from one of his poems—a sentiment for him as well as for ourselves:[49]

> **"Fürchte dich nie! Du bist geliebt von der Lieb' und bist ewig!**
> **Lass der Sterblichkeit eilenden Traum nicht sehr dich bekümmern,**
> **Sorge nur, dass du erwachst zum Anschaun unsterblicher Liebe!"**

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[49] Lavater's *Worte des Herzens*, S. 2.
Fear thou never! thou art beloved by Love and art eternal!
Let not mortality's hastening dream trouble thee overmuch;
Care only that thou awakest to the vision of immortal Love!

CHAPTER VIII

FRENCH PREACHING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

French history during the eighteenth century is full of suffering and horrors culminating in the Revolution.[1] The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, may be taken as a turning point and the beginning of a great decline in France. The expulsion of nearly a half million inhabitants, including many persons of high standing, as well as thousands of honest and capable artisans, and the persecution of those who remained behind were serious blows to the prosperity of France. The king was now growing old; his wars had drained the treasury; the magnificence of his court had set the pace for very expensive living among the higher classes; and taxes and oppression ground the faces of the poor. Sorrows multiplied in the palace, and early in the eighteenth century the famous monarch found himself a lonely old man with a great-grandchild of five years to be his successor on the throne of France. Of the reign of Louis XV it can only be said that it was dark, corrupt, and injurious. The king himself was utterly devoid of the best traits of humanity, mean-spirited, sensual, cruel, and cowardly. He was the most unkingly king of his time, utterly unworthy and unfit to meet the terrible responsibilities of his position. His court was a sty of iniquity and a disgrace to decency. The finances of the kingdom were in terrible disorder. The upper classes were proud, rapacious, and extravagant; the middle classes groaned, and the poor starved. To such an inheritance came, in 1774, the good and promising young king, Louis XVI, with his beautiful young queen, Marie Antoinette. The young monarch was amiable and well disposed, but neither his natural capacities nor his goodness of heart were sufficient to meet the awful difficulties with which he was confronted. There can be only sympathy and pity for the royal pair. Expedient after expedient was tried to check the drift of things toward the awful catastrophe, but it was too late. After more than a century of royal tyranny and oppression, of exhaustion of the nation's strength in the interest of crowned selfishness, no king, however well disposed, could stem the tide of popular discontent and national decay. After everything else had been tried in vain, the king and his advisers at last determined, in 1789, to convoke the representatives of the people to consider the state of affairs. The memorable meeting of the States-General wherein the Third Estate, the common people, asserted at last their rights, resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the Church, with all the horrors of the French Revolution. And just as the close of the century was coming another terror was arising in the military despotism of Napoleon Bonaparte. Such was the history of France in the eighteenth century.

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[1] White, *History of France;* and Vol. XII of the *Historians' History.*

In literature[2] the case of France is not unlike that of England. As compared with the seventeenth century there was a decline in the number and quality of great authors, but still there were a few famous names to adorn the epoch. At the opening of the century Le Sage published his famous *Gil Blas* and set all the nation a-laughing. Although the scene was Spanish, the tone was entirely French. The *Memoirs* of St. Simon contributed an unusually interesting chapter to French history. One of the greatest historical and philosophic writers of the world, Montesquieu, gave his great writings to the world about the middle of the century. His *Spirit of the Laws* remains one of the great treatises in historical jurisprudence; while Quesnay contributed stimulating discourses to political economy. The Abbé Prévost produced a number of works, among them his classic novel, *Manon Lescaut,* but the greatest and most versatile writer of the century was undoubtedly the cynical and brilliant Voltaire, who gave himself that name as a matter of fancy, his real name being François Arouet. Voltaire exercised a profound influence on his own time and subsequent times. More brilliant than profound, he yet touched as with an electric wand the intellects of his day. He was one of the most prolific writers of any time in nearly all departments of literature. His skepticism in religion and his lack of moral earnestness have made his influence baleful rather than helpful. Along with him should be mentioned J. J. Rousseau, whose readable and widely spread writings were revolutionary, both in politics and morals. Nor must we forget the Encyclopedists, especially Diderot and D'Alembert, whose works prepared for and furthered the Revolution. Some names of less note than these also occur, among whom must be mentioned the famous scientist, Buffon, and, of women writers, Madme Du Deffand and Madame d' Epinay. Besides Barthélemy, Beaumarchais, and Saint-Pierre, whose exquisite little story of *Paul and Virginia* has been a universal favorite. Authors like these remind us that even declining ages in national history may often produce writers of the first rank.

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[2] The standard histories of French literature; specimens and discussions in the *Warner Library* for the period; Sainte-Beuve, *Eighteenth Century Portraits* (translations published by Geo. P. Putnam's Sons).

The most important features in the religious history of France during this century have already been alluded to. The persecution of the Huguenots went on during the early part of the century. The moral corruption and insincerity of religious life, both in clergy and people, was subversive of religious power. The suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, as in other countries, came too late to accomplish any real reform. The terrible explosion of the Revolution, from 1789 and on, upset the foundations of religious faith in France for a while. Atheism and immorality seemed to be triumphant, and unhappy France came to the beginning of the nineteenth century with only remnants of religious faith and feeling left among her people. It was amid such conditions as these that the French preaching of the eighteenth century ran its course.

I. Brief General Survey

For French preaching, as for that of other European peoples, the eighteenth century was a time of reaction and decadence.[3] There is no aspect in which it does not appear inferior, and in many lamentably inferior, to the preaching of both the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. The Protestants had been forbidden to hold worship, and many thousands of them had fled to other countries rather than either conform to the Catholic Church or give up their religious services altogether. One other recourse was left: to worship by stealth as they might be able. In some parts of the country this was possible, and, as we shall see, a few pastors remained, tended with care, and taught as they could, the scattered and persecuted flocks of the Reformed. But, of course, these unhappy conditions were unfavorable alike to the actual exercise of preaching and to its literary expression and preservation. In foreign lands there were a number of French Protestant churches with their pastors and preachers, but here again it is easy to see that the conditions were adverse to a high development of preaching. We shall notice later how the general characteristics of the age were shared by the preachers of the Reformed Churches.

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[3] The Church Histories, general and particular; for the Protestants, Baird, *The Huguenot Emigration;* Smiles, *The Huguenots in France After the Revocation.* For general surveys: the works of Rothe, Lentz, Christlieb, Hering, previously mentioned.

The Catholic Church, though outwardly triumphant over her rival, was far from flourishing in any spiritual sense. She was torn asunder with the Jansenist-Jesuit quarrel, and the laxity of morals in high society—encouraged by the corruption of the court—made a mockery of true religious life. The general decay in all branches of the national life was necessarily felt in the church and its pulpits. The reaction from the brilliant but overstrained and costly age of Louis XIV was as manifest in preaching as elsewhere. And it must be acknowledged that no genius comparable to those which had adorned that brilliant epoch appeared in the French Catholic pul-

For Catholic preaching: Zanotto gives some mention, and there are some notices in Maury's *Principes de l'Éloquence;* but three notable works of recent date deal directly with the subject, viz., those of Bernard, Candel, and de Coulanges, mentioned below; for the sermons and brief notices of the preachers, the great work of Migne, *Collection Intégrale et Universelle des Orateurs Sacrés;* Lives and works of the preachers, as far as available. For Protestant preaching; Couriard, *Essai, sur l' Histoire de la Prédication chez les Réformés de France et de Hollande;* Charles Coquerel, *Histoire des Églises du Desert;* Daniel Benoit, *Trois Prédicateurs sous la Croix au 18me Siècle;* and *Les Frères Gibert.*

pit during the whole eighteenth century. The decline is so manifest that criticism has gone to an extreme in speaking of it as a decadence almost complete; in fact, an utter collapse. A little reflection on the French history of the age, and any study of the sermons that remain from the preachers of the century, will show that in this case, as in many similar ones, decline is not total collapse, that inferiority does not mean utter worthlessness, that comparative weakness does not imply total lack of power. Two considerations—to say nothing of others—should serve to balance and correct so faulty a judgment. The first is that many of the faults and weaknesses which appear in eighteenth century preaching were characteristic also of the seventeenth, with which on the whole it is unfairly compared. And the other is that a careful study of the French Catholic sermons which have come down from the eighteenth century will show that though as a rule and on the average inferior to those of the seventeenth century, they were not wholly destitute of excellence or of power.

II. Catholic Preaching and Preachers

For all the purposes of historical and critical treatment, French Catholic preaching during the eighteenth century lies chiefly between the years 1718 and 1789. The latter date brings us to the outbreak of the great Revolution which threw everything into confusion in France, and was markedly disastrous to all the interests of the Catholic Church, including preaching. During the last decade of the century there was comparatively little preaching, and among the faithful few who labored on amid the turmoil and uncertainties of that time of trial there were few if any preachers of distinction; and those who are worthy of notice went over into the nineteenth century. The earlier date (1718) is the year of Massillon's retirement from the court and pulpits of Paris to take up for the remainder of his life his duties as bishop of Clermont. The retirement of Massillon ended the brilliant era of which he had been one of the three most eminent representatives.

The preaching of the century has been carefully studied and described by three modern French scholars, to whose thoughtful labors the following discussion owes much, though other authorities and, as far as possible, the sources, have also been consulted. Candel[4] treats only the first half of the century, but with detailed and patient study of many preachers of the various orders. De Coulanges[5] (said to be the pen-name of the *abbé* Rosne) studies and presents the time as an age of acknowledged decadence, carefully considering the evidences and tokens of decline. Bernard[6] discusses only the years from 1718 to 1789, with critical studies of a large number of its representative preachers and sermons. He subdivides the period into five shorter ones in the following suggestive way: (1) 1718-1729, transition from the classic age to the new one; (2) 1729-1750, rise of the so-called "academic" pulpit eloquence; (3) 1750-1763, flourishing of academic and rise of apologetic preaching; (4) 1763-1778, a critical period in which semi-philosophic essays were common in the pulpit; (5) 1778-1789, period of reaction and effort to revive the better spirit and method of former times. This scheme, though somewhat artificial, has its merits; but it is better for our purposes simply to divide the century midway. The earlier period (1700-1750) extends from the close of the classic age to the rise of apologetic preaching forced by the skeptical philosophy of the Encyclopedists and Voltaire; and the second (1750-1800) from the rise of this philosophic preaching to the end of the century.

Taking up first the earlier period, we find that owing to the influence of Massillon, who was an Oratorian, and of Archbishop Noailles, who favored the Jansenists, the leading preachers in Paris were at first those of the Oratorian order who were inclined to Jansenist views. In Paris the Jesuits had been discredited by Pascal and the Port-Royalists, and during Noailles' administration they were forbidden to occupy the pulpits there, notwithstanding the fact that Bourdaloue had been a Jesuit. The quarrel was hot and stubborn, involving not only the preachers and prelates, but both the devout and the worldly among the laity. This fierce controversy within the church had an injurious effect upon preaching, both in lowering its tone and spirit and in discrediting it in the eyes of mankind. The Oratorians in the days of their ascendency put forth some books on preaching,[7] and from them came the leading preachers at the capital for some years. But the day of Oratorian ascendency declined and that of the Jesuits returned when, in 1729, Noailles was succeeded in the archbishopric of Paris by Cardinal Vintimille. This prelate was opposed to Jansenism, with its more pronounced evangelical and mystical tendencies, and favored the Jesuits and their party. Henceforth, till their downfall later in the century, the Jesuits led in the pulpit. They were ready for their recall, for during the time they were forbidden to preach in Paris they had not been inactive in the provinces nor in training their best men for the more important charges.

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[4] *Les Prédicateurs Français dans la première Moitié du Dix-huitième Siècle,* par J. Candel.

[5] *La Chaire Française au XVIIIme Siècle,* par A. de Coulanges.

[6] *Le Sermon au XVIIIme Siècle,* par A. Bernard.

At this point it may be well to say a word as to the supply of preachers, and the relation between the capital and the provinces in this matter. Recalling the old distinction between the secular and the regular clergy—the former being priests (*curés, abbés*) of parishes, and the latter monks of one or another of the numerous orders—we note that the seculars were not enough to do all the preaching required. Of course, not all of these were actually parish priests, or prelates; some were without settled charges, "preachers by career," who preached as opportunity offered. Candel[8] remarks: "The French pulpit, illustrated chiefly by the Oratorians as long as the episcopate of Noailles lasted, owed nevertheless a part of its glory to the seculars, who, remaining almost always aside from the theological quarrels, deserved by their prudence to be then called or tolerated in the pulpits of Paris." There were always some good preachers among the seculars in France, notwithstanding the greater vogue of the monks, and that not only among the parish priests, whose duties included preaching, but also among these "orators of career," or preachers by profession, to whom Paris gave their fame and the court their living! Certainly there was only now and then a Bossuet or a Fléchier among them, but others of less genius were worthy of note. These *abbés* and bishops, as was to be expected, were as a rule more worldly, ambitious, self-seeking, fond of popularity, than the monks; and they the more readily fell into the easygoing compromises with the current philosophy and lowered moral standards of the age.

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[7] Candel (p. 11) mentions several, and especially one entitled *Maximes sur l'Éloquence de la Chaire*, first published anonymously in 1710 and sometimes wrongly attributed to Massillon. It was the work of Father Gaichiés, commonplace and without depth, but it presents the accepted principles of sacred oratory with some force, and had a considerable vogue and influence.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

It was natural that preachers of distinction should sooner or later appear at Paris. The capital attracts the ambitious and challenges the earnest. Louis XIV drew everything of value and show to his court. Thus preachers of the orders who showed unusual gifts would be sent by their superiors to the capital, and among the secular clergy interest, ambition, influence, as well as better reasons, combined to bring leading preachers to Paris. Nearly all the famous preachers began their work outside of Paris, and proved their powers before they were summoned to appear at the royal chapels or in the leading pulpits of the capital. And many of them came at intervals to preach series of sermons at the annual festivals—Advent and Lent—and return to the provinces. Some, as Bossuet, Mascaron, Massillon, Surian, and others, were made bishops and ended their careers in the work of their dioceses. Thus many of the most notable preachers began and ended their ministry outside of Paris.

Besides, there were many worthy and useful preachers who were never called to the Parisian pulpits at all, but gave their time and labors to their work in all parts of France. To these M. de Coulanges,[9] in discussing the ambition and other faults of the clergy, pays a striking tribute which deserves to be quoted. He writes: "It has not been sufficiently remembered that at that epoch there were also apostles full of the Spirit of God, who preached with ardor and success the true gospel. Besides the humble pastors of the towns and villages, who had a horror of sophisticating the Word of God, numerous missionaries[10] traversed France, moved the multitudes and led them as penitents to the feet of the altars. . . . Though they never thought of posterity, and showed themselves solely anxious to do good to the people, whose joys and sorrows were their own, the names and works of a number of them have reached even to our times. If one would find anywhere, in the age of Voltaire, the true character of sacred eloquence he must seek it in the simple instructions of the *curés* and missioners who preached 'plainly but familiarly.' They exercised on the people a power which sometimes approached the marvelous—they had the knowledge of divine things, and it is to them far more than to the pretentious orators that the words of Holy Scripture may be applied: *The lips of a priest keep wisdom, and the people seek the law at his mouth.*" These just and sensible words could be said—with only the necessary changes for time and place —of every age in the history of preaching.

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[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

In regard to contents the French Catholic sermons in the earlier period of the century show no marked changes as to doctrine. They are based upon the accepted Romanist dogmas and ceremonials throughout. The language and tone are thoroughly Catholic. But exposition of doctrine as such finds little place; it is assumed, taken for granted, built upon, but neither argued nor enforced. Scripture is often quoted, sometimes misquoted, and often misapplied, rarely explained or expounded. Quotation from the Fathers and other authorities continues, but is not carried to the ridiculous extremes of former times. Controversy occupies a less prominent place. There is only occasional conflict with Protestants and heretics, and the tone is milder. Traces of the Jansenist and Quietist (mystical) disputes are found; but these affected preaching more indirectly as to its spirit than directly as to its thought-material. Apologetic in regard to the fundamentals of Christianity, as opposed to unbelief in general and the rising tide of skepticism in particular, becomes more pronounced about the middle of the century; only a few of the earlier preachers deal with it in their sermons, and then not very thoroughly. Bernard[11] finds only in Molinier and Pacaud of the very earliest group—both of them admirers of Bossuet—any clear apologetic preaching. They both appeal rather to the psychological than to the historical evidences of Christianity, and they draw freely from the great orators of the preceding age. Just later, as the influence of the new school of skeptical thinkers begins to be felt, allusions are found in some of the sermons, but there is as yet no serious realization of the great significance of this movement nor any attempt to meet it with intelligence or firmness. One of the best of the preachers[12]—Ségaud—declared that disdain seemed to him a sufficient defense against infidelity, and Pérussault said that religion did not need controversial defense. Yet to confirm the faith of believers, he did sometimes dwell on the internal proofs of religion, its blessings and comforts.

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[10] Evangelists of various sorts, of whom Bridaine was the most celebrated.

The main staple of the preaching of the age was morals. By far the largest number of sermons deal with conduct; and it must be said that for the most part they do this in a satisfactory and earnest manner. The terrible moral conditions of the time awakened the deepest concern in the hearts of the serious-minded among both clergy and people. Of course, there were some who treated these conditions lightly, or with satire, but for the most part the preachers assailed vice and crime both in good taste and an earnest spirit. The treatment is usually well grounded in the teachings of the Bible, and exhortation is based upon the duty of obedience to God and the faithful observance of the baptismal vow. But the fault—which all the preachers did not escape—of making sermons mere moral essays and appeals for the conventional virtues was not to be denied. The courage and decency with which the preachers attacked evil are worthy of praise. It was a happy combination which they inherited from Bossuet and the other great preachers of the classic age, who, in banishing coarseness from the pulpit, had not bated a jot of boldness or power in their denunciation of sin. Father de Neuville[13] once finely said: "Ye sacred altars! I have no other support to offer you than my voice; and you shall not reproach me with a timid silence." Such expressions are not infrequent, and they are evidently genuine. There were then, as always, preachers whose own lives were not free from the taint of corruption, and some who dealt with the evils of the time in a timid or compromising way; but most of them were faithful to warn, rebuke, exhort the people of all classes in one of the most degenerate and corrupt societies known to history—the age of Louis XV.

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[11] *Op. cit.*, Period I, Chap. II.

[12] Bernard, p. 122.

[13] Quoted by Bernard, p. 146.

In regard to the theory of preaching and the structure of sermons, the accepted principles and commonplaces of homiletics were set forth, without much freshness or force, in a number of treatises. The most important and influential of these were those of Gaichiés, *Maximes sur l'Éloquence de la Chaire* (1710 and on), and of the Jesuit father, Gisbert, *L'Éloquence Chrétienne dans l'Idée et dans la Pratique* (1715 and on). Both these works passed through various editions, were widely read, and taught many preachers the technical side of their work. Besides the treatises, there were also the usual collections of model sermons, outlines, excerpts, and the like, to aid the lazy and help by suggestion the more independent preachers. In his famous *Dialogues sur l'Eloquence,* Fénelon had criticised the abuse of divisions, the refinement of analysis, in sermons; but he had not, either in theory or his own practice, rejected them altogether. The sermons of the age show differences in different men, but, on the whole, the structure tends both to stiffness and to too much elaboration. There was vast improvement, but there was room for more. The fashion was to state and reiterate in various ways the divisions and general course of thought at the end of the introduction, make a short invocation to the Virgin Mary, and then state the first head again and proceed with the discourse. The sermons are prevailingly topical, and there is little of exposition either of Scripture or doctrine.

The general character and style of the sermons of the period follow the lines of development which were established in the preceding age. There was a deterioration—decided and age-long—in power, but forms and fashions change little, and slowly. These characters had been fixed by the masters of the classic age. Admirers and imitators of the loftiness and splendor of Bossuet easily fell into the snare of bombast and turgidity. Those who preferred the argumentative and exhaustive method of Bourdaloue made analysis and completeness tiresome, and degenerated into a cold philosophic aloofness that took the heart out of preaching. Massillon's unction, art, sweetness, effect, easily lent themselves in imitation to assumed feeling and artifice, both in expression and delivery. But the better side, the real elements of beauty and power, which all these methods exemplified were not altogether wanting. Of course there was variety, both in groups and in individuals; there was combination of methods, and mixture of manners and of aims, as must ever be the case, no matter what the time and its ruling ideas. But in general, as Candel[14] points out, there were two lines of development in French preaching after Massillon: (1) the "simple" or "natural" style adopted by the followers of Bourdaloue; and (2) the "academic," "classic," or pompous and affected manner employed by those who thought they were reproducing the tone of Fléchier, Bossuet, and others. With either of these the feeling and delicacy of Massillon might be followed, as well as his art of impression. That is, it is not worth while to make a separate group or school of those who tried to profit by his methods; they naturally fell in rather with the "affected," "academic," or bombastic and flowery sort. In making descriptions and distinctions of this kind it is always necessary to remind ourselves that they are more or less vague and variable, with representative preachers of both extreme and moderate types; and that along with the faults which such critical designations imply there were qualities of power which did not fail to appeal to the thought as well as the taste and feeling of the age. The men who learned the art of preaching from the orators of the French classic age could not be a mere crowd of degenerate imitators.

In the second period of the century the course of development in French Catholic preaching does not require so full an account; for the characters and qualities it exhibited were only a continuation of those already described. There is only one important modification to be dealt with: the attitude of the pulpit toward the hostile critical philosophy and skepticism which dominated French thought in the second half of the eighteenth century. Bayle, Diderot, D'Alembert, and, above all, Voltaire, with others of less fame, in numerous and popular writings, and with wonderful dialectic and literary skill, assailed in various ways the teachings and institutions of traditional religion in France. The attack was fresh, vigorous, alive with new thought, and conducted by writers of real genius; the defense was traditional, timid, destitute of leaders of the highest sort; the result was disastrous. In general, we may note four phases in the attitude of the pulpit toward the dominant philosophy, and they follow in a general way the order of time. (1) Among the preachers there were some who were ignorant of the true force of this new foe; they failed to grasp its meaning or power, and treated it slightly and slightingly. (2) There were those who saw more plainly the threatening evil, their fears were aroused, and they tried to meet the attack, but weakly, timidly, without adequate and fundamental knowledge, either of their own ground and forces, or of those on the other side. (3) There was also a group of preachers who fell into the evil themselves. They either went wholly over to the enemy, though retaining their places; or they took a tone of compromise and concession that resulted in no good either to themselves or their cause. (4) Lastly, when it was too late, there came a reaction in favor of a more positive defense of the fundamental Christian truths and institutions.

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[14] *Op. cit.,* Introd.

When we pass the whole eighteenth century under review, it is evident enough that there was, as already noted, in the French Catholic preaching a marked and deplorable falling off in every quality which makes the pulpit powerful and effective. But before we further study this decline we should bear in mind—besides those already mentioned—a fact which students and critics of successive ages have too often neglected or overlooked in their studies, whether of art, literature, government, society, or religion. It is simply the obvious truth that in all departments of human effort and progress the good and bad, strong and weak, pure and corrupt, fruitful and fruitless, always coexist; but sometimes one set of forces gains upon the other and we have successive eras of flourishing or declining power. This has ever been true of the history of preaching, and it was amply illustrated in the French Catholic preaching of the eighteenth century.

Already friendly critics from the inside, like Fénelon, and unsympathetic critics from the outside, like La Bruyère, had sharply called attention to the defects and faults of preaching in the age of Louis XIV. It was of that splendid era that La Bruyère wrote:[15] "Christian preaching has become a show: that evangelical sadness which is the soul of it is no more seen; it is supplied by the advantages of mien, inflections of the voice, regularity of gesture, choice of words, and long enumerations. People no longer hear seriously the Holy Word—it is one sort of amusement among a thousand others." And it is related that Louis XIV once asked Boileau why it was that a certain rather obscure but earnest preacher was drawing such crowds, and the wit replied: "Sire, people always run after novelty; and this is a preacher who preaches the gospel." Allowing for the element of truth in both of these witty sayings, they may be fairly set over against each other; and they could be spoken of almost any age of preaching. Certainly it is true that many of the elements of decay which critics note in the eighteenth century were brought over from the much lauded age which preceded and conditioned the new one. De Coulanges justly says,[16] "At the moment even of the splendor of eloquence the makers of decay were already at work; the worm is hidden in the fine fruit."

Besides this continuation of evils already at work, we must recall once more that general law of reaction which is so often apparent in the course of events. A great strain is followed by relaxation; and the unhealthy stimulus to "pulpit eloquence" in the classic age was naturally followed by a season of comparative feebleness. That this decline did not so seriously affect French thought and literature in other departments as it did in preaching is chiefly due to the rise of a new school of reflection and production in such writers as the Encyclopedists, Montesquieu, and most notably Voltaire. And this is precisely what did not occur in the sphere of the pulpit. Sore as the need was for a new breath and for new and different methods in preaching, these did not appear. No great and commanding genius arose to found a new school. In England the dull and cold formality of eighteenth century preaching was broken in upon by Whitefield and Wesley, and the general low state of the pulpit was thus greatly redressed. But in France, even if Whitefield had something of a counterpart in Bridaine, there was no Wesley to found a school and perpetuate it in an organization. Indeed, what place was there for a Wesley in the religious situation of France—where Protestantism was banished or forlorn, and triumphant Catholicism was going to decay? The Establishment in England disowned Wesley, but it could neither suppress nor banish him; in France it would have been otherwise for any similar leader.

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[15] Quoted by A. de Coulanges, *op. cit.*, (p. 322) from La Bruyère's *Caractères et Moeurs de ce Siècle* (Oeuvres, tome 2, p. 220 ss.).

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

The superficial opinion (if sincere) of Voltaire, that the reason for the decline of pulpit eloquence in his time was that the masters of the preceding age had exhausted both the subjects and methods of preaching and condemned their successors to poverty of materials, is too absurd to require serious refutation; but it does suggest one of the main causes of the decline. This was that the preachers of the eighteenth century in France—especially the first half of it—were such admirers of their predecessors that they were content to imitate them rather than to improve on them. This attempt to perpetuate a past glory by imitation is disastrous in every sphere of intellectual effort; it is simply ruinous in preaching, which so much requires individuality, independence of mind, and constant adaptation to changing conditions. In noting imitation as one of the principal causes of decay in the sermons of the age, De Coulanges[17] finely says, "Talent is by nature slave to genius." And servile imitation is one of the worst sorts of intellectual and moral weakness. How it leads to the imitation of faults rather than excellencies, to the exaltation of mere method over spirit, of form over substance, are matters of common critical observation; and they are signally illustrated in the French Catholic sermons of the eighteenth century.

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[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

It is now time to notice a few representative preachers of the age. For this selective study the works already quoted have proved admirable guides, and the great collection of the sermons of these preachers (and many others) made by the industry and editorial skill of the Abbé Migne[18] has been of inestimable service. Among the thousands of preachers who worked in this age, and the hundreds whose printed sermons remain, it is, of course, only necessary to select a few of the better known and to bear in mind that there was an earlier and a later group, falling respectively in the first and second half of the century, and distinguished broadly, though not very sharply, by the different tone given to preaching on the rise of the skeptical philosophy of Bayle, Voltaire, and others.

In the earlier group the leading name is still that of Massillon, who lived till 1742, but he left Paris early in the Regency during the minority of Louis XV, and gave the remainder of his days to the work of his diocese of Clermont.

A contemporary and *confrère* of Massillon was Jean Baptiste Surian (1670-1754).[19] In many respects he was not unlike his greater brother, whom he admired and imitated. Like Massillon, he was of the South, an Oratorian, and in his preaching laid stress on feeling and effect. He was born at Arles, educated at Aix and at Caen, made a reputation as a preacher in various places, and was finally called to Paris in 1708. Here he preached along with Massillon for several years, preaching in the most important pulpits, and giving the Advent sermons at the court in 1717 and 1724, and the Lenten series of 1719 and 1724. As a reward for his zeal and eloquence he was made bishop of Vence in 1728. He was also made a member of the Academy in 1733. He was a loving and faithful bishop, and died much esteemed in 1754. Candel[20] quotes a contemporary critic of Surian as saying that "nature had not refused him any gift which goes to make the great orator." He had a good voice, fire, feeling, and zeal; he was well read in the Fathers and the classics, and kept in touch with the literature of his time. He owed much of his success as an orator to his personality and delivery; for his printed sermons are not of the highest order of merit. He is rhetorical and classic, but his style is marred by labored and affected phrases; and his thought is not profound or varied.

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[18] *Collection Intégrale et Universelle des Orateurs Sacrés,* etc., par J. P. Migne; 86 vols.; referred to briefly hereafter as Migne, vol. and column given—the columns being numbered, two to each page. Other authorities, biographical or critical, will be given as required.

[19] Bernard, p. 46 s.; Candel, p. 59.

Two other Oratorians of this early period are the brothers Terrasson,[21] André (1673-1723), and Gaspard (1680-1752). They were of a notable family at Lyons that gave able men to both the bar and the pulpit. Still another brother was an *abbé,* but does not appear to have been distinguished as a preacher. Both brothers were trained in the schools of the Oratory, both filled preaching stations at various places with great acceptance and success, and both were finally called to Paris, where they preached at various churches, as appointed by the authorities, and won their distinction as pulpit orators.

André Terrasson preached the Lenten sermons of 1715 at St. Honoré in Paris, and drew large and cultured audiences. On being appointed preacher at Notre Dame, he continued to attract, and more than the usual part of that vast floor-space had to be supplied with chairs. André was handsome in person, with good action and a fine voice. He was fervent and vigorous in delivery and wore himself out. After over-exertion in the pulpit at Notre Dame he took cold and died. He was simple in life and manner, and somewhat austere in presenting the moral code of Christianity, which he did, however, with courage and power.

Gaspard Terrasson was in Paris filling an appointment at one of the smaller churches when André died, and he was called upon to take his brother's place and complete the series of Lent sermons at Notre Dame. He did so with success, and for about six years more, at intervals, he was heard in the chief pulpits of the capital. But his somewhat indiscreet utterances on the controversy over the bull of condemnation of the Jansenists brought on him the disfavor of the new archbishop of Paris—Vintimille—and he was forced to retire. He went at first to Savoy, then took charge of the small parish Church at Treigny for a time, but finally, in old age and feebleness, he was forgiven and allowed to return to Paris, where he died in 1752.

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[20] *Op. cit.,* p. 60.

[21] Notices and sermons in Migne, tome 29; mention in Bernard and Candel, *passim.*

Gaspard Terrasson was rather more polished as an orator than André, his sermons show more care and labor in their general style. They are stiff and formal in analysis and statement, and are at times overloaded with phrases. He is said[22] to have been the first to use in the pulpit those affected and stilted and vague phrases which the writings of the philosophers were beginning to make the fashion, such as, "The Supreme Being," "The Sovereign Governor of the world," and the like. But he has a good share of imagination and feeling, and was brave and outspoken in his dealing with the sins of the age.

Several other Oratorians—Molinier, Dutreuil, Pacaud—are named and criticised by the authorities, but none of them are rated very high as preachers. Pacaud (1685-1760) was the best of these, and is described by Candel[23] as "a man very sweet and very good; one can not imagine a writer more polished and more amiable." But he was too labored in style, and affected in phraseology.

After the forced withdrawal of the Oratorians from Paris the Jesuits came back, and until the suppression of the order (1773) they furnished the leading preachers for the more important places. Only two of these in this earlier period rose to much fame—Pérussault and Ségaud—of whom the latter is the more worthy of notice.

Guillaume Ségaud (1675-1748)[24] was born at Paris, and there also died. After the usual course of study prescribed among the Jesuits he was sent out to preach in the Provinces, and made quite a success, especially at Rouen. On being called to Paris he is found preaching at the main stations there during a period of about twenty years. He was a man of agreeable manners, kind heart, true piety, and pure life. In the short sketch of him in Migne's collection a letter is given from the superior of his order, after his death, greatly praising his virtues as a man. He made and kept many friends; and Louis XV granted him a pension. Notwithstanding some negligence in thought and style, his sermons show considerable ability, fluency, unction, penetration, without profundity or originality of thought, but with analytic skill, an erudition that tends to pedantry, and a varied style, sometimes clear, simple, and direct, sometimes labored and prolix. Among the best of his sermons are those on "The Last Judgment," "The Forgiveness of Injuries," "The Temptations of the World," "Practical Faith," and "The Love of One's Neighbor." A few sentences from the introduction to the sermon on "The Last Judgment" will give some idea of Ségaud's manner.[25]

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[22] Both Candel and Bernard make the statement.
[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 161.
[24] Sermons in Migne, *tome* 47; notices in the other authorities.

After regretting that the familiar ideas of death, judgment, and hell do not affect us as solemnly as they ought, he shows how they should make us feel, but yet it is not in the ordinarily accepted terrors of these things that the greatest impressiveness lies: "It is not enough for a criminal soul to be separated from its body, the instrument of its fall; the body must be reunited with it to be the companion of its sufferings after having been the accomplice of its disorders; it is not enough that it shall endure in a secret judgment the rigorous examination of all its crimes, it must drink the shame of them in the eyes of the universe; it is not enough that it shall feel itself crushed under the weight of the arm of an avenging God, it must highly recognize His justice and make amends to Him in the sight of heaven and earth. . . . That which will make the Last Judgment so terrible to sinners will not be its accompaniments, it will be its end. . . . Jesus Christ will there report all the particular judgments which He will have passed in secret, in order to submit them to the censure of the universe, to oblige all creatures to assent to their justice, to force the convicted themselves to sign their arrest and to subscribe to their condemnation—exhaustless source to them of confusion and despair! For that end He will examine three things which alone concur to form a legitimate judgment: the law, the crime, and the punishment—the law by which they shall be judged, the crime of which they shall be convicted, the punishment to which they shall be condemned; the law, to judge if it be not unjust; the crime, to see if it be not supposititious; the punishment, to know if it be not excessive. He will demonstrate to them the equity of the law, the verity of the crime, the fitness of the punishment." These are the main topics of the discourse, and they are developed with clearness of thought, knowledge of human nature and of the age, logical acumen, reasonable simplicity of style, and proper feeling.

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[25] Migne, t. 47, col. 61, 62.

Decidedly the most original and powerful preacher of this period was the great missioner (evangelist), Jacques Bridaine (1701-1767).[26] He was born near d'Uzés, in the south of France, at a little village called Chusclan, where, in 1882, a monument was erected to his memory. His parents were poor but pious Catholics, who early impressed their faith upon the boy's soul. His talents and character attracted attention, and he was educated by the Jesuits at Avignon. The authorities soon discovered Bridaine's gift for speaking, and before he had completed his course of study he was sent to take the place of some one in an emergency, and acquitted himself so well that his work and reputation alike were fixed. On one of these early appointments—at the town of Aiguesmortes—seeing that the people were slow to assemble, he seized a bell, and, robed in his preaching garb, rang it through the streets. The people were surprised, their curiosity awakened, they came in crowds, and were rewarded for coming, for Bridaine was not the ordinary village priest or traveling monk of the day. Soon he was ordained (1725), and the great and toilsome work of his life began. It can not here be traced in detail. Though little known as such, Bridaine was in his own day and among his own people one of the greatest of evangelistic preachers—he will bear comparison with Berthold of Regensberg, and, in modern times, with Whitefield and Moody. He held, in all, two hundred and fifty-six "missions," many of them in the larger cities, as well as in smaller places; thousands were moved and led to faith by his work, and thousands more were strengthened and helped in the moral and spiritual struggle. In the intervals of his preaching—often late into the night, as well as during the day—he was diligent in the confessional and in other personal touch with individuals. He was also skillful in securing the co-operation of others. At Marseilles a band of forty young men, converted in his mission, became his willing helpers. He used various "methods" and devices for attracting and impressing the people—processions, choruses, banners, and the like. He sought and obtained the approval and co-operation of the parish priests in his work. He also had public avowals of renewed faith or of first confessions of Christ. In fact, many of the "methods" of modern evangelists seem to have been anticipated by this Jesuit priest of the early eighteenth century.

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[26] Candel and Bernard both give fairly good accounts of Bridaine. See also Maury, *Principes de l'Éloquence*, p. 86 ss.; and Azais, *Bridaine et ses Missions*, including an *Oraison Funèbre de Bridaine*, by Bishop Besson. For some reason Migne did not include any sermons from Bridaine in his great collection, but the lack is well supplied by an excellent edition in several volumes, *Sermons de Père Brydayne*, 4me ed., Lecoffre Fils, Paris, 1867.

Bridaine conducted notable missions at Montpellier and at Lyons, and in 1744 he first came to Paris and held a successful mission at Chaillot. It was nine years later (1753) that he came to the church of St. Sulpice and conducted the famous mission there, which, through Cardinal Maury's account in his *Principes de l'Éloquence,* has given Bridaine a name among the great orators of France. The splendid "exordium" attributed by many to Bridaine, and often quoted and referred to as a model of manly eloquence, has been proved to be the wily cardinal's own work, in its literary form, though resting upon a basis of fact.[27] Bridaine did make a bold and eloquent address in his opening sermon at St. Sulpice and deeply impressed his hearers. Thereafter he conducted other missions in Paris and many other places. Finally, worn out with his enormous labors, he died at Roquemaire in 1767.

Bridaine's published sermons, reported by others and some of them probably revised by himself, imperfect as they are, exhibit the usual qualities of the popular preacher. Evidently they do not represent him at his best, any more than Whitefield's do that great orator. In both cases the man was infinitely more than the pale report of a printed page can put before us. But in these sermons appear both the good and bad of the type of preaching which Bridaine so eminently represented, a type made familiar by noted examples in all times. The essential quality is that real though elusive one which in its sum of effect, we call "capturing the crowd." Now the defects of this quality are well known—the exaggerations, the negligence, the easy familiarity, the occasional want of dignity even to coarseness, the overuse of humor and pathos, the anecdote. But its elements of power are equally well known: sympathy with people of all kinds, knowledge of their real wants, simplicity and directness of language and argument, imagination and power of portraiture, dramatic effect, occasional "flights" of eloquence, fervor and earnestness of appeal. All these are more or less observable in Bridaine's sermons, and are sustained by the traditional accounts of his remarkable power over his audiences. It is said[28] that, on one occasion, after having powerfully described in a sermon on death the horrors of dissolution, he paused and said to the people, "Now follow me, and I will lead you to your home," and then, to the solemn chanting of the *Miserere*, he conducted them to the adjoining cemetery and made the closing appeal of his sermon from a tomb. In sum, he preached, as Azais says, quoting a phrase of La Bruyère, *"simplement, fortement, chrétiennement"*—simply, powerfully, *christianly;* and this was Bridaine.

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[27] The facts about the matter are, briefly, these: Maury gives the famous piece as having been heard by himself at St. Sulpice. This was impossible, for he was then a child of five years at his home in the South. Later when a youth of seventeen in school at Avignon he heard Bridaine and was, with others, profoundly moved by him. There was present an old man who had heard Bridaine's powerful opening address at St. Sulpice years before and gave young Maury an account of it. From this hint and his own impressions of the man Card. Maury later (as a sort of banter with a friend) himself composed the exordium, and then gave it place in his book as a sample of Bridaine's eloquence. In a letter to a friend he subsequently acknowledged the fraud. I am indebted to Bernard (p. 199) and to Boucher (*Hist. de l'Éloq. de la Chaire*, p. 409) for the facts contained in this explanation. They now do Bridaine no harm, and Maury no good.

Among the preachers not of any monkish order—the so-called seculars—the most noted of this period was the *abbé* Poulle[29] (1703-1784). Born and educated at Avignon, he held several posts and won fame as a preacher before he came to Paris, where he preached at the court in 1750. From this time on he was one of the best known preachers in Paris, and had a large following. He did not write his sermons, but after retiring from active work he dictated eleven—presumably his best—to his nephew, and it is by these that he is judged. They have little to commend them, except the commonplaces of pulpit teaching. They are wordy, pretentious, and affected.

Of the preachers whose activity lay in the second half of the century—ending with the confusion and trials of the Revolution—only a few require special notice. A number are named and characterized at greater or less length by the authorities we have followed, such as: Father Elisha, a Carmelite friar, whose sensational sermons were heard by considerable crowds; of the Jesuits (before their suppression in 1773), Perrin, Griffet, Chapelain, who are of the third grade of orators; Clément, among the seculars, who really had considerable talent and learning; and, later in the period, Lenfant, Beauregard, and Boulogne, who spoke with boldness against both the skeptical philosophy and the moral corruption of the times, but too late and with too little real power to do more than raise a voice of earnest protest against the forces of evil that had gained the upper hand and were sweeping all old things away. Three only of the notable preachers of the age are selected for more particular notice: De Neuville, De Beauvais, and the *abbé,* afterwards cardinal, Maury.

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[28] Azais, *Bridaine et ses Missions,* p. 91 ss.

[29] Migne, t. 55; Boucher, *op. cit.,* p. 391; Candel and Bernard, *passim.*

There were two brothers De Neuville[30]—or Frey de Neuville, as the name is more fully written—who were active preachers in this time, but the elder (Pierre) was rather more of an administrator than orator, and our study is of the younger, usually known as Charles de Neuville (1693-1774).[31] He was born of good family at Coutanes, but in his childhood his parents moved to Vitré, in Normandy, where he was brought up. He was a gifted child, bright in intellect and pure in character. His religious bent was so decided that he sought and obtained the consent of his parents to his becoming a Jesuit. He accordingly entered that order in his eighteenth year, and enjoyed the thorough training customary among the Jesuits, including the several years of teaching after the completion of the academic studies. De Neuville was a very successful teacher, but his manifest gift in speech betokened the preacher, and the authorities of his order designated him for that work. He was first heard at Paris, in 1735, and at once attracted notice. Henceforth, till the suppression of the Jesuits, in 1773, he often preached in the important pulpits and at the customary Advent and Lent seasons in Paris. His life was uneventful, except for the struggle in his last years against the impending overthrow of his order, which he endeavored in vain to avert, but accepted with pained submission. He was of affable and courteous nature, and was much occupied as spiritual father and confessor. In social life he was affectionate and gay without compromising his dignity, and so made many friends. He toiled laboriously upon his sermons. Long meditation, hard reading, and careful polishing went into the most of them. His position was firmly taken upon the Catholic theology, and he was well versed in the Scriptures and the Fathers; but his preaching is distinctly and predominantly moral, and in his later years—owing to the growth of skepticism—apologetic. He endeavored to meet the hostile assaults of unbelief, but his spirit and methods were those of an earlier age, and his defense was inadequate, though earnest and brave. He sympathized with those who were shaken in faith, and encouraged them; he knew the heart of his time in the moral sphere, and while he denounced its sins and follies, he pleaded for the higher things and sought to restore and comfort the penitent. The fall of the Jesuits saddened and weakened his closing years, and he died at Paris, an old man, in 1774.

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[30] Sermons and brief accounts of both are given in Migne's *Collection* (t. 57), the elder being called Pierre Claude Frey de Neuville, and the younger Anne Joseph *Claude* Frey de Neuville; but he is usually known as *Charles* de Neuville. Perhaps his third name was Charles, and the editor in Migne is in error.

[31] Migne, t. 57; Candel and Bernard, *passim;* Maury, *Principes de l'Eloquence,* some criticisms.

De Neuville's preaching has been very variously judged, both in his own times and since. By friends and admirers he was extolled as a marvel of learned and polished eloquence. Even Lord Chesterfield chimed in with the chorus of local praise and declared that De Neuville was the greatest French preacher of his time. Others, on the contrary, looked upon him as self-seeking, eager for applause, and condemned his sermons as pedantic, pompous, wordy, and brilliant, without depth of thought or height of aim. Naturally, the truth lies between. De Neuville did not wholly escape the faults with which he has been charged, but his sermons are not mere glittering verbiage and pretentious display. They contain, as the character of the man ensured, much of sincere and thoughtful appeal to the remnants of better spiritual life in a distressing and decadent age. But alas! he saw not how to grasp the good that struggled amid the seething evils of the new era and use it as a weapon both of defense and attack. He had a fine imagination, but it was not duly controlled; a gift of language, but it was diffuse, redundant, and sometimes bombastic; an oratorical nature, but it led him away into forced antithesis, over-emphasis, and other exaggerations. Take him all in all—both for weakness and strength—he is typical of his time.

Jean Baptiste de Beauvais (1731-1790)[32] shared with

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[32] Migne, tom. 71; Bernard, *passim.*

De Neuville the reputation of being the best preacher of this later period. He was much younger than De Neuville, whose work was nearly done when De Beauvais began to preach in Paris. We accordingly find in De Beauvais a more modern and timely note, and a more vigorous and intelligent grasp of the terrible problems of the age—immorality and skepticism. His attack upon the first was brave, outspoken, and uncompromising. He spared not king nor courtier. Louis XV once spoke of him as "the lost child of the gospel"—so out of place was he amid his surroundings. But the weak and vicious monarch respected the man whose warnings and teachings he would not heed, and made him a bishop. Toward infidelity and its attack on the Catholic faith the attitude of De Beauvais was not so clear and strong as toward moral corruption. At first he took a line of concession and almost of compromise, hoping to win and hold the wavering in that way; but toward the last he saw and pathetically acknowledged his mistake, when many of the worldly-minded clergy had themselves gone over to the enemy, and the foundations seemed to be destroyed.[33]

De Beauvais was born and brought up at Cherbourg, the son of a lawyer, who died in the boy's childhood, but made provision for his education. He was eager for study, and would have become a Jesuit but for the overthrow of the society, which was impending during his youth and soon accomplished. Still, in one way or another the ambitious young man found ways to qualify himself for his chosen work. His career does not present many striking points of interest. He had notable success as preacher in Paris during the closing years of Louis XV, and was appointed bishop of Senez—a far-away diocese in the south of France. But after a few years of faithful though uncongenial service, he gave up his bishopric and returned to Paris, preaching as occasion offered. He was appointed a clerical member of the States-General in 1789, but found himself out of place in that famous assembly, which soon came under control of the revolutionary forces and passed into its successors. The Terror was not far away when De Beauvais died, in 1790.

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[33] Bernard, p. 491.

In his preaching De Beauvais was freer from the current faults than most of his contemporaries—caring less for show and effect, and being more simple and straightforward in style than many of the others. As a sample of his dealing with unbelievers—those who were honestly shaken in soul and were seeking light—take this striking prayer, which, in one of his sermons, he puts into the mouth of such a supposed doubter: "Let the unbeliever say to the Supreme Being: O God, Thou who seest the depth of the heart, Thou knowest how I desire to render to Thee the worship most agreeable to Thee. I am an unbeliever, but am not impious. God of my ancestors! to whom I was dedicated in my chilhood; pious parents engraved the Christian faith upon my feeble heart, but the new opinions of my time, the specious reasonings of the new philosophy, my own passions, have effaced its characters. O God, since so many proofs attest that this religion is Thy work, make it live again in my soul! I can not yet make my indocile reason submit to it. . . . Christianity tells me that Thou owest nothing to Thy creatures; but it also tells me that Thou desirest all men to come to the knowledge of the truth. O Supreme Intelligence, deign to enlighten my darkness! . . . What must I do to be saved? I believe in Thee; help Thou my unbelief."

An illustration of the firm and fearless manner in which De Beauvais dealt with moral questions before the king and court is afforded by a brief extract from a sermon on Truth.[34] He makes the simple division that it is our duty (1) to speak the truth, and (2) to hear the truth, and after discussing the first head and making an honest avowal of his own purpose to speak the truth at all hazards, he comes, under the second head, to say: "Among the prejudices particularly attached to high conditions, none is more common and dangerous than the love of flattery and the fear of truth. As much as one loves a false man who knows how to keep silence or to disguise that which gives offense or to speak only that which pleases, even so much does the inflexible virtue of a true man offend delicacy. Such is the twofold error which I am endeavoring to correct. O, that we could make men feel how much that adulation, which seems so sweet, is really fatal to them; how much that truth, which seems so harsh, would be salutary to them!"

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[34] Migne, tom. 71, col. 45, and 53.

We come to a very different type of man—as much above De Beauvais in talent and power as he was below him in sincerity and principle—in the famous *abbé* and, later, cardinal, Jean Siffrein Maury (1746-1817.[35] The future orator and prelate was born of humble parentage at Valreas, in the south of France, and received his education at the Seminary of St. Charles, at Avignon. At twenty years of age he came to Paris to seek his fortune as a tutor, with a view to entering orders later. He began soon to write and publish, and his *Éloge de Fénelon* won him fame and notice from the Academy. He was ordained at Sens, and his talents and capacity were so evident at his examination that Cardinal de Luynes at once gave him a post of some sort, and his career as orator, writer, man of the world, and preacher by profession, was fairly begun. In 1772 his *Panegyric on St. Louis* brought him renown and honors, and in 1785 his famous *Panegyric on St. Vincent de Paul* won him the coveted prize of a membership in the Academy, besides great applause, both at home and abroad. Meantime he had been made an *abbé,* and his services as preacher were in great demand. He filled various stations before the court, as well as other important appointments, during the years, and in 1786 he became prior of a rich benefice near Paris. As a writer and critic his reputation was established by his able and still read *Principes de l'Éloquence de la Chaire et du Barreau,* in which he unfolded with force of thought and excellence of style the accepted principles of sacred and forensic eloquence, accompanied with keen and competent, though not always just, criticisms of many orators ancient and modern.

Maury's life and character were by no means above reproach. He was worldly, insincere, self-seeking, and did not escape suspicion of graver moral delinquency; but of his talents, learning, and extraordinary oratorical ability there can be no question. Had his moral and spiritual power corresponded with his splendid mental gifts and skill in using them, he could easily have been the greatest preacher of his time and place. He was brilliant, ready, vigorous in conversation as in speech, but withal haughty to the verge of insolence—a man to command admiration without respect, and influence without love.

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[35] *Nouvelle Biog. Universelle;* Bernard, p. 489, and *passim;* Boucher, *Éloq. de la Chaire,* p. 398 ss.; Maury, *Principes de l'Éloquence,* ed. of 1810, containing the *Éloges* and Panegyrics.

Maury was elected a member of the famous States-General of 1789, and became at once the leader of the clerical party. Upon the fall of the Bastille he fled, believing that the revolutionary forces would at once put an end to the old *régime;* but he was arrested and brought back, and on resuming his duties as a member of the body he is said to have remarked, "I shall either perish in the Revolution or by fighting it I shall gain a cardinal's hat." And so it turned out. On the floor of that famous assembly he was the redoubtable champion of the old order of things in church and state. His courage, his readiness, his indomitable bodily vigor, his quickness and power of retort, his resourcefulness, his unceasing vigilance and activity in debate, made him a worthy antagonist of Mirabeau, who recognized him as his ablest opponent. He more than once turned the laugh on Mirabeau with his sallies, as once, when the great popular orator, seeing a supposed flaw in Maury's argument, said, "Now I will close M. the *Abbé* in a vicious circle," and Maury retorted, "Then you must embrace me." But with all his eloquence and unrivaled powers, he could not keep back the catastrophe. On the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, and the full inauguration of the Revolution, Maury fled to the emigrant nobles at Coblentz, where he was received with acclaim as the hero of a fallen cause. Later, at Rome, his eminent services, though not successful, were recognized at their worth and he received first an Italian bishopric, and later his cardinal's hat. He was of the conclave that elected Pius VII to the papacy, and later, on advice of that pontiff, accepted Napoleon and returned to Paris. It is said that Napoleon once jocularly asked him what he thought of the Bourbons now, and he answered, "Sire, towards them I have no longer faith nor hope, but am left alone with charity." Maury deeply offended the pope by accepting at the emperor's hands, without the pontiff's authority, and without being discharged from his Italian bishopric, the post of archbishop of Paris. When the Bourbons returned to power Maury was, of course, disgraced as a renegade, though he tried hard to make his peace with Louis XVIII, as he had done with the pope. He was mortified by his fall and died soon afterwards, in 1817.

Such was the checkered and interesting career of this remarkably gifted man, of whom as a preacher we can, alas! only say, "What he might have been!" Before his return from Italy, Maury destroyed his sermons[36] (of which there must have been a considerable number), and his quality as a preacher has to be determined by the traditions of his eloquence, and the few orations and panegyrics which remain. Judged by these, he appears to no great advantage. They are pretentious, bombastic, and high-flown. One does not wonder at Bernard's describing even the famous oration on St. Vincent de Paul as a "bizarre" performance, notwithstanding that it won him a place in the Academy; and the impression of his preaching before the court of Louis XVI, even at the height of his career as preacher, is perhaps not unjustly preserved in a saying attributed to that unfortunate young king, who, after hearing him once, remarked, "If Monsieur the *Abbé* had but spoken of religion he would have touched upon everything."

It is fitting, but depressing, that our survey of French Catholic preachers during the eighteenth century should close with one who was a distinguished example, among many less striking ones, of that unhappy epoch—brilliant talent for speaking perverted to rhetorical display, and imperative opportunities and possibilities misused or missed altogether by compromise with the world.

III. Protestant Preaching and Preachers

There is unhappily not much to say, though much that is far better to say, concerning the Protestant preaching in the French tongue during the eighteenth century.[37]

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[36] Boucher, p. 398.

[37] See Lentz, Rothe, Christlieb, previously quoted; Berthault, *J. Saurin et la Prédication Protestante;* Hartog, *Geschiedenis van de Predikkunde* (where he treats of the Walloon preachers

We must first of all remember that this preaching, among its many features of contrast with that of the French Catholics, presents the aspect of a dispersion. Three different fields divide our attention: (1) France itself, with its churches and pastors "of the Wilderness," persecuted and worshiping by stealth; (2) Switzerland, with its eminent theologians and pastors; (3) the scattered churches of the exiled in various lands, but chiefly the so-called Walloon (*i. e.*, French-speaking) congregations in Holland. But in this diversity there was, besides the two evident unities of the French tongue and the Reformed faith, another, that of the spirit. As compared with the faults of the French Catholic and the German Lutheran preaching, the pulpit work of the French Reformed preachers shows to good advantage. It would be too much to claim that it wholly escaped the pronounced evils of the age—the pretentiousness of manner and the cool and philosophic moralizing—which we find to a greater or less extent everywhere in the pulpit of this century; but it is only fair to say that, upon the whole, the preaching of the French Protestants of the period shows rather more of true Scriptural content and of direct spiritual appeal than we meet with among their Catholic and Lutheran or their Dutch Reformed contemporaries. It is scarcely necessary to attempt here anything more in the way of a general characterization. Something more definite will necessarily appear as we briefly trace the outlines of the French Reformed preaching in the various lands, and bring under review the work of individual preachers.

We begin with the churches and preachers of the Wilderness, that is, the oppressed and banned remnant of the Protestants remaining in France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, and the persecutions of Louis XIV. The stronghold of the Huguenots was the southeastern part of France, amid the Vosges

in Holland); Couriard, *Essai sur la Prédication chez les Réformés de France et de Hollande;* Charles Coquerel, *Histoire des Églises du Désert;* Baird, *The Huguenot Emigration;* Smiles, *The Huguenots in France After the Revocation;* Benoit, *Trois Prédicateurs sous la Croix au XVIIIme Siècle,* and *Les Frères Gibert;* Cyclopedia articles, and Lives and Works of the preachers so far as available.

and Cevennes Mountains. The hardy mountaineers had risen in revolt to defend their faith by arms, and one of the shadows of the latter years of the Grand Monarch had been the war of the Cevennes, or of the Camisards, as it is sometimes called. The Regency in the early years of Louis XV had continued the policy of repression; but there was still a body of unsubdued and loyal believers throughout the region named. To organize anew the congregations, to minister to them as pastors, and to maintain in the caves and defiles of the mountains such secret meetings for worship as were possible, was the difficult and dangerous task of the Protestant preachers in France throughout the eighteenth century till the Revolution. These faithful "pastors of the Wilderness" were under the ban, they were hunted, watched, pursued, some were banished, and some were even hanged; but they put their duty to God before obedience to tyrannical human oppression, and discharged their perilous offices with such courage, consecration, patience, wisdom, and fidelity as have won them imperishable glory. Of course, the literary remains of the preaching of these men of God is practically nothing. They preached and taught as they could in those assemblies guarded by watchful outposts, but likely to be betrayed by spies and surprised by soldiers at any moment. But how could those tender and often eloquent appeals be put into writing and print? We have only the traditions of the actual spoken word, but these bring to us the story of its power to save, to comfort, to animate, yes, and to restrain and guide a faithful people through a century of oppression, but not of despair.

Chief among these heroic pastors was Antoine Court (1696-1760). He was born at Villeneuve, and from early youth formed the purpose to devote himself to the work of reviving and putting on some permanent basis the organization and worship of the Reformed congregations. He disapproved of armed resistance from the first, and throughout his career, and set himself by peaceful means to maintain the cause. He was hardy, brave, yet prudent and tactful, with fine sense and a native gift of eloquence. He had no schooling to speak of, but by hard study he endeavored to repair the defects of his education. His plan, formed at the early age of eighteen, and adhered to through forty years and more of exacting and perilous service, embraced four main purposes: (1) To convoke and instruct the people in secret assemblies; (2) to combat the fanaticism to which many had been led by the Camisards, and to avoid armed resistance; (3) to re-establish the discipline and worship of the Reformed faith; (4) to provide for the raising, training, and continuance of a ministry for the churches. This last thought found expression in the founding of that famous school at Lausanne where so many of the French Reformed pastors have been educated. Court received help from various sources—some coming even from England—and the school was established about 1730. Court became pastor at Lausanne, and kept his eye on the school as well as on the whole work, making frequent and hazardous journeys among the congregations and attending the meetings of the synods. There are no sermons remaining from Court, but Coquerel, the historian of the Churches of the Wilderness, has found among the records a sort of apostrophe or prayer which he thinks was written by Court. He gives it in full,[38] and comments as follows: "From the point of view of the form of the language, it is right to add that such appeals, in a style at once so energetic and so pure, pronounced by a young man of twenty-four years, deprived of every advantage of education beyond that which he had given himself, makes us see that all the disorders of the persecutions and the ruin of the academies had not been able to interrupt that tradition of good eloquence of which the Reformed Church and the school of Saurin had furnished so many models."

Among the earliest students at Lausanne was Paul Rabaut (1718-1794), who became with Court the other most important leader and preacher among the Reformed. His life-story is full of the romance of heroism, in which his fair and faithful wife had her full share. His tours among the churches, his zeal, his labors, his perils and escapes, his indefatigable diligence, his unshaken constancy and courage, his wise and intelligent leadership, made him the worthy younger follower and helper of

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[38] *Hist. des Églises du Désert,* I, pp. 106-109.

Court. There was great affection and congeniality between the two, and they labored together in loving accord. Rabaut was pastor mainly at Nîmes, but he traveled much among the churches. A few sermons remain from him, and of them Coquerel says:[39] "Much of simplicity and unction, more of sweetness than vehemence; little of dogmatic discussion; more of charity than of depth; doctrinal exposition invariably sustained by moral counsels. . . . As to form, they are all very methodical; they glitter with the logic of their divisions."

Besides these two great leaders, the Churches of the Desert had other pastors and preachers of less ability and prominence, but of great courage, usefulness, and zeal. Some of these were captured and hanged, some were banished, all suffered. Accounts of the lives of some of them remain, and their labors were not unfruitful; but their preaching has lived only in its effects.

In Switzerland the preaching in the French tongue continued, not only at Geneva, Lausanne, and other centers of the Reformed faith, but at many other places. Upon the foundations laid by Calvin and Beza, and through the controversies of the seventeenth century, this preaching had acquired a strong Biblical character, and at the same time a decided theological cast which still mark its contents and quality when the eighteenth century begins. Great theologians like the two Turrettins, Werenfels, Pictet, and Osterwald left the imprint of their character and methods upon the French-Swiss sermons of the age. But, whatever may be said of other preachers and localities, we shall see that these sermons for the most part happily succeed in departing from the scholastic manner, the affected and pedantic style, and the rationalistic coolness so common in that time. They have a certain flavor of Pietism and an evangelical warmth in spite of their dogmatic cast.

Only a few of the more eminent names among these theological preachers need here be recalled. Samuel Werenfels (1657-1740), one of the most notable theologians and Biblical scholars of his church and time, succeeded his father as leader of the church and professor of theology in the University at Basel. This

[39] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 503.

was the scene of his lifelong and useful labors. He was the friend of the young Turrettin and Osterwald, and they were of like spirit. Of his labors and numerous writings in the theological and controversial sphere there is no need here to write. Though a German-Swiss in name and speech, and using the Latin mostly for his theological works, he was asked, in 1710, to become associate pastor and preacher for the French Church at Basel, a duty which he discharged for several years to the great gratification of his associates and edification of the congregation. At their suggestion these French sermons were published, and they remain still an interesting example of how a great theologian of that age could preach to the hearts of cultured people.[40] They discuss the great fundamental truths of the Christian faith, in a style simple and clear. In the introduction to the first one of the series, second in the volume, the preacher apologizes for using his manuscript, as the French language was not his mother-tongue; but he had no need to excuse the straightforward, simple diction in which he expounded with admirable force and feeling some of those great doctrines which had been his lifelong study. The sermons are devoid of all pedantry and seeking after effect. Werenfels was something of a Pietist, of Bengel's type, and he spoke for the good of his hearers, not his own applause.

Benedict Pictet (1655-1724), the nephew and successor of Francis Turrettin in the chair of theology at Geneva, and also a pastor of the church there, was born in that famous seat of the Reformed worship, received excellent training, traveled, studied, and held intercourse with distinguished scholars and preachers in France, Holland, and England. In addition to his great labors and numerous writings as professor of theology, he was recognized as an able and eloquent preacher of the Word, and a volume of sermons is found among his numerous remains.[41] It would be both interesting and profitable to translate and transcribe here, did space permit, the admirable introduction in which the author kindly but firmly criticises the bad taste and wrong motives of much of the preaching of the age, and avows his own purpose to adhere to the simplicity that is in Christ, and to preach for the spiritual good of his hearers rather than their pleasurable gratification. And it must be said that for the most part he lives up to his aim. The sermons are rather scholastic and stiff in form, and a little theological learning must perforce sometimes appear; but they discuss practical subjects in a practical way, and do not fail to make earnest and skillful appeal to the souls as well as the intellects of their hearers.

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[40] *Sermons sur des Vérités Importantes de la Réligion,* par Samuel Werenfels. Basle, 1715.

[41] *Dix Sermons sur divers Sujets,* par Benedict Pictet, pasteur et professeur. Geneva, 1718.

Jean Alphonse Turrettin (d. 1737) was the son of the famous Calvinistic theologian and disputant, Francis Turrettin, was born at Geneva, and received (like his cousin, Pictet) excellent training, improved by travel and association with other learned divines. He departed widely from the stern and uncompromising attitude of which his father had been so notable a representative. He was a mild and lovable man, who sought by concession and charity to mollify and unite Christian thinkers of various schools. He was greatly loved, both as professor and preacher, at Geneva, and published some sermons which reflect both the fine intellect and the amiable qualities of the man.

Jean Frederic Osterwald (1663-1747), the third of that "triumvirate of Swiss theologians," of which Werenfels and Turrettin were the other two, was, like his two friends, the son of a notable man, the honored pastor at Neuchatel. He, too, had admirable training in youth, perhaps a little too varied and a little too forced, but his remarkable talents and continued application extended and solidified his attainments. He succeeded his father as pastor at Neuchatel in 1699, and held the office with great honor and esteem till his death, in his eighty-fourth year. Besides his work as pastor and preacher, Osterwald wrote much on various theological subjects, particularly in Bible translation, lectured with great success and appreciation to students for the ministry, and left behind him many long useful and widely translated and read religious works. There is a volume of his sermons, published at Geneva in 1722, which exemplify his character as a preacher.[42] In the dedicatory epistle addressed to his fellow-pastors, and in the body of the first sermon (on the Seriousness of Religion), Osterwald makes significant allusion to the distressing evils of the times and the inadequacy and unfitness to deal with them aright of any preaching but a simple and sincere presentation of the great truths of Christianity. The sermons unfold those truths, they deal with vital and practical themes, they are direct and pointed, but not ambitious in style, and they show deep concern for the hearers and over the evils of the age; but they are strong in faith and hopeful in tone. They exhibit the fashion of Saurin and others for formal division and minute subdivision, but not to the wearisome degree of some of the German discourses of the time.

Among the French Protestant exiles in foreign lands, and particularly the Walloon (French-speaking) churches in Holland were a number of noble and justly famous preachers. In the early years of the eighteenth century most of these brought over into the new era the spirit and manner of the heroes of the Revocation, such as DuBosc, Claude, and especially Saurin, whose brilliant ministry at The Hague extended to nearly a third of the new period. Along with him should at least be named the celebrated Jacques Basnage (1653-1725), pastor at Rotterdam, and later at The Hague, but better known as a man of learning and an accomplished diplomat and counselor, though of earnest life and piety, than as preacher. There were also the eloquent Christian apologist and preacher, Jacques Abbadie, and the famous pastor of the French Reformed Church in Berlin, Isaac de Beausobre, both of whom have been noticed in our account of the seventeenth century.

Passing thus hastily over these, and omitting others who might well claim notice here, we must, in concluding this survey, pay some attention to two distinguished pastors of French churches in Holland—Chatelain and Chais.

Henri Chatelain (1684-1743) was born at Paris the year before the Revocation, and carried, an infant, by his Protestant parents to Leyden. Here he received his school education, then studied awhile with a famous teacher at Amsterdam, then took his university course at Leyden, and after that visited England and pursued some studies at both Oxford and Cambridge. He was called as pastor to the St. Martin's French Church in London in 1710, thence to The Hague in 1721, and finally to Amsterdam in 1728, where he labored till his death, in 1743. He has been described[43] as a pleasing and sensible preacher, clear in his interpretation of Scripture and in unfolding his views, and largely influenced in his method of preaching by the English, especially Tillotson and Doddridge. A number of his sermons[44] were published by his widow soon after his death, and they confirm the judgment just noted; but they also exhibit a cool moralizing tone which is far from the evangelical warmth of the Swiss preachers; they are not marked by any height of imagination or depth of feeling, and can make no claim to true eloquence.

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[42] *Douze Sermons sur divers Textes de l'Écriture Sainte,* par J. F. Ostervald. Geneva, 1722.

Charles Pierre Chais (1701-1785) was born and educated at Geneva, and on his graduation traveled in Switzerland, Alsace, Holland, and France, observing and studying. He came to Paris in 1727, and in the next year was installed as one of the pastors at The Hague, along with Saurin and the rest. Like the others, he seems to have disliked Saurin, but on the death of the great preacher was regarded as the "least unworthy" to succeed him in the chief place. Though urged to return to Geneva, besides receiving other important calls, he gave to The Hague the services of his long life. He wrote a number of books on various theological subjects; but his greatest work perhaps was the founding of an institution for the sick and poor. As a preacher[45] he was not great nor eloquent, but cultured in style, clear in thought, traditional in method, and not untainted with that rationalistic morality which too often in this century was allowed to take the place in the pulpit of a warm and sure exposition and application of gospel truth.

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[43] By Hartog in his *Geschiedenis van der Predikkunde*, etc., bl. 150 vv.

[44] *Sermons sur divers Textes de l'Écriture Sainte*, par Henri Chatelain. Amsterdam, 1744.

[45] His sermons were published in two volumes after his death. *Sermons sur divers Textes*, etc., par Charles Chais. Tt. 2, La Haye, 1787, 1790.

CHAPTER IX

DUTCH AND SCANDINAVIAN PREACHING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In Holland and the northern countries of Europe the general conditions of life, literature, religion, and preaching were not unlike those which we have learned to recognize as characteristic of Europe in that epoch. What needs to be said by way of introductory statement in regard to the history and literature of the respective countries will be better presented separately, as we notice the preaching in each land.

I. DUTCH PREACHING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Little is required to remind us of historical and literary affairs in Holland at this time.[1] The great glories of the Dutch struggle for independence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were followed by a decline in the eighteenth century. The death of William III of Orange, in 1702, without issue left vacant the office of Stadtholder, which had been filled for so long by his illustrious house. Later in the century the office was revived in his cousin, William of Friso, and was made hereditary; in reality becoming a monarchy, though not formally so until the nineteenth century. The States of Holland took some part in the great European movements of the century, but their internal affairs were of no world-wide interest. Wars with France and England depleted the wealth and lowered the prestige of the country, causing her the loss of some colonies beyond the seas, and of some influence in the world. The French Revolutionists conquered the country and made it into the Batavian Republic, soon to become a dependent kingdom under Louis Bonaparte, and on his abdication to pass under Napoleon as a part of the French Empire in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Dutch literature of the eighteenth century has only one name of the first importance, that of William Bilderdijk, patriot and poet, who lived on into the first third of the nineteenth century, and whose writings are still highly prized by his countrymen. Other writers of less influence are the brothers Van Haren, poets and statesmen; the learned essayist and clever satirist, Fokke, with Bellamy, Loosjes, Van Helmers, and the eminent historian, Van Kampen.

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[1] See the authorities previously mentioned—*Historians' History,* Vol. XIV, and *Warner Library* for the literature.

The Dutch preaching of the eighteenth century had its national characteristics.[2] Though there were some Catholic preachers in Holland, they were not of sufficient importance or influence to claim notice here. The Protestants were mainly of the Reformed Church, and among these the triumph of Calvinism at the Synod of Dort (1618) had left that type of theology the dominant one and the standard of orthodoxy. But the Arminian party had made their *Remonstrance,* and hence were called Remonstrants; and though in the minority, they had in their ranks not a few able and influential men. The French-speaking, or Walloon, Reformed churches had been strengthened, both in their membership and their ministry, by the refugees whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) had driven out of France. Besides these three branches of the Reformed Church, there were some Lutheran congregations with their pastors, and a considerable body of Baptists (Mennonites), who numbered among them some preachers of power and influence.

The Rationalist type of preaching does not appear to have had so much power or so general prevalence in Holland as in Germany and England during the eighteenth century, but traces of it are discernible, chiefly in the moralistic preaching of certain Remonstrants and Walloons. Pietism also had its representatives, especially among the followers of Voetius, who had received influence from the teachings of Spener and Francke. The fierce disputes of the seventeenth century had deeply impressed upon Dutch preaching the dogmatic and polemic character common to so much of the sermonic and other religious literature of the times.

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[2] Works of Rothe and Lentz, previously mentioned, though there is not much of value on Dutch preaching in these. The Christlieb-Schian article in *RE* is for Dutch preaching largely derived from Van Oosterzee; but some of the articles on individuals are of especial value. The sketch in Van Oosterzee's *Practical Theology* (Eng. trans. by Evans of his *Praktische Theologie*) owes rather more than is distinctly acknowledged to the thorough though labored and difficult work of J. Hartog, *Geschiedenis van de Predikkunde in de Protestantsche Kerk van Nederland.* This scholarly work is a mine of information, and to it is due nearly all that is given in the text, though it has been found necessary to supplement it sometimes from articles in Van der Aa's *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden,* and from other authorities mentioned.

Along with this, it seemed as if the scholastic homiletical method of the seventeenth century had become a necessary feature of orthodox Dutch preaching. Its dryness, length, pedantry, and wearisome detail of definition, analysis, and quotation, do not appear to have been as much relieved as in Germany and England by those conceits of fancy and phrase which we find in the seventeenth century divines of those two countries. It was perhaps this which led Mosheim to say that the Dutch had no pulpit oratory—a dictum caught up by other German writers and naturally contested by the Dutch, at least in its extreme form. But it is conceded by all that at the opening of the eighteenth century preaching in Holland was sadly in need of reform; but, as we have seen, influences were already at work in that direction.

The quarrel between the Cocceians, with their minute exposition of the text, and Voetians, with their neglect of form and comparative depreciation of Scripture in insistence upon experience and practical fruits, was at its height when the century opened. In 1702 there came from Detmold, in Germany, to the University of Franeker a young student who was to work a reform in Dutch homiletics. This was F. A. Lampe (d. 1729),[3] who, after going back to Germany and serving as pastor for some years, was called as professor and university preacher to Utrecht in 1720. He held the double office till 1727, preaching once in two weeks in German. But many of his sermons were translated into Dutch and published, so that both his teaching and example were influential in introducing the better method with which his name is associated. His lectures on homiletics in the University of Utrecht were published in Latin[4] from notes of his pupils, and they had wide circulation and wholesome influence.

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[3] See art. in *RE*, Rothe, and especially Hartog, Bl. 128, *et passim.*

Lampe perceived the faults of both the Voetians and Cocceians, as well as the harmfulness of their prolonged and often acrimonious dispute as to method. He therefore sought, by combining the good points of both schools and by appealing to the better spirits of both parties, to bring in a sounder and more edifying style of preaching. With the Cocceians he agreed that the correct interpretation of Scripture was essential, but he insisted that prolonged and minute discussion of each word and possible meaning of the text had no place in the pulpit. With the Voetians he agreed that feeling and spiritual results must be aimed at, but these must be properly related, both to Scripture doctrine and the moral life, and that a clear division and style of speech were necessary for the conveyance of truth to the hearer. Lampe's method was, as Hartog well says, psychological; that is, it took the point of view of the auditor and urged that, as preaching was for his benefit, it should be adapted to his condition and seek to make on him the right impression. Lampe's views appealed to many of all parties and his reform was in a large degree successful, but so inveterate was the habit of analysis and definition that some of his pupils fell into the fault of classifying the hearers and making appeal to each class in turn! Sometimes the confused listener could not find himself in the maze. So, too, in spite of many good and successful efforts, many of the old faults persisted, and the middle of the century finds Dutch preaching sadly in need of further improvement, especially in the direction of simplicity and the real edification of the audience.

Many were beginning to see and feel this need and to seek a better way when, in 1768, Ewald Hollebeek published his epoch-making book, *On the Best Kind of Sermons*,[5] wherein he vigorously condemned the pedantic expository method and the other abuses in vogue, and urged the adoption of the better manner of the English divines, especially Tillotson and Doddridge; that is, of deriving a topic from the text and presenting that with such clearness and fitness as to reach the mind and heart of the hearer, with special reference to his spiritual and moral needs. The book raised a strife, as was to be expected, but found many friends and pupils who undertook to carry out its teachings. Many of the older set opposed the innovation and condemned it as the practice of Socinians, Anabaptists, and the like, thus trying to put upon it the taint of heresy as well as novelty. But men like Hinlopen, Chevallier, Bonnet, and others defended and practiced the new views and methods, and they gradually won acceptance. Further in the direction of improvement were the example and influence of Jodocus Heringa, who, however, belongs more appropriately to the early part of the nineteenth century.

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[4] *Institutionis homileticae Breviarium.*

[5] *De optimo concionum genere,* etc.

Of individual preachers the authorities we have been following mention and discuss quite a number, of whom, however, only a few require notice here; for even of these it was only a still smaller number who reached more than local or national fame.

We may briefly condense what Hartog gives concerning the preachers outside of the dominant Reformed Church. The Lutherans[6] had no very distinguished men, though Van Velten of Amsterdam, and Müller of Leeuwarden, and some others are named as leaders. The Lutheran preaching was naturally much influenced by the tones and tendencies which gave character to the contemporary German pulpit. Reflections of the Pietistic, Mediating, and Rationalistic schools, and of the various homiletical methods taught and practiced in Germany are found also among the Lutheran preachers of Holland.

Among a number of less noted but capable and worthy Baptist (Mennonite) preachers, Hartog[7] gives particular attention to Johan Stinstra (1709-1790), not because he deems him the best, but because he is the best known. He gave two sorts of sermons—some learned and some popular—and in both his good qualities as a preacher appeared. His discourses on *Ancient Prophecies* belong to the more scholarly sort; but in a clear and forcible sermon on Matt. 22:21 ("Render unto Cæsar," etc.), he turns the general principle of that great text into a very appropriate and timely application to the sin of smuggling; and in other of his discourses he shows how he could make good use of moral subjects. That he was not wholly free from the Rationalism of the day perhaps appears in the statement that he was at one time accused of Socinianism; but Hartog does not discuss the matter. As a preacher, Hartog rates higher than Stinstra, Johan Denknatel (d. 1759), in whose sermons the Pietistic side of the Voetian school of preachers finds frequent and characteristic expression. He also had the faults of his time and school, but he was well acquainted with human nature, and spoke with feeling and effect to the heart of man.

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[6] Hartog, bl. 218 vv.

[7] *Op. cit.,* bl. 193 vv.

The Remonstrants (followers of Limborch and the Brandts of the seventeenth century) were ably represented in this period by Adrian van Cattenburgh, for a time pastor at Rotterdam, and then for twenty-six years (1712-1738) professor in the Remonstrant College. A volume of his sermons was published at Leyden, and Hartog finds them of some worth as to clarity of exposition, though marred by some pedantry. Like others of this school, he laid large emphasis on moral preaching. Others of the Remonstrants are briefly mentioned and characterized; but we may pass them by.

Of the French Reformed (Walloon) preachers of the age Hartog[8] names and discusses a number, but as these preached to French congregations, and, of course, in the French tongue, only a brief account of them is needed in an account of preaching in Holland. We have already considered the most important of these in the account of French preaching, and need here only recall a few names. Before Saurin, the most important of the Walloon preachers seems to have been Henri Chatelain (1684-1743), preacher in London, then at The Hague and at Amsterdam. We recall the great exiles, Du Bosc, Superville, and others, and, greatest of all, Saurin. Later in the century are named as leaders Chaufpié, Royer, Courtonne, and Chais, the successor of Saurin at The Hague. These French preachers exerted some influence in the promotion of greater clearness and better taste in the preaching of Holland; but some of them were more or less infected with the moralistic and rationalistic spirit of the age. But, leaving all these less numerous and less important parties and men, it is, of course, to the preachers of the national Reformed Church that we must look for what is most distinctive in the Dutch pulpit of the century.

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[8] *Op. cit.*, bl. 150 vv.

Of those whose work lay chiefly or wholly in the first half of the century, before the reforms introduced by Hollebeek became effective, only a few need be named. Leaders among them were Til, Braun, D'Outrein, and Groenewegen,[9] who to a greater or less degree exemplified the old and waning scholastic analysis, pedantry, and bombast. One of the worst of them was Albert Voget, professor at Groningen and later at Utrecht (from 1735), who, though a pupil of Lampe, did not much resemble his master, but practiced many of the faults condemned by him. Hartog justly criticises for its bombast and bad taste a panegyric pronounced by him upon the Prince of Orange.

But there were also representatives in this earlier group of the better tendencies in pulpit method, though Hartog has to regret[10] that they have not left more material for correctly appreciating their work and influence. Here account should be taken of the famous scholar and theologian, Herman Venema (1697-1787),[11] pupil and successor of the learned Vitringa at the University of Franeker, where he served for fifty years. Part of the time he was university preacher, but his sermons were dry and scholarly rather than popular, and it was chiefly in his lectures and his influence on his pupils that his help toward the better manner of preaching was found. Of these pupils Conradi is named[12] with approval, and with regret that little or nothing of his work was published, since during his long service as professor and preacher at Franeker (1740-1781) he was regarded by many as the best preacher of his time.

After the middle of the century there are found in

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[9] See Lentz, II, S. 303; Rothe, S. 418 ff.; Hartog, *passim.*
[10] *Op. cit.,* bl. 135.
[11] Hartog, *l. c., RE,* Bd. 20, S. 491.
[12] Hartog, bl. 135.

Holland a number of excellent preachers, from whom a few are selected for brief notice.

Ewald Hollebeek (1719-1796),[13] the leader of the wholesome reform in preaching, was born at Havensted, where his father was pastor. He received his university training at Leyden, was ordained, and served as pastor at several smaller places before going to Middelburg in 1747. Thence he was called to be professor at Groningen, where he served ten years, and was then made professor at Leyden, and so continued to the end of his life. It was in 1768 that he published his famous book and led the way to modernizing the preaching of Holland. All the authorities pay due respect to his teaching and influence as being of capital moment in the development of a higher type of pulpit work.

Among those who welcomed, practiced, and furthered the new so-called "English" method of preaching advocated by Hollebeek was Paul Chevallier (1722-1796),[14] long pastor and professor at Groningen. Born at Amsterdam, the son of a sea-captain, whose early death left him fatherless, he was carefully brought up and educated by his mother. He was an eager student and improved his advantages at the preparatory schools, at the gymnasium at Lingen, and at the University of Leyden. Ordained to the ministry in 1744, he held various pastorates, and was then called to Groningen, as teacher in the Academy and as pastor of the church, in 1751. Here he found his life-work, and in the exacting duties of his double office proved eminently useful to the end. He was a man of extensive learning, a fine teacher—especially of Church History, a faithful pastor, and a popular and successful preacher.

Gisbert Bonnet (1723-1805),[15] descended from an old French family, and younger brother of another noted preacher, was born at Naarden, and early showed remarkable talents. His early schooling was crowned by a diligent and successful course at the University of Utrecht. His first pastoral charge was at Amersfort, then at Rotterdam, later at The Hague, when (1761) he was soon called as professor and preacher at the University of Utrecht, where he spent the rest of his life. He published many lectures, books, and sermons. Bonnet's biographer sums up his estimate by saying: "He won renown as having been one of the most eloquent and famous pulpit orators of his time, and one of the most skillful and able teachers at the University of Utrecht. He was a man of eminent piety, broad learning, extraordinary clearness of judgment, and rare eloquence." And Van Oosterzee says that "from him dates the practice of devoting the first part of the discourse, of not too great extent, to the explanation of the text [thus preserving something of the older expository method]; the second, to the formal treatment of the subject to which the text refers [thus adopting the new topical method]; and closing the whole with a part apportioned to the application constantly modified in accordance with the nature of the subject and the wants of the hearers. The best illustration of his method is to be found in his own published sermons, which, whatever their faults in point of detail, may be regarded as models for the period to which they belong."

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[13] Van der Aa, Dl. 8 (2) bl. 993; Hartog, bl. 233; and the German authorities, *ll. cc.*

[14] Van der Aa, Dl. 3, bl. 346 vv.; Hartog, bl. 241.

[15] Van der Aa, Dl. II, bl. 853 v.; Hartog, bl. 244; Van Oosterzee (Eng. tr.), p. 150.

The last of this notable and influential eighteenth century group was the great Utrecht pastor, Jacob Groot Hinlopen (1723-1803),[16] of whom Van Oosterzee writes that "during more than half a century he was a living protest in his congregation against all scholasticism, a daily sermon on the practical nature of Christianity." Hinlopen was born at Hoorn, and attended school there and at Hardwyck. Later he took courses both at Franeker—where he was greatly helped by Venema—and at Utrecht. Ordained in 1745, he held several short pastorates until he was called to Utrecht, in 1751, and labored to the end of his long and useful life. He had ample knowledge of the Bible, and was a keen and original interpreter. His intercourse with his congregation was full of frankness and love; and his sturdy patriotism and devotion to the House of Orange, as well as his personal influence in his city, were shown by the fact that during the ascendency of the French Revolution in Holland General Pichegru found it desirable to banish him from Utrecht for a time.

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[16] Van der Aa, Dl. 8 (1); bl. 825 v.; Hartog, bl. 229; Van Oosterzee, p. 150.

Hinlopen's sermons have been described as "simple, pleasing, popular." Hartog quotes a fine tribute to him from Jodocus Heringa, himself one of the great Dutch preachers of the next period and one who owed much to Hinlopen's preaching for his own success. Heringa's estimate is as follows: "Among all teachers whom I personally have heard teach, I do not remember ever to have met one who in my opinion combined more wisdom with knowledge, more foresight with zeal, more charm with reverence, more humility with the consciousness of what he was and had, than the God-fearing and man-loving servant of Jesus Christ in the congregation at Utrecht—Jacob Hinlopen." So with this noble figure our imperfect survey of eighteenth century Dutch preaching may fitly close.

II. Danish and Norwegian Preaching

In the Scandinavian countries[17] there was close political union between Denmark and Norway throughout the eighteenth century, and their history and literature require no separate consideration. The line of kings during this century was not particularly distinguished. The middle of the period was marked by the influence of Struensee, a German favorite of the queen, who introduced some measures of reform in political and social conditions, but soon met and deserved his downfall. Later in the century, under the wise leadership of Count Bernstoff, Danish commerce assumed importance in the world and led to war with England, during which befell, in 1801, the famous battle of Copenhagen by the British fleet under Parker and Nelson, which reflects more credit on the brave and patriotic Danes than on the stronger and victorious English.

In Danish-Norwegian literature the greatest name of the early eighteenth century is that of Ludvig Holberg (d. 1754), whose numerous writings are highly prized by his people. In fact, in his comedies Holberg struck out a new path, and in his other works—historical and critical—he raised a high standard of excellence. Indeed, he is regarded as the father of modern Danish literature. After Holberg came Johannes Ewald (d. 1781), who did some notable work, chiefly in tragedy, but his comparatively early death cut off a career of some promise. These two, with others of less power and distinction, prepared the way for the masterly work of Oehlenschlager, with whom begins the great Danish literature of the nineteenth century.

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[17] See the appropriate volumes of the *Historians' History* and the *Warner Library* for the history and literature.

The established and dominant religion in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway since the Reformation has been Lutheran. It is, therefore, just what we should expect when we find that the institutions of Christianity, including, of course, preaching, exhibit in the modern centuries the characters and features of German Lutheranism, with the natural modifications of country and language. Accordingly, we find in the three northern lands those phases of eighteenth century preaching which have already been described as existing in Germany during the corresponding period. There was a group of the strongly orthodox and dogmatic Lutherans who followed the scholastic method of Carpzov and others, and were as polemic and positive as could be desired by their brethren in German lands. There was another group who received and furthered the teachings and influences of Spener and Francke, and thus represented, though in a feeble and second-hand way, the improvements introduced by the Pietistic school in Germany, not failing also to follow the weaknesses and faults of that movement. Yet again the Rationalistic party—with its clear but lifeless and philosophic morality and utility in preaching—was not without its representatives. And finally the off-set to all the others in the principles of Mosheim and Reinhard had likewise some following among the preachers in the northern lands. It is, therefore, not necessary to discuss these features of preaching again in detail, but only to mention briefly some of the leading preachers in Denmark and Norway during the eighteenth century.[18]

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[18] As I do not read the Scandinavian languages and have had no access to the original sources I follow in the brief sketch in the text the few hints of Van Oosterzee (*Prac. Theol.*, p. 142 f.), the Christlieb-Schian article in *RE*, and such articles as are found in *RE* on several of the preachers named.

In Denmark there appears to have been no great preacher of the evangelical, or Pietistic, school, though the principles and methods of that party had been introduced by a German, Lütkens, who became court preacher at Copenhagen in 1704. He found co-laborers and followers, but none rose to high rank as preachers. Bishop Hersleb (d. 1757), of Seeland, and also one of the court preachers at Copenhagen, is mentioned as in some sort an opponent of Pietism and as being a preacher "whose powerful eloquence his contemporaries could not sufficiently praise."

Christian Bastholm (1740-1819) was the leading representative of the Rationalists. He was an extreme example of his kind. He, on the suggestion of his father, took up the ministry as a means of livelihood suited to his tastes for study and as a useful institution of the State for the moral and intellectual instruction of the people. He proclaimed, practiced, and defended these principles with learning, acuteness, and a vigorous eloquence which brought him worldly applause and honors in his lifetime, but no enduring fame or influence beyond it.

In Norway the orthodox churchly party was ably represented by Johan Nordal Brun (d. 1816), bishop of Bergen, who is said to have possessed "fiery eloquence and poetic gift," and to have shown in the pulpit "a fullness of fancy and rhetorical brilliancy." He espoused warmly, even if not very profoundly, the side of the Supernaturalists—such as Mosheim and Reinhard in Germany—as against the Rationalists. Like Mosheim, he published a volume of "Sacred Discourses" which were once highly valued. Of the Rationalistic school were N. S. Schultz (d. 1832), pastor in Drontheim, and, more decidedly, Claus Pavels (d. 1822), preacher at Christiania, and later bishop of Bergen. The evangelical and Pietistic school was powerfully represented by the notable evangelist and popular lay preacher, H. N. Hauge (1771-1824), of whom a fuller notice is desirable.[19]

Hans Nielsen Hauge was of peasant parentage, and born in the parish of Thun in 1771. He had only limited school advantages, and at home his spiritual as well as intellectual life was fed by earnest study of the Bible and a few devotional books such as his pious parents had. With his natural mental acuteness and his strong spiritual bent, the youth had also a fine talent for business and a strong inclination to excel therein. But he was turned from this career and led to devote himself to earnest labors for the salvation of his fellowmen partly by grief and pity and repulsion in view of the moral and spiritual lowness he saw around him, and chiefly by a deep inward conviction that he was called of God to do what he could for the spiritual uplift of his people. He began by personal conversations and the forming of little groups for prayer, conference, and exhortation. His organizing genius and business ability led to the forming of these into societies, somewhat akin to Wesley's in England; but they never separated from the State Church, and Hauge was ever only a lay preacher. He did preach, however, with deep and persuasive conviction, traveling mostly on foot over miles and miles of territory, and reaching hundreds of the people with his personal as well as public ministries. Many were led to Christ and to a truer life in Christ by his own efforts and those of his followers, and his work did much to counteract the ruinous effects of Rationalism and prepare the way for the more spiritual movement in Norway in the early years of the next period. Hauge's sermons naturally lacked the culture of the schools, and had the faults of his type, but they were earnest and sincere and had a powerful influence upon the people. It is mournful to say that he was persecuted by the church and state authorities, tried on many false charges, imprisoned, fined; but he bore himself well in his trials, and left an honored name and an enduring influence behind him as of one devoted to the service of God and the good of men.

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[19] See the art. by Odland in *RE*, VII, 478 ff.

III. Swedish Preaching

As to Sweden, Europe had not forgotten Gustavus Adolphus; and the meteoric military career of the youthful Charles XII in the first decade of the eighteenth century seemed likely to revive Sweden's influence in European affairs. But the sudden termination of the young king's life, after his return from his defeat at Pultowa and following exile, removed Sweden again from any leading place in modern history. Charles left a debt-loaded country, no great achievements except a few brilliant but fruitless battles, and no direct heirs. To his sister and her husband devolved the crown of Sweden, but under such conditions as made it a mere title without real power. The history of Sweden for the rest of the century is a record of political dissensions and of royal incapacities, slightly relieved by some good work on the part of Gustave III toward the end of the century.

Three important names in widely different spheres adorned the literature of Sweden during this time. Olof van Dalin (d. 1763), poet and historian, though not a profound or original writer, is rightly regarded as the initiator of the modern era in Swedish letters. Emanuel Swedenborg (d. 1772) was a genius in the domain of religious and philosophical thought, and a man of pure life, broad learning, and profound mystical and speculative thinking. As a thinker and writer he remains one of the most esteemed men of his age, but his literary and philosophical value outside of his own country has been somewhat underestimated on account of the mystical and unaccepted element in his religious speculations. Under the literature of science the Sweden of the eighteenth century bears the great name of Carl von Linné, better known under the Latinized form of Linnaeus, the father of modern botany and one of the greatest of scientists. Though he wrote in Latin and for the learned, the works of Linnaeus in the original and translations hold an immortal place in literature because of the author's clearness and kindling interest, both in thought and in expression. Besides these three great leaders, there were three poets, Bellman, Kellgren, and Leopold, who greatly pleased their contemporaries and did much in preparing the way for the nobler development of Swedish literature in the next epoch.

In Sweden the orthodox and rationalistic parties seem, though not inactive, to have had no particularly able or noted preachers. But the evangelicals were nobly represented by the court preacher, Andrew Nohrborg (d. 1767), who was somewhat like Bengel in spirit;

and Erik Tollstadius (d. 1759), pastor in Stockholm, who attracted great throngs to hear his warm and spiritual discourses. In Sweden there seems to have been, according to Christlieb,[20] "a certain fusion of the old orthodoxy with deeper pietistic inclination of the heart, but of a peculiar Swedish coloring, inasmuch as for the practical Swedish character a comparative undervaluing of 'mere doctrine' was much further removed than for the later German Pietism."

CHAPTER X

BRITISH PREACHING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century marks a great epoch in the development of the British Empire. England was, of course, the center, but there was wonderful expansion into many parts of the world. The internal affairs are easily recalled. The succession of sovereigns was begun by the reign of Queen Anne, after the death of William III, in 1702. William was unpopular but great, while Anne was popular but weak, being much under the sway of Marlborough and his wife. On her death, in 1714, the House of Hanover, in the person of George I, began its rule in England. George II reigned during the middle of the century, and the end of it found the good but incapable and obstinate George III on the throne. During these reigns the great parties which have alternately governed modern England were more or less clearly defined and formed. A few favored the Stuarts, under whom two futile attempts (1715 and 1745) were made to recover the crown for that misguided house. These circumstances led to the strengthening of ministerial responsibility and the real government of the country by the House of Commons. The century is distinguished by a number of great ministers and statesmen, such as Marlborough, Bolingbroke, Walpole, the two Pitts, Fox, and Burke. Important events were the Act of Settlement, 1701; the Act of Union with Scotland, 1707. Later in the century, under the lead of an obscure and not very worthy man named Wilkes, three great measures

[20] *RE*, XV, S. 699.

were agitated, viz., Parliamentary reform, the publicity of Parliamentary proceedings, and the freedom of the press. The external affairs of the kingdom were surpassingly important. Off and on during the century, and for fifteen years beyond it, there was the terrible struggle with France. There was also England's part in the Seven Years' War, which resulted in the aggrandizement of Prussia as against Austria in Europe, and of England as against France in India and America. The British conquest of India was decided in 1757. The American Revolution wrested from England her colonies, but established the great Republic of the United States in 1775-1783. The close of the century, 1799, witnessed the beginning of England's final conflict with France, against Napoleon, to be ended at Waterloo in 1815.

In literature the eighteenth century for England means less than the seventeenth or the nineteenth, but still there were many writers and movements that could not be spared from the development of English thought and letters. This century, in literature as in politics, was a robust, transitional, and preparatory age. Not so original as the Elizabethan, nor so copious and polished as the Victorian, the period of Queen Anne is marked by a certain stiffness and artificiality, as instanced in the work of Pope and others. The beginning of English fiction is found in the still popular romance of Defoe, while the writings of Steele, Addison, and Swift fill an important place in the development of English prose. The early Georgian period has to its credit the minor poetry of Thomson, Young, and Gray, while fiction is represented in the tedious tales of Richardson and the coarse stories of Fielding. Bolingbroke and Johnson contributed much to prose, and David Hume begins a long line of distinguished historians. In theology Butler and Law are notable names. The later Georgian epoch, toward the end of the century, is lit up by the genius of Goldsmith, Burns, and Cowper in poetry, while fiction grows both more human and pleasing in the work of Goldsmith and Jane Austen. Dr. Johnson continues to write his ponderous prose, Adam Smith puts forth his famous study in political economy, Gibbon writes his masterpiece on the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Em-*

pire, and the splendid political genius of Burke illuminates statesmanship. These were the masters. There were others who labored with them and made the eighteenth century literature in England, though not comparable to that of the following age, both respectable and strong.

Religious and moral affairs in England during the eighteenth century were for the most part in a deplorable condition.[1] Political corruption was rife, vice was unblushing and hideous, coarseness, profanity, drunkenness, gambling, and debauchery desolated the land. The growth of deism and skepticism in all classes was marked. Philosophical writers, such as Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon, brought churchly religion into contempt with thinking people. In the preface to his famous *Analogy,* published in 1736, Bishop Butler wrote: "It has come to be taken for granted that Christianity is no longer a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly, it is treated as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all persons of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject for mirth and ridicule." Again later, in his *Charge to the Clergy of Durham,* in 1751, Butler emphasizes his complaint in the following terms: "It is impossible for me, my brethren, upon our first meeting of this kind, to forbear lamenting with you the general decay of religion in this nation; which is now observed by every one, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons."[2] Even among professed Christians there was great laxity of life and want of devotion to truth. Many of the clergy were utterly unworthy.[3] There was dense ignorance and much practical heathenism among the lower classes of the people.

Yet there was a brighter side. There were not a few noble Christian characters and earnest representatives of true Christianity. In defense of the Christian faith, Joseph Butler contributed his immortal *Analogy,* and argued the Deists off their own ground; while on the side of feeling and pious mysticism, the devotional work of William Law, Thomas Boston, and others fed true piety among the devoutly inclined. But the great redeeming feature of eighteenth century England was the rise and progress of the revival under the popular preachers, George Whitefield and John Wesley.[4] This great movement reclaimed thousands of the lower and middle classes of the people, and to some extent reached also the upper classes. It changed the current of English thought and life towards a higher morality and a more spiritual religion. Consequent upon the revival came, toward the end of the century, the evangelical movement, corresponding to the Pietism of Germany some decades before. This movement doubtless had its narrowness and one-sidedness, and was open to criticism on those accounts, but it emphasized some neglected aspects of Christian doctrine and life and left a wholesome influence upon modern English religion. Along with this we gratefully trace the dawn of modern philanthropic and missionary enterprise. It is only necessary to say that the latter part of the eighteenth century witnessed the self-denying labors of John Howard, William Wilberforce, and William Carey, and the birth and early training of that ornament of her sex and time, Elizabeth Fry. All these political, literary, and religious movements had their more or less intimate relations to the development of preaching, which shared both the strength and the weakness of the times.

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[1] See the historians generally on the period; particularly Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century, passim;* Green's *History of the English People,* Bk. VIII, ch. 4, near the end; and cf. Ryle's *Christian Leaders of the Last Century,* Chap. I.

[2] Butler's *Works,* Gladstone's ed., the *Author's Preface* to the *Analogy,* Vol. I; and Vol. II, p. 397.

[3] See Green, *l. c.;* and Lecky, Vol. I, p. 84.

I. General View of Preaching

As in politics and in literature, so in preaching the eighteenth century in England has a marked individuality and an important place of its own. The pulpit of the period can with no more justice be neglected or underrated than can the philosophic thought or the literary product of the age. The state of morals and religion, and the general literary taste and tone of the times, made their impress upon the character and quality of preaching, as these are revealed to us in the traditions and notices and likewise in the abundant published sermons which have come down to us. There is ample material for studying and judging the epoch.[5]

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[4] Green, Bk. IX, ch. III; Ryle, chap. II.

The low moral and spiritual tone of a large, but certainly not respectable, group among the clergy disastrously affected both the character and influence of their preaching. The pulpit work of these men was naturally perfunctory and cold. Nor could their sermons claim originality or freshness, even where they were not bought or shamelessly appropriated from others. And in other preachers, who escaped the taint and condemnation of moral looseness, there was often found a cool, rationalistic tone, such as we have noted already in certain groups of French and German preachers of this age. This type of preaching found for the most part dignified yet pronounced expression in the Latitudinarians of England and the Moderates of Scotland. Even among many who would not be properly placed among the rationalizing preachers, but among the orthodox and theoretically evangelical, there was preaching which it would require more charity than judgment to pronounce other than lifeless and tame.

Yet the situation was not entirely hopeless; there were redeeming features among the drawbacks, and not a few positive virtues of a commanding order. The hidden life of piety among the people, small leaven though it was, demanded and responded to a presentation of the gospel which should nourish the heart as well as the reason. Nor was such a preaching wholly lacking through the century, even apart from the special movement under Whitefield and Wesley and their associates. Still the significant and outstanding evangelical preaching of England during the eighteenth century is forever associated with the names and labors of these two illustrious leaders and their fellow-workers in the great revival. Their preaching was eminently popular and Biblical. Ryle well says:[6] "They preached fervently and directly. They cast aside that dull, cold, heavy, lifeless mode of delivery which had long made sermons a very proverb for dullness. They proclaimed the words of faith with faith, and the story of life with life." The fruits of this preaching were to be found, not only in the religious and moral reformation already noticed, but also in the great improvement in preaching itself, particularly as regards directness of aim, simplicity of speech, and a more pronounced evangelical content.

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[5] The histories—both religious and general—of England, Scotland, and Ireland for the period; sketches and notices in works previously mentioned, such as Christlieb, Broadus, Pattison, Blaikie, Fish, and others; best single work is *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century* (eighteenth, of course), by Bishop J. C. Ryle; Works and Biographies of individual preachers; articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and other cyclopedias.

The character of preaching, of course, differed both with groups and individuals; but there are certain general features to be observed before we study the several schools and their leading representatives. One striking thing (as in Germany and France) in the British preaching of the century is the relatively large and prominent place given to morals. This was characteristic of all schools. The Latitudinarians had little else; and while they did not go so far afield in minor morals as did some of their German contemporaries, their sermons often are little more than essays on conventional morality, based as much on reason and philosophy as on the law of God. "The celebrated lawyer, Blackstone, had the curiosity, early in the reign of George III, to go from church to church and hear every clergyman of note in London. He says that he did not hear a single discourse which had more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero, and that it would have been impossible for him to discover, from what he heard, whether the preacher were a follower of Confucius, of Mahomet, or of Christ."[7] Among the churchly orthodox, against whom such a grievous charge as has just been quoted can not be laid, Christian morals, distinctly derived from the Bible as the authoritative Word of God, found frequent expression. The most profound and reasoned exposition of the ethics of the gospel in that age occurs in a famous series of sermons preached by Joseph Butler while yet a young man. We shall see more of these later on. Nor was moral preaching by any means neglected by the evangelical revivalists. Wesley and his associates and sympathizers strenuously insisted upon a holy life as the necessary fruitage and token of a sound conversion; and to this preaching, as we have seen, was largely due that visible improvement of manners and heightened moral tone of modern English life, both public and private, which contrasts favorably with the situation in the later decades of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth.

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[6] *Christian Leaders*, p. 25.

[7] Ryle, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

As to theology, there was in the preaching of the century a variety of types. The Latitudinarians and Moderates—whether churchly or Unitarian—had no theology to speak of; doctrine was the least considerable element of their work. Arminianism was found in many churchmen, as during the previous century in Barrow and others; and it received powerful stimulus and permanent standing at the hands of Wesley and Fletcher among the Methodists. In truth, that type of theology ought to be called Wesleyan, for Arminius is almost a forgotten personality, while Wesley's name and teaching have become worldwide. Calvinism remained the dominant type of doctrine among the Dissenters—except the Wesleyan Methodists—and the evangelical (low-church) divines of the Church of England. This system received great impulse in the preaching of Whitefield and the Calvinistic Methodists, chiefly in Wales. It is to be regretted that angry polemics marred the writings and to some extent the preaching, both of the great leaders and of the rank and file, in this great and never settled controversy over the so-called doctrines of grace.

The more strictly homiletical or technical aspects of eighteenth century English preaching are scarcely of so striking and varied interest as we have found them in other European lands. The English preachers had never been as much given to the expository homily as either their Reformed or Lutheran brethren on the Continent. So the topical method of composing sermons, with a good deal of the scholastic analysis, had been prevalent in the preceding period and remained the dominant method in the eighteenth century, though with less elaborate refinement of division and subdivision. The style of expression necessarily varied with individuals, but was in general solemn, stately, and elevated, inclining to stiffness, not wanting in power, but sometimes too elaborate and polished. What it lacked in spontaneity, freedom, and freshness it sometimes made up in carefulness, dignity, and impressiveness. There was less of fancifulness, of straining after effect in phrase, of pedantic or pompous or ornamental affectation, than in the former times. Solidity and strength rather than showy display were sought. The wholesome influence of Tillotson was still felt; even though preachers of the flowery type of Hervey—he of the once-famous *Meditations*—were sometimes to be found.

II. Some of the Leading Preachers

It will be convenient to study the British preachers of the century according to nationality, and classify them under this larger division into such groups as we may find appropriate. It is evident that the English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish characters in their divergences would show distinctive traces in the pulpit; while along with and across these the different schools of doctrinal and ecclesiastical thought could not fail also to leave their impress. The large and obvious general distinction of Anglicans and Dissenters covers also the minor distinctions of groups or schools within the Established Church, and the various denominations of Non-Conformists.

In the Anglican body it is proper to distinguish four groups or schools of preachers, as follows: (1) The churchly orthodox; (2) the latitudinarian and worldly; (3) the evangelical; and (4) the revivalists, meaning Whitefield and Wesley, with their sympathizers and fellow-workers among the clergy of the Church of England. Properly speaking, these would belong under the third group, the evangelical clergy, but both their methods and their importance make it desirable to consider them separately.

Beginning with the churchly orthodox among the Anglican clergy we find one of the most distinguished preachers at the opening of the century to be Francis Atterbury (1662-1732).[8] He was the son of a rector in

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[8] *Works* in four vols., with biographical account; cyclopedia articles; sermon in Fish, I, p. 306 ff.

Buckinghamshire, educated at Westminster School, and at Christ Church College, Oxford. As student and writer he was bold and showy, rather than accurate or profound in scholarship. His controversial qualities were early displayed in his much applauded defense of the Church of England against a Catholic critic, and in the literary field by his sharp dispute with the great Cambridge scholar, Richard Bentley, over the spurious *Letters of Phalaris.* Though applauded by partisans of Oxford as against Cambridge, and showing acuteness and power in debate, neither the scholarship nor the temper of Atterbury appear to advantage in this performance. Under Queen Anne, Atterbury was made Master of Christ Church College, one of the royal chaplains, and later bishop of Rochester, to which see at that time the deanery of Westminster was attached. On the death of Queen Anne he favored the return of the Stuart dynasty, and plotted with the Jacobites against the House of Hanover. Being convicted—though on circumstantial evidence—of treason, he was banished and forbidden to receive or correspond with his friends, excepting his immediate family. He died in Paris, but his remains were permitted to be interred—without ceremony—in Westminster Abbey.

Though not accused of gross wrong, Atterbury was not an admirable man. His contentious and arrogant spirit marred his undoubted talents as a disputant, whether in speech or writing. As a literary man he was a friend of Pope, Swift, and other men of letters. His own style was marked by clearness, strength, and a certain elegance, without much of grace or charm. He was of the school of Tillotson, and the influence of his sermons was decidedly in the interest of directness, simplicity, and force. The opinion of even so judicious a thinker as Doddridge, that in Atterbury's writings "we see language in its strictest purity and beauty," and that he was a "model for courtly preachers" and "the glory of our English orators," seems now extravagant; but it shows how highly the pulpit abilities of Atterbury were esteemed in and near his own time. His sermons still read well, but in spite of acknowledged literary worth, they are wanting in evangelical power and in the strength and spirit of the great preachers who preceded him. A short extract from his noted sermon on *The Terrors of Conscience*[9] will afford a worthy example of his best style: "The disorders and reprehensions of conscience are not a continued, but an intermitting disease, returning upon the mind by fits and at particular seasons only; in the intervals of which the patient shall have seeming health and real ease. The eruptions of burning mountains are not perpetual, nor doth even the smoke itself ascend always from the tops of them; but though the seeds of fire lodged in their caverns may be stifled and suppressed for a time, yet anon they gather strength, and break out again with a rage great in proportion to its discontinuance. It is by accidents and occasions chiefly that the power of this principle is called forth into act; by a sudden ill turn of fortune, or a fit of sickness, or our observation of some remarkable instance of divine vengeance, which hath overtaken other men in like cases. Even Herod was not always under the paroxysm described in the text, but surprised into it unawares, by his 'hearing of the fame of Jesus,' and then his heart smote him at the remembrance of the inhuman treatment he had given to such another just and good person, and filled his mind anew with forgotten horrors."

A man of very different type from Atterbury was the famous bishop of Durham and author of *The Analogy of Religion,* Joseph Butler (1692-1752).[10] Butler's father was a merchant at Wantage, and a Presbyterian in religion, who wished to educate his gifted son for the ministry of his own denomination. But Joseph leaned to the Church of England, and accepted an offer of university education at Oxford, where he received his final training as a brilliant student of Oriel College. He already showed in his young manhood those wonderful powers of close and profound thinking which remain his chief distinction. He had a correspondence with Dr. Adam Clarke on the *Being and Attributes of God,* and upon

[9] Fish, I, p. 215.

[10] Various editions of the *Works,* and of the *Analogy;* especially the beautiful ed. by W. E. Gladstone (1896) in three vols., with subsidiary notes; several biographical sketches in *Works* and the cyclopedias. The *Sermons* (twenty-one in all) are in Vol. II of Gladstone's ed.

receiving orders, even before his graduation, he was appointed preacher at the Rolls Chapel, Oxford, in 1718. This was a signal honor for a young man of twenty-six years, but Butler proved in every way worthy of it. It was here that he preached that notable series of fifteen sermons on Christian morals, which not only established Butler's reputation as a great thinker for his own age, but remain one of the standard and classic contributions to ethical philosophy and Christian thought. We shall recur to these sermons later. They were published in 1726, and in that same year Butler left the Rolls Chapel and became rector of Stanhope, a small country parish to which he had been appointed. For seven years he labored with conscientious diligence in this secluded place. But this retirement no doubt helped to maturity some of the great thoughts of his famous *Analogy,* which was published in 1736, after he had received some minor promotions. After this his advancement was more rapid. In 1738 he was made bishop of Bristol, in 1740 dean of St. Paul's, and in 1750, near the close of his life, bishop of Durham.

Butler was a man of great purity and simplicity of character, very benevolent and hospitable, and though he never married or enjoyed domestic life, he was highly valued by a large circle of friends. In speaking of the great qualities of his mind, Gladstone[11] has also paid noble tribute to Butler's character, in these words: "From beginning to end the *Analogy* and the *Sermons,* to some extent, are avowedly controversial; and the prosecution of such work powerfully tends to cast the mind into a controversial mold. But in Butler this tendency is effectually neutralized by his native ingenuousness, by the sense that his pen moves under the very eye of God, and by the knowledge that the sacred interests of truth must be eventually compromised by overstatement. . . . The student of Butler will, unless it be his own fault, learn candor in all its breadth, and not to tamper with the truth; will neither grudge admissions, nor fret under even cumbrous reserves."

The *Sermons*[12] of Butler include the fifteen on morals, published in 1726; six more preached on public occasions, and the *Charge to the Clergy of Durham,* which, though

[11] *Op. cit.,* III, pp. 2, 5.

[12] Vol. II, of the Gladstone edition.

not a sermon, contains valuable suggestions on preaching, and, though brief, is a weighty and thoughtful document. The fifteen Rolls Chapel sermons, however, are those by which Butler is to be judged as a preacher. The arrangement and titles are as follows: (1, 2, 3) Upon Human Nature, or Man Considered as a Moral Agent; (4) The Government of the Tongue; (5, 6) Compassion; (7) The Character of Balaam; (8, 9) Resentment and Forgiveness of Injuries; (10) Self-deceit; (11, 12) Love of Our Neighbor; (13, 14) Piety, or The Love of God; (15) The Ignorance of Man. These sermons are very profound in thought, very judicious and fair on disputed points, unequivocally Christian in principle and tone, but very hard reading, alike for the closeness of their reasoning and for the inexcusable heaviness and involution of their style. The most interesting to read is, perhaps, that masterly and discriminating analysis of the *Character of Balaam;* and the most famous and influential the two (11 and 12) on the *Love of Our Neighbor.* Of course, such discourses, either in actual delivery or in after study, are as far as possible removed from being "popular;" but the thoughtful reader will be richly repaid for hours spent over these great deliverances of a master mind.

That Butler himself was aware of the difficulties of his writing, and, in part at least, of the justice of the criticism passed upon it, appears from the candid, though even then reserved, manner in which he speaks on this point. The passage is quoted in the preface to Gladstone's edition of Butler's *Works,*[13] and is reproduced as a curious example of Butler's style even when he almost apologizes for its faults: "It must be acknowledged that some of the following discourses are very abstruse and difficult; or, if you please, obscure; but I must take leave to add that those alone are judges whether or no and how far this is a fault, who are judges whether or no and how far it might have been avoided. . . . Thus much, however, will be allowed: that general criticisms concerning the obscurity, considered as a distinct thing from confusion and perplexity of thought, as in some cases there may be ground for them, so in others they may be

[13] Vol. II, pp. 4, 5.

nothing more at the bottom than complaints that everything is not to be understood with the same ease that some things are. . . . However, upon the whole, as the title of sermons gives some right to expect what is plain and of easy comprehension, and as the best auditories are mixed, I shall not set about to justify the propriety of preaching, or under that title publishing, discourses so abstruse as some of these are; neither is it worth while to trouble the reader with the account of my doing either."

Samuel Horsley (1733-1806),[14] famous bishop and disputant, was the son of a clergyman who held various livings—among them St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, and Newington Butts, Surrey (now part of London), both of which Samuel also later held for a time. He was born in London, educated at Cambridge, ordained young, and received a number of appointments, with rather frequent changes. His promotions were rapid: Bishop of St. David's, then of Rochester (at the same time dean of Westminster), and lastly of St. Asaph's. He was a remarkably able and versatile man, being a strong mathematician and at the same time a notable Hebrew scholar, while he was also an assiduous and vigorous administrator of affairs in each of his three dioceses. In the House of Lords he took an active interest in public affairs and was a frequent and respected debater. It is related that he once invited the famous Lord Thurlow to hear him preach, and the graceless politician replied, with certain profane garnishments: "No, I hear you talk nonsense enough in the House, where I can answer you; and I will not go where I can't talk back." Horsley's most important and famous controversy was with the eminent scientist and Unitarian theologian, Dr. Joseph Priestley (d. 1804), who undertook to prove that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and so that of the Trinity, was of later historic origin than the early centuries. It is generally admitted that Horsley completely refuted his able opponent, exhibiting both great learning and acuteness as a reasoner. Horsley's sermons produced a profound impression on his hearers—Coleridge and DeQuincey, with others, being witnesses. His preaching was remarkably simple and clear for that age, showing usually a simple division, a good deal of ingenuity (indeed, sometimes too much) in interpretation, and the use without the parade of learning. The sermons are solid, sensible, argumentative, without much imagination or appeal to feeling, yet not without occasional traces of such appeal.

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[14] See *Sermons of Bishop Horsley*, 2 vols., 1810; and *A Great Bishop of a Hundred Years Ago*, by H. H. Jebb (his great-grandson), 1909.

It is scarcely necessary to say that among the latitudinarian and worldly clergymen—of whom, unhappily, there was a considerable number—few became distinguished, and these few for other things than their sermons. Naturally the first name that occurs is that of Dean Swift, of Dublin, but he more properly will claim attention along with the Irish preachers.[15]

Along with him comes Laurence Sterne (1713-1768)[16] rector of Sutton, author of *Tristram Shandy, The Sentimental Journey,* and *The Sermons of Mr. York.* These last are cool, satirical, conventionally moral, pleasingly written, indeed, but utterly wanting in gospel content or spiritual power. The man was selfish, pleasure-loving, intoxicated with his literary and social success, worldly, stained, discredited. Alas! he was one of many merely professional clergymen in that age, most of whom had not even a literary or other incidental claim to preserve them from a well-merited obscurity. Of these Bishop Ryle[17] bitterly says: "All over England country livings were often filled by hunting, shooting, gambling, card-playing, swearing, ignorant clergymen, who cared neither for law nor gospel, and utterly neglected their parishes." But over against these there was a strong group of evangelical and earnest men who preached a pure gospel and lived as they preached; to whom it is a pleasure now to turn.

George Horne (1730-1792),[18] devout commentator on the Psalms, and exemplary bishop of Norwich, was born at Otham, in Kent, where his good father, Samuel Horne, was the excellent and beloved rector. A notable remark of the elder Horne reveals his hatred of insincerity when he said, "I had rather be toad-eater to a mountebank than flatter any great man against my conscience." He was a man of great gentleness and consideration of others, and this trait was beautifully shown in his own household. It is said that instead of resorting to shaking or loud calling, he used to awaken George by playing the flute near him. No wonder he became fond of music! The lad received careful elementary instruction at home, then attended school at Maidstone, in Kent, and then became a student of University College, Oxford. He was an excellent student in all branches, especially theology; and his gifts and character were honorably recognized in his election, without solicitation, as a fellow of Magdalen—not his own college. Taking orders in 1753, he preached often at Oxford and other places, while steadily working at his literary pursuits, as became an Oxford fellow. It was during this time that he began his notable *Commentary on the Psalms,* which occupied him twenty years, and remains one of the great works in English on that subject, though devotional rather than exegetical in method.

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[15] See below, p. 347 f.

[16] See various edd. of the works mentioned in the text, several literary and cyclopaedia accounts, and particularly the discussion and extracts in *Warner Library,* Vol. XXIV, p. 13,899.

[17] *Christian Leaders,* p. 128.

[18] *Works* and *Life* (six volumes, 1799), by his friend and chaplain, Wm. Jones.

In 1771 Horne was made a royal chaplain, ten years later dean of Canterbury, and in 1790 bishop of Norwich. He was a man of learning and piety, a skillful and good-tempered disputant, a valued and useful churchman in the various positions he filled.

As a preacher Horne attracted attention from the first. In opinion he was what would later have been called evangelical or low-church. He sympathized with evangelistic and popular religious movements more than was usual with the clergy of the Established Church. As read to-day, his sermons reveal no very remarkable powers; they are sound and pleasing, of that good and useful sort which are ever needed. There is in them more of imagination and ornament than was common to the Anglican preaching of that time, but there was no excess in these. The style is somewhat stilted and *Blairesque,* but without ostentation of elegance or learning.

One of the most earnest and useful, though comparatively little known, preachers of the evangelical group was William Grimshaw (1708-1763),[19] rector of Haworth. Grimshaw never preached in London, never published any sermons, and only a few pieces of other kinds, and is only remembered by several accounts of his life and the traditions of his earnest preaching and self-denying labors in his difficult parish, and by his frequent evangelistic work beyond its borders. Haworth has become famous in literary history as the home of the Brontë sisters, whose father was rector there in the first half of the nineteenth century, from about 1820 and on. But it was Grimshaw that gave to the harsh and somewhat uncouth parish whatever of religious character it won and held. His preaching made no pretension to elegance or greatness, but was in form adapted to the plain people, to whom he chiefly appealed. Yet it glowed with evangelical conviction and fervor, and was the means of leading hundreds of souls to Christ. Though a man of some eccentricities of character and conduct, Grimshaw was held in well-deserved esteem by those who know how to value so noble and fruitful a man as he was, and he died greatly beloved and honored by thousands throughout the region where he lived and labored.

A better known representative of the evangelical school was William Romaine (1714-1795).[20] The son of a French Protestant refugee, Romaine was born and brought up at Hartlepool, county of Durham, where he attended school, and was later sent to Oxford. Here he studied hard for six years, and received his M. A. degree in due course. His scholarly attainments were recognized by all, and found fruitage in a concordance to the Bible and the translation and editing of a Hebrew lexicon. His skill and ability as a controversialist were shown in his effective critique upon Bishop Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*—a long discredited rationalistic performance. But along with these labors in the literary field of theology, Romaine was active also as a preacher, having been ordained in 1736-37. Some uncertainty as to place and dates is found in the record of the first ten or eleven years of his ministerial life, but among his different appointments he seems to have held pretty steadily to one as curate of Banstead, near Epsom. His work as author and preacher having attracted attention, he was called upon to fill various occasional appointments in London—one as chaplain to the Lord Mayor, about 1741. But these occasional services did not for some time lead to a settled appointment, and Romaine was on the point of leaving London for final settlement in a country charge when, on the way to the ship, he met a man who recognized him by his resemblance to his father and asked if his name was not Romaine. This naturally led to friendly conversation, and it turned out that the gentleman had some influence which led to Romaine's being chosen, in 1748, as "lecturer" at St. Botolph's Church—a post calling for preaching at regular intervals, but with a salary of only eighteen pounds a year! Of course, the duties admitted of other posts and labors. Thus Romaine began his checkered career as a London clergyman. He had some infirmities of temper and manner, and a leaning to controversy; but far more than these incidental matters, it seems to have been his popularity as a preacher and the pronounced and unequivocal way in which he held and preached his evangelical views that led him into such frequent collisions with the rectors and vicars in London. Again and again on being recommended and even appointed to places, he was opposed and hindered in his work. More than once he was forced into lawsuits to defend his right to preach! Once when a suit was decided in his favor, the vicar or rector of the parish refused to have the church lit up, and kept the congregation waiting in the street till the exact hour of seven o'clock, when the doors were opened. The bishop of London finally interfered and ordered the church to be opened and lighted before the hour of service. During this time Romaine preached two sermons at Oxford, in which he plainly proclaimed the doctrine of the atonement and imputed righteousness as held by evangelicals, and on this account he was forbidden to preach at Oxford any more. He published the sermons, with a brief explanation, and it is strange evidence of the religious decline of the times that preaching like that should have been put under the ban of the Church of

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[19] Ryle, *op. cit.*, p. 106 ff.

[20] *Works*, with *Life* by W. B. Cadogan, ed. of 1837; Ryle, p. 149 ff.

England. Finally—by the influence of Lady Huntington and other prominent persons, yet not without a lawsuit—Romaine was duly appointed, in 1766, as rector of St. Anne's Church, Blackfriars. Here he served with great fidelity and success to the end of his life.

Romaine's sermons are not specially profound in thought, but are thoroughly evangelical in doctrine, simple in plan, and clear in style. They do not rise very high in feeling or imagination, but present gospel truth in a manly, straightforward, sincere, and earnest manner. His preaching attracted large audiences; and he deserved his popularity.

A quaint and eccentric, but deeply spiritual and successful, preacher was the evangelical and evangelistic vicar of Everton, John Berridge (1716-1785).[21] His father was a farmer who, disgusted with John's lack of knowledge of cattle and distaste for farm life, once threatened to send him to college and so make him "a light to the Gentiles." The threat was fulfilled, and the undesigned and irreverent prophecy also. John was sent to Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he proved a diligent and successful scholar, taking the academic degree in course and being elected a fellow of his college. In his early youth he had had very serious religious impressions, but these suffered unhappy decline during his college days. He was ordained and began his work as a preacher without the deep piety or earnestness of his later life. He was brilliant, witty, popular, and sociable, and therefore much sought after; but his spiritual life was low, and, his fellowship affording him the means of living pleasantly at his college and reading as he liked, he was in no haste to take up any steady work as a minister. But, in 1749—he being now thirty-three years old and finely educated, as well as naturally endowed—a change came over his feelings, and he determined to take up his lifework with seriousness. With this design, he accepted a post as curate of Stapleford, a parish near Cambridge, and began to preach regularly. Ryle says:[22] "Berridge entered on his duties as curate of Stapleford with great zeal and a sincere desire to do good, and served his church regularly from college for no less than six years. He took great pains with his parishioners, and pressed upon them very earnestly the importance of sanctification, but without producing the slightest effect upon their lives. His preaching, even at this time, was striking, plain, and attractive. His life was moral, upright, and correct. His diligence as a pastor was undeniable. Yet his ministry throughout these six years was entirely without fruit, to his own great annoyance and mortification." He had not yet learned by personal experience the deep spiritual realities of the truths which he preached; but a better day, for him and his hearers, was at hand.

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[21] *Works* with *Memoir*, by Richard Whittingham, 2d ed., 1864; Ryle, p. 216 ff.

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

The vicarage of Everton, in Bedfordshire, was in the gift of Clare Hall College, and to this place Berridge was appointed in 1754, and held it the rest of his life. For the first two years of his ministry at Everton, Berridge pursued the same course as at Stapleford, and with the same barrenness of results; but then, by one means and another, he was led to a deeper personal experience of grace, and his preaching at once took on a new tone and power, and became henceforth rich in spiritual fruits.

Very earnest and faithful in his own parish, Berridge extended his labors far beyond its limits, preaching much in the neighboring counties, and even farther. Strange to say, he was not molested by the worldly incumbents into whose fields he pushed his itinerant labors. Nor did he content himself with what he could do alone, for he provided lay preachers to instruct those who had been gathered by his own work, paying their expenses out of his own income. He co-operated with Whitefield and the Wesleys, though he held a post in the Established Church—which was unjustly denied to them. After some thirty years of faithful and arduous toil, this queer but devout old preacher passed to his reward, having long before selected his grave and written his own quaint and humble epitaph, which required only the date of his death to fill it out.

Only outlines of some of his sermons and a farewell sermon remain. These hardly reveal the man, only his good and earnest thinking, for in actual delivery he was striking, peculiar, often odd and undignified, but deeply in earnest, popular in style, and abundantly fruitful in winning souls. Doubtless there was much in his manner and methods that was offensive to good taste, but his aim was high, his character sincere, his piety unquestioned.

One of the best known and most remarkable preachers of the evangelical school was John Newton (1722-1807),[23] curate of Olney, in Bucks, and rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, in London. Son of a sea-captain, born in London, early losing his mother, receiving little or no education, he grew up a wild, disobedient youth. His early life was filled with adventure and wickedness of every sort, alternated with periods of religious profession and partial reformation, and kept true to one constant attachment—his love for his cousin, Miss Catlett—from early boyhood. He went on voyages, was impressed into the royal navy, deserted, was left to die on the coast of Africa, suffered extreme hardships, and finally was brought to repentance and faith. Yet even after this he engaged for a time in the slave trade. During his voyages he read much, learned Latin and Greek, and studied very hard. Finally quitting the sea, he obtained a post as inspector of vessels at Liverpool. Here he devoted himself to religious work, and was urged by friends to become a candidate for orders. He felt that he had some gifts for the work of the ministry, and that his remarkable experience could be made serviceable to others; but he shrank from the work, and was not offended when his first application for ordination was refused. Later, however, he was accepted and ordained, and became curate for an absentee rector at Olney, in Buckinghamshire. Here he spent about fifteen happy and useful years in earnest labors. Most interesting during this time was his helpful friendship and protection to the unhappy poet, Cowper. The *Olney Hymns,* their joint production, appeared during this time, and, along with much now intolerable verse, contained some of the choicest treasures of English hymnody from the pens of both the friends. At the instance of an influential friend, Newton became, in December, 1779, rector of the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, in London, where he spent the rest of his useful life, having reached his eighty-fifth year.

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[23] *Works,* 2 vols., 1834, with a *Memoir* by Rev. John Cecil, and Newton's own *Authentic Account* of his life, as far as it goes.

Newton's remarkable experience, his sound and unquestionable conversion, his native strength of mind (self-cultured though it was), his earnest devotion to his duties, rather than shining gifts in the pulpit, gave him his strength and influence as a preacher. He published sermons, both while at Olney and in London. Among the latter is a series of fifty on the passages of Scripture used in Handel's Oratorio of *The Messiah,* but more interesting from that fact than from any unusual merits of their own. Yet Newton's sermons are in general worthy of regard for their soundness and earnestness, and for their excellence of composition, considering he was a self-taught man. They are in the usual homiletical form of the age, and make no pretension to oratory or display.

Other members of the evangelical group must be passed over with only hasty mention. There was the excellent Henry Venn (1724-1797),[24] the faithful and fruitful rector of Huddersfield, whose *Complete Duty of Man* was once a much-read book; also James Hervey (1713-1758),[25] of Weston Favell, whose highly ornate *Meditations* and dialogues of *Theron and Aspasio* enjoyed a popularity now hard to comprehend, but his sermons were more restrained and practical; and the eminent hymn-writer, A. M. Toplady (1740-1778),[26] whose brief life and ministry, though marred by controversial faults, were not fruitless of good. Despite the defect of temper indicated, it is pleasing to remember that the young author of *Rock of Ages* was also a preacher of real talent, and died highly esteemed by his flock.

From the evangelicals we easily pass to the great revivalists, George Whitefield and John Wesley, some of whose fellow-workers and associates also should claim at least brief mention.

The history of preaching since the apostles does not contain a greater or worthier name than that of George Whitefield (1714-1770).[27] His life was busy, eventful, and crowded with striking details; his character had enough of human weakness to check extravagant eulogy, but stands out lofty, pure, magnificent, beyond injuring by malice or depreciating by criticism; his abundant labors were, and in their fruits remain, a benediction to mankind; his preaching, for earnestness, eloquence, and immediate effect, was the admiration of his own age, and is one of the most sacred traditions of the Christian pulpit for all time.

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[24] Ryle, p. 254 ff. [25] *Id.,* p. 328 ff. [26] *Id.,* p. 358 ff.

[27] The literature on Whitefield is too large to be discussed here. His own *Journal* (published during his lifetime) forms the basis of the biographies of him. Of these the standard among the older ones is *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. George White-*

Whitefield was born in Gloucester, the son of an innkeeper, who died leaving several children, of whom George was the youngest, only two years old. The widow married again, and she for a time, and one of her older sons afterwards, kept up the tavern. It was scarcely to be expected that a lad so brought up should escape serious faults of conduct, and George became a typical "bad boy." His mother, however, was a good woman, and her influence was not wholly lost. The evil and good strove together in the youth, and for a time it looked as if the bad would win. George was full of mischief and pranks at home and school, fell into profanity, sometimes drank more than was good for him, now and then stole some money from his mother, afterwards quarreled with his brother's wife and left home. Meantime he enjoyed some school advantages, and was quick and ambitious to learn. He hated the tavern business, especially being a bar-tender, and all the while his conscience was struggling within. On leaving Gloucester he went to another brother at Bristol for a visit, and while there his mind was turned with penitence to more serious thoughts of religion; but this was only a transient reformation. While spending some time with his mother, and longing for an education, he made successful application for a servitor's place at Pembroke College, Oxford, and accordingly entered there at the age of eighteen. His ex-

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field, by John Gillies, London, 1772; of later accounts, the best are the *Life,* by L. Tyerman, 2 vols.; and J. P. Gledstone, *George Whitefield, M. A., Field Preacher,* New York, 1901; see also the admirable account in Ryle, *Christian Leaders,* p. 30 ff. Of the *Sermons* an old edition in one volume has been used, and later a small volume of *Selected Sermons of George Whitefield,* with introd. and notes by A. R. Buckland, London, 1904. See also sermon in Fish, I, p. 333, and another in *World's Great Sermons,* III, p. 93.

perience at the tavern both gave him skill and saved his pride in waiting upon his fellow-students. He was a cheerful companion and a faithful student during his Oxford days. Best of all, this period witnessed his genuine conversion to God and his consecration of himself to the work of the ministry.

At Oxford, Whitefield observed with growing admiration the conduct of the "Methodist Club," in which the Wesley brothers were leaders, and becoming acquainted with Charles Wesley, he was led by him to join the group in their pious exercises and works of charity. Yet he perceived, earlier than did the Wesleys, that, however sincere and well-meant these practices were, they were not the gospel way of salvation, and his soul could not find peace in his own efforts and deeds. Dissatisfied, and earnestly seeking the true way, he was at last led to a whole and hearty personal trust in Christ alone for salvation. He thus describes his experience:[28] "About the end of the seventh week, after having undergone innumerable buffetings of Satan and many months' inexpressible trials by night and day under the spirit of bondage, God was pleased at length to remove the heavy load, to enable me to lay hold on His dear Son by a living faith, and by giving me the spirit of adoption, to seal me, as I humbly hope, even to the day of everlasting redemption." He goes on to describe in glowing terms the joy that filled his soul, and the abiding and unwavering conviction of this as the way of salvation which possessed and held his mind through life.

Soon afterwards he was ordained a deacon (1736) and began his flaming and powerful work as a preacher. Regarding his ordination, he says:[29] "I endeavored to behave with unaffected devotion, but not suitable enough to the greatness of the office I was to undertake. At the same time, I trust I answered every question from the bottom of my heart, and prayed heartily that God might say, Amen. I hope the good of souls will be my only principle of action. Let come what will, life or death, depth or height, I shall henceforward live like one who this day, in the presence of men and angels, took the holy sacrament, upon the profession of being inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon me that minis-

[28] Quoted by Gledstone, p. 22.

[29] *Id.*, p. 29.

tration in the Church." The spirit in which he thus took up his ministry pervaded it through all its brilliant yet burdensome course to the end. Years after (September, 1764), on some criticism of being a rambler, he wrote to Wesley, "Fain would I end my life in rambling after those who have rambled away from Jesus Christ." And a few years later (January, 1767), in a letter to Cornelius Winter, he said, "The greatest preferment under heaven is to be an able, painful, faithful, successful, suffering, cast-out minister of the New Testament."[30] And this was Whitefield himself.

On the Sunday following his ordination, June 27, 1736, Whitefield preached his first sermon.[31] It had been prepared for a "small society," which accounts for its subject, *The Necessity and Benefit of Religious Society;* but it was delivered, by request, in St. Mary's Church, at Gloucester, where he had been brought up. Let his own account describe the event:[32] "Last Sunday, in the afternoon, I preached my first sermon in the church of St. Mary-le-Crypt, where I was baptized, and also first received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Curiosity, as you may easily guess, drew a large congregation together upon this occasion. The sight at first a little awed me. But I was comforted with a heartfelt sense of the divine presence, and soon found the unspeakable advantage of having been accustomed to public speaking when a boy at school, and of exhorting the prisoners and poor people at their private houses while at the university. By these means I was kept from being daunted overmuch. As I proceeded I perceived the fire kindle, till at last, though so young and amidst a crowd of those who knew me in my childish days, I trust I was enabled to speak with some degree of gospel authority. Some few mocked, but most seemed for the present struck; and I have since heard that a complaint was made to the bishop that I drove fifteen mad the first sermon! The worthy prelate wished that the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday."

We can not here follow the course of that great and busy career thus so earnestly begun; a mere outline must suffice. While studying still at Oxford, after taking his degree, Whitefield was asked to preach at different places and churches. In London he filled a number of important pulpits, attracting great crowds and producing wonderful effects. In various country places and among uncultured people it was the same way. Being urged by the Wesleys and invited by General Oglethorpe to go to Georgia, he accepted, but preached in many places, especially Bristol, while waiting. Finally he got off in the latter part of 1737, and began his American ministry. Returning to England in about a year, he was ordained priest, but the clergy looked upon him with distrust as an enthusiast, and he was not invited to preach in the churches. This led him to take up (February, 1739) his wondrous open-air preaching. His first sermon of this sort was preached to the colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol. Henceforth field-preaching was his principal work. Later in that year he went back to America, where he preached from Georgia to New England in a wonderful revival. So several times more (thirteen in all) he crossed the seas, having visited America seven times, dying there at last. But during the times he spent in England he continued his work of preaching to thousands in city and country, including a great and fruitful work in Scotland. In 1741 occurred the sad breach over doctrine between him and Wesley. Whitefield was Calvinist, Wesley Arminian; Whitefield impetuous, Wesley cool and logical; each thoroughly persuaded he was right; both to blame for some details in the controversy. Pass it by; they did. Happily and lovingly they were reconciled before death, and Wesley preached a noble memorial sermon for his friend, and has left in his *Journal* many tributes to his worth.

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[30] Quoted (both) in Tyerman's *Life, vol.* II, p. 478.
[31] *Sermons of Whitefield,* No. V, p. 93.
[32] Quoted by Ryle, p. 35.

In September, 1769, Whitefield sailed on his last voyage to America. Occupied during the spring of 1770 with his orphanage at Bethesda and work in Georgia, he began in the summer his traveling work. He preached in many places, and with the usual effects, and pushed slowly his way to New England. Here, at Newburyport, Massachusetts, worn out with labors and grievously suffering with asthma, he came to his journey's end. On Saturday, September 28th, preceding his appointment at

Newburyport for Sunday, he was persuaded to stop and preach in the open air at Exeter. He had ridden some miles already and was so fatigued that one of his friends said to him, "Sir, you are more fit to go to bed than to preach." He assented, but lifting his hands and his face, he gave that ever memorable saying:[33] "Lord Jesus, I am weary in Thy work, but not of Thy work. If I have not yet finished my course, let me go and speak for Thee once more in the fields, seal Thy truth, and come home and die." His prayer was granted. He preached to a great crowd on 2 Cor. 13:5, "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith," and with great fervor and effect. After dinner he went on to Newburyport, to the home of his friend, Mr. Parsons, and there, worn down as he was, while ascending the stair to go to bed, he stopped, with the candle in his hand, and spoke to the gathered company till the candle burned out. In the night his asthma came on more violently than usual, and early that Sunday morning he passed to his coronation.

The inner spirit and outward effects of Whitefield's preaching have already been somewhat indicated. His entire consecration and consuming earnestness, his humility and self-sacrifice, his extraordinary diligence and wearing toil, his joy in his work and conviction of its value to men—all these are known. The remarkable effect of his speaking on his audiences is testified to in a great many ways. That his first sermon was said to have driven fifteen persons wild with excitement is but an introductory instance of powers sustained to the end. He moved great audiences as only a few here and there have been able to do. Thousands, tens of thousands, according to Wesley's statement in his funeral sermon, were converted under his preaching. John Newton said it seemed that he never preached without fruit. Shrewd and thrifty Benjamin Franklin, determined beforehand not to be moved by his appeal for his orphanage, emptied his pockets when it came. Garrick the actor, Hume the skeptic, Chesterfield the worldling, agreed that Whitefield was the most wonderful orator of his age. In a letter to Lady Huntington, Bolingbroke wrote:[34] "Mr. Whitefield is the most extraordinary man in our

[33] Tyerman, II, p. 596, *et al.*

[34] Gledstone, p. 246 f.

times. He has the most commanding eloquence I ever heard in any person."

The assemblage of oratorical gifts in Whitefield was truly remarkable. There was evident sincerity and sympathy and good-will which won the hearer at once; there was the high and subtle quality of soul which we call magnetism; there was intensity, sometimes passionate fervor, of earnestness which was often a veritable storm; there was a charm and grace of aspect and action, natural, winsome, irresistible; and with all this a voice of marvelous volume, penetration, and harmony. His splendid imagination and dramatic power were controlled, and therefore really heightened in effect, by the loftiness of his aim and the evident unselfishness of his appeals.

In the light of the well authenticated traditions of Whitefield's eloquence, his printed sermons undoubtedly produce some disappointment in the reader. But two things must be borne in mind: first, that the sermons as we have them were mostly reported, and often very ill reported, by others; few if any were carefully prepared beforehand or accurately reproduced afterwards by Whitefield himself; second, even in case of those which come nearest to being what he actually said, we must remember that no printed sermon could express a preacher of Whitefield's type. Broadus has put the matter felicitously, even if a little too strongly, thus:[35] "The sermons we have were mere preparations, which in free delivery were so filled out with the thoughts suggested in the course of living speech, and so transfigured and glorified by enkindled imagination, as to be utterly different from the dull, cold thing that here lies before us—more different than the blazing meteor from this dark, metallic stone that lies half buried in the earth."

But, making proper allowances, and judging the best of these discourses on their merits, one can not help feeling that critics have gone too far in emphasizing the admitted contrast between the spoken and the printed discourses of the great preacher. On a careful reading they do not seem to be as unworthy of their author as they are often reported to be. Though not profound nor wide in range of thought, they are marked by firm-

[35] *Hist. Preaching*, p. 222.

ness, clarity, and sanity in thinking; by force, clearness, fitness, and often beauty of style; by insight, imagination, pathos, breadth of sympathy, and sincere and fervent feeling. When to these excellent qualities of discourse—as discourse—you add the *plus* of such oratorical qualities as have been described, and the still greater increment of the whole-souled Christian convictions and earnestness of the mighty preacher, some not wholly inadequate notion of his preaching may be gained.

As an example of his simplicity and earnestness in appeal, take some sentences from the close of his sermon on *The Kingdom of God*:[36] "My dear friends, I would preach with all my heart till midnight, to do you good; till I could preach no more. O that this body might hold out to speak more for my dear Redeemer! Had I a thousand lives, had I a thousand tongues, they should be employed in inviting sinners to come to Jesus Christ! Come, then, let me prevail with some of you to come along with me. Come, poor, lost, undone sinner, come just as you are to Christ, and say, If I be damned, I will perish at the feet of Jesus Christ, where never one perished yet. He will receive you with open arms; the dear Redeemer is willing to receive you all. Fly, then, for your lives. The devil is in you while unconverted; and will you go with the devil in your heart to bed this night? God Almighty knows if ever you and I shall see one another again. In one or two days more I must go, and, perhaps, I may never see you again till I meet you at the judgment day. O my dear friends, think of that solemn meeting; think of that important hour, when the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, when the elements shall melt with fervent heat, when the sea and the grave shall be giving up their dead, and all shall be summoned to appear before the great God. . . . I know that many of you come here out of curiosity: though you come only to see the congregation, yet if you come to Jesus Christ, Christ will accept of you. Are there any cursing, swearing soldiers here? Will you come to Jesus Christ, and list yourselves under the banner of the dear Redeemer? You are all welcome to Christ. Are there any little boys or little girls here? Come to

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[36] Fish, I, p. 347.

Christ, and He will erect His kingdom in you. . . . All of you, old and young, you that are old and gray-headed, come to Jesus Christ, and you shall be kings and priests to your God. The Lord will abundantly pardon you at the eleventh hour. 'Ho, every one of you that thirsteth!' If there be any of you ambitious of honor, do you want a crown, a scepter? Come to Christ, and the Lord Jesus Christ will give you a kingdom that no man shall take from you."

John Wesley (1703-1791),[37] the founder of Methodism, came of preaching stock. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were clergymen of the Church of England, and his mother's father, Dr. Samuel Annesley, was a notable Nonconformist divine of London. Samuel Wesley, the father, had been educated at Oxford, and was rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, serving also the parish of Wroote, not far away. Susannah Wesley was one of the great mothers of history. Her training of her children was strict and peculiar. Years after John's childhood she wrote out, at his request, a description of her methods, which he has preserved in his *Journal*,[38] and which makes interesting reading, but is too long to quote here. There were nineteen children, a number of whom died in infancy or early childhood. The eldest,

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[37] There is a vast literature on John Wesley and the beginnings of Methodism. Only a few of the best or most necessary books need to be mentioned here. Of biographies those of Whitehead and Moore have an established reputation, but belong to the older method of writing biography; Southey's *Life* has more literary than historic value, and is scarcely fair to Wesley and his work; the monumental work of L. Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, 3 vols., New York, 1876, is now the standard authority; more recent is the brief, readable, and discriminating *Life of John Wesley*, by C. T. Winchester, New York, 1906. Wesley's careful and elaborate *Journal* was published in parts during his lifetime, and afterwards collected and published entire in four volumes; recently Mr. P. L. Parker has laid the Christian world under obligations by publishing an abridgment in one volume under the title, *The Heart of Wesley's Journal*, New York (undated). This is referred to henceforth as "Journal." See also Ryle, *op. cit.*, p. 64 ff. Of Wesley's *Sermons* various editions are accessible. The one most used for this study is that edited by T. O. Summers and published by the Southern Methodist Concern at Nashville, Tenn. See also sermon in Fish, I, p. 319, and another in *World's Great Sermons*, III, p. 73.

[38] P. 93 ff.

Samuel, became a teacher of distinction, and was a help in many ways to his younger brothers. The sisters were intelligent and interesting, but in one way or another were unhappy in their married lives and a care to the family. Charles, five years younger than John, was his beloved associate in after years, and the author of well-known hymns. But the most famous of the remarkable family was John, who was born the 28th (O. S. 17th) of June, 1703, at the Epworth rectory. He owed much to his remarkable mother, both for his native gifts of mind and character, and for the direction and development of these in childhood and early manhood. His correspondence with his mother during the time he was preparing for the ministry did much to decide the principles on which he took up the work and the type of his theological thinking. Mrs. Wesley had thought through the theological systems of the day and had adopted decidedly the Arminian views.

After his careful home training, John was sent to the famous Charterhouse School in London, where he remained five years, and was a successful student. In 1720 he entered Christ Church College, Oxford, and took the regular course, finishing in 1725. The following year, much to the delight of his fond old father, he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln College, which enabled him for some years after to continue his residence and studies at Oxford, with some intermissions. How diligently he improved his privileges is well known. He became a good scholar in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in theology, and in other branches of learning. French and German he mastered later. This good foundation, together with the studious habit acquired, enabled him during the busy years of his later life to keep up his reading to an extent that would have been impossible to an untrained man.

John Wesley had received careful Christian nurture in his home, but during his boyhood manifested no special religious or irreligious tendencies. But when on the eve of graduating at Oxford, in 1725, he began to take more earnest views of religion and to consider if it were his duty to enter the ministry. He read books of devotion, prayed much, corresponded seriously with his parents and his brother Samuel, and finally decided to consecrate himself to God and to the work of preaching. Was this his conversion? So far as conversion is a surrender of self to Christ for His service, it was; but it was not till thirteen years later that Wesley came to that full sense of personal trust in Christ and of joy in the pardon of sin which are necessary to a full Christian experience. But there is no doubt of the entire sincerity of his devotion of himself to his Lord at the earlier date, and of his serious pursuit, even if with mistaken views, of personal holiness. So, in 1725, John Wesley was ordained a deacon in the Anglican Church, and entered on the life of a preacher of the Christian faith. At first his preaching, like his own life and experience, lacked the element of true gospel grace and power. It was outwardly conformable to the doctrines of his church, sought to promote piety in the hearers, and was clear and correct in style, as became an Oxford scholar; but the note of spiritual power and the effect of spiritual fruitage were wanting. It was about the time of his election to the Lincoln fellowship that he wrote to his brother Samuel the words that have become historic: "Leisure and I have taken leave of one another. I propose to be busy as long as I live." Passing words—significant prophecy—tremendous fulfillment! While continuing his studies at Oxford, he obtained permission to spend some time as his father's assistant at Epworth and Wroote, being ordained to the priesthood in the meantime. After two years or more he was recalled to the duties of his fellowship at Oxford, and entered the "Methodist Club," which had been formed by his younger brother Charles and some other earnest-minded young men as a society for mutual help in piety and the practice of charity. John at once became the leader of the group, and the nickname of this association of students has been strangely perpetuated in the history of Methodism. This first stage of Wesley's ministry continued ten years, when a great change occurred in his life.

In 1735, after the death of their father, John and Charles Wesley accepted an urgent invitation of General Oglethorpe to go with him as chaplains and teachers to his colony of Georgia. Charles soon returned, but John remained over two years. He was at this time a rigid ascetic, both for himself and others, his spiritual life was not yet ripened, and he had much to learn in practical judgment. His mission was regarded by himself as a failure; perhaps it was not so much so as he thought, and it is certain that, along with some serious trials and disappointments, it was an important stage in his own development. Coming home to England in 1738, he just missed seeing Whitefield, who was outward bound on his first voyage to America. Wesley was depressed, but seeking for light, when he fell in with Peter Böhler, a German, who had come to London to establish a Moravian society. It was under this influence that, one night at the meeting of the little society, he "felt his heart strangely warmed;" the cloud that had so long enveloped him lifted, and he entered into assured peace and joy in Christ as his Saviour. From henceforth his life and preaching were different. After some months, including a visit to the Continent, he became settled in his views and desirous of engaging in the work of preaching. But the London clergy were suspicious and prejudiced, and it was only occasionally that he and Charles were allowed to preach in the churches. No settled places were offered them. They worked with the Moravian society in prayer-meetings and in study of the Bible. Near the end of 1738 Whitefield came back from Georgia to receive ordination as priest in the English Church, and to solicit funds for his orphanage near Savannah. He was overjoyed to find his friends in the possession of their new experience of grace, and they took counsel together as to what their future should be. Whitefield was denied access to most churches, but on occasion of his being invited and attempting to preach at St. Margaret's, Westminster, a quarrel occurred. It was then that Whitefield determined to preach in the open air, at Kingswood, near Bristol. He urgently invited John Wesley to come and join him in the work; but Wesley was extremely reluctant to preach outside of a church. Finally, however, he came to it, and on Monday, April 2, 1739, he preached his first open-air sermon to a crowd of about three thousand people at Kingswood. This was the beginning of a campaign of fifty-two years.

A word must now be said about the nature of Wesley's life-work. For a long time there had existed within the Church of England numbers of societies for the study of the Bible and mutual edification of the members. The Moravian Society in Fetter Lane, London, was of more recent date. Wesley continued some months to worship and work with them; but differences inevitably arose. Moreover, some twenty or more persons came to Wesley and asked him to form them into a society for study and prayer, under his direction. Thus he withdrew gradually from the Moravians and started societies, or took hold of those already existing, in various parts of the kingdom as he traveled and preached. The work grew, and in process of time these societies were thoroughly organized and the Methodist system was in full working order; but it was not till after Wesley's death that the societies separated from the parent Church.

Coming back to the beginnings of Wesley's itinerant ministry and the first movements toward organizing his societies, we find him, under date of June 11, 1739, recording in his *Journal* an extract from a letter he wrote to a friend who had criticised his course. Let some quotations be noted:[39] "As to your advice that I should settle in college,[40] I have no business there, having now no office and no pupils. And whether the other branch of your proposal be expedient for me, viz., to accept of a cure of souls, it will be time enough to consider when one is offered to me. But in the meantime you think I ought to sit still, because otherwise I should invade another's office. . . . God in Scripture commands me, according to my power to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous. Man forbids me to do this in another's parish; that is, in effect to do it at all, seeing I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall. Whom then shall I hear, God or man? . . . I look upon all the world as my parish; thus far I mean that, in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to; and sure I am that His blessing attends it."

[39] *Journal,* p. 55.

[40] He probably means Lincoln College, Oxford, where he still held his fellowship.

We can not follow here the details of the busy and fruitful years of Wesley's life from these beginnings to about 1783, when the *Journal* gives some indications of declining strength, which increase till, in the record of June 28, 1788 (his eighty-fifth birthday), he gracefully accepts the situation and admits that at last he begins to feel the infirmities of old age! How crowded were the years of his long service with astonishing labors and successes, his own wonderful *Journal* is the best witness. Written with straightforward simplicity, without boasting or seeking for effect, it is a record of toils and a revelation of character suited to awaken wonder, affection, and gratitude. He preached in all parts of the kingdom—England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland—in cities, towns, villages; sometimes in churches, but most commonly out-of-doors; sometimes to thousands, and sometimes to a few gathered in private homes or in the societies. His favorite hour of preaching was five o'clock in the morning, so that the working people could come before the day's work began. On Sundays he usually preached three times, and often added other services of prayer and exposition. His health and endurance were surprising, improved with age, and lasted, as we have seen, to his eighty-fifth year. Under date of April 21, 1770, he records that up to that time he had ridden horseback above a hundred thousand miles. A life so filled with action necessarily abounded in incidents—some wonderful, many commonplace, some filled with adventure and danger, many marked only by the daily grind of duty done, some joyous and inspiring, some comfortless and dull, some pathetic, and some amusing. Augustine Birrell has described the *Journal* as "a book full of plots and plays and novels, which quivers with life, and is crammed full of character."[41] In addition to the story of his evangelistic labors and successes, we must remember the vast work of organization, superintendence, and attention to details of every sort that Wesley performed in connection with his societies; the great number of tracts, treatises, letters, pamphlets, books, sermons, that he wrote, besides the *Journal;* his frequent and sometimes vexatious and painful controversies, alike with

[41] Quoted in introd. to *Journal,* p. XVI.

friends and foes; and the unceasing demands upon his time and patience for personal interviews.

Nor in candor should we omit some reference to Wesley's uniformly unfortunate love affairs, and his unhappy marriage. There was an early affair while he was at college which seems not to have amounted to anything; but the episode of his courtship and rejection at Savannah does no credit to his judgment or proper feeling, even granting that the girl and her friends were chiefly to blame. Later the unfortunate affair with Grace Murray, a young widow, inferior to Wesley in every way, who jilted him for one of his friends, John Bennett, partly (it is said) by Charles Wesley's advice, left a sore which did not quickly heal. But most painful of all was his marriage, when approaching fifty years of age, to a widow with two children and some property; a woman in every way unworthy of him, who made his life miserable with nagging and foolish jealousy, and even—it must be feared—with positive abuse and cruelties, until she finally, after twenty years of married life, left him, never to return. Of course it would not be fair to acquit any man of blame in such a series of mistakes, but it appears on the whole that in these regrettable affairs Wesley was more sinned against than sinning.

Toward the end, and notwithstanding increasing infirmities, the record of labors continues. The old man is still traveling, writing, teaching, preaching, making plans and appointments for the future. On his last birthday (June 28, 1790) he makes note of his decline, but with no tone of complaint. In the last entry of his *Journal,* Sunday, October 24, 1790, he says: "I explained to a numerous congregation in Spitalfields Church 'The whole armor of God.' St. Paul's, Shadwell, was still more crowded in the afternoon, while I enforced that important truth, 'One thing is needful;' and I hope many, even then, resolved to choose the better part." His last sermon was preached February 23, 1791; his last letter was written the next day—to Wilberforce, encouraging him in his crusade against slavery. Two days later he took his bed, and gradually and peacefully sank to his rest on March 2, 1791, being nearly eighty-eight years old. Among his last sayings, caught and treasured by his attendants, the two best remembered are his singing, "I 'll praise my Maker while I 've breath," and the good words of cheer, "The best of all is, God is with us."

The character of John Wesley, like that of all great men, was a growth and not the achievement of a day. There was excellent material, admirable training, severe testing, great opportunity, tireless diligence, indomitable will—how could he help becoming great? Flawless he was not; there was enough of the common and inevitable human frailty to put a check on undue hero-worship. A tendency to self-esteem occasionally crops out in his *Journal* and other writings, but it was firmly held down by a real humility before God and "saving common sense" in his dealings with men. More in evidence was that phase of this fault which shows itself in pride of opinion, love of rule even to being overbearing at times. Had he not been a man of admirable temper and self-control, this disposition would have led him into graver faults and severer trials than it really did. The singular bad judgment he displayed in his love affairs and some other dealings with women must be assigned to weakness and not to fault. He was unfortunate and lacking in tact, but not evil-minded. A more serious weakness was his tendency to superstition and fanaticism, as shown (among other things) in his more than half-belief in ghosts and witches, and in his use of the lot on several important occasions. But grave as these and other faults were, they seem little and venial when set beside the undeniable and excellent traits of Wesley's character. His purity of soul, his deep experience of divine grace, his utter consecration to God, his quiet but determined courage, constancy, and endurance, his spotless integrity, his splendid self-mastery, his courtesy, gentleness, refinement of manner and of mind, his punctuality, diligence, and decision in his work, his cheerfulness, hopefulness, and sweetness of temper, his winsome personality, along with his masterful genius and dominating will, all make up an assemblage of qualities which placed and keep him high among the great characters of history.

Wesley's equipment for his task was adequate. He had a fine and well preserved constitution and abounding health. Though small in stature, he had an unusually handsome face and a dignified figure and carriage. His Oxford training counted all through life—Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, French were at his command; his knowledge of history and literature was ample; and his reading in philosophy and all branches of theology was wide. He read on horseback and at odd times more than the average man with the best facilities! His organization of his societies was clear, well-defined, compact, and his enlistment and direction of workers remarkable. The massive power of Methodism as a religious force is the best tribute to his splendid administrative capacity.

Wesley's preaching was eminently characteristic of the man. As to contents it was Arminian in theology, evangelical in doctrine, and full of Scripture; in thought it was rich, logical, clear, and strong; in imagination not deficient, yet not especially marked; in feeling intense but not vehement; in style clear and sweet, without notable eloquence or passion; not so stilted as was the usual manner of his age, and yet to our taste lacking in ease and simplicity. In delivery he was calm, but there was a subdued intensity and glow that powerfully moved his hearers.

One of the best and best-known of Wesley's sermons is that on *The Great Assize*.[42] It was preached at the time of the assizes, or, as we should say, court, held before Sir Edward Clive, in Bedford, March 10, 1758, and published by request. It is a good specimen of his manner, exhibiting his logical order, careful thinking, ample knowledge, good style, chastened imagination, and deep feeling. The text is Romans 14:10, "We shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ." The introduction and division are as follows: "How many circumstances concur to raise the awfulness of the present solemnity! The general concourse of people of every age, sex, rank, and condition of life, willingly or unwillingly gathered together, not only from the neighboring, but from distant parts; criminals, speedily to be brought forth, and having no way to escape; officers, waiting in their various posts, to execute the orders which shall be given; and the representatives of our gracious sovereign, whom we so highly reverence and honor. The occasion, likewise, of this assembly adds not a little to the solemnity of it: to hear and determine causes of every kind, some of which are of the most important nature; on which depends no less than life or death; death that uncovers the face of eternity! It was, doubtless, in order to increase the serious sense of these things, and not in the minds of the vulgar only, that the wisdom of our forefathers did not disdain to appoint even several minute circumstances of this solemnity. For these also, by means of the eye or ear, may more deeply affect the heart: and when viewed in this light, trumpets, staves, apparel, are no longer trifling or insignificant; but subservient, in their kind and degree, to the most valuable ends of society. But, awful as this solemnity is, one far more awful is at hand. For yet a little while, and 'we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ.' 'For, as I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to Me, and every tongue shall confess to God.' And in that day 'every one of us shall give account of himself to God.' Had all men a deep sense of this, how effectually would it secure the interests of society! For what more forcible motive can be conceived to the practice of genuine morality, to a steady pursuit of solid virtue, and a uniform walking in justice, mercy, and truth? What could strengthen our hands in all that is good, and deter us from all that is evil, like a strong conviction of this, 'The Judge standeth at the door;' and we are shortly to stand before Him? It may not, therefore, be improper or unsuitable to the design of the present assembly to consider:

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[42] Fish, I, 319 ff.

I. The chief circumstances which will precede our standing before the judgment seat of Christ.

II. The judgment itself; and

III. A few of the circumstances which will follow it."

After clearing and fully discussing each of these heads, the preacher applies his subject powerfully to the various classes before him, and concludes as follows: "O, who can stand before the face of the great God, even our Saviour Jesus Christ? See! see! He cometh! He maketh the clouds His chariot! He rideth upon the wings of the wind! A devouring fire goeth before Him, and after Him a flame burneth! See! He sitteth upon His throne, clothed with light as with a garment, arrayed with majesty and honor! Behold! His eyes are as a flame of fire, His voice as the sound of many waters! How will ye escape? Will ye call to the mountains to fall on you, the rocks to cover you? Alas, the mountains themselves, the rocks, the earth, the heavens, are just ready to flee away! Can ye prevent the sentence? Wherewith? With all the substance of thy house, with thousands of gold and silver? Blind wretch! Thou camest naked from thy mother's womb, and more naked into eternity. Hear the Lord, the Judge! 'Come, ye blessed of My Father! inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' Joyful sound! How widely different from that voice which echoes through the expanse of heaven, 'Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels!' And who is he that can prevent or retard the full execution of either sentence? Vain hope! Lo, hell is moved from beneath to receive those who are ripe for destruction! And the everlasting doors lift up their heads, that the heirs of glory may come in!

" 'What manner of persons, then, ought we to be, in all holy conversation and godliness?' We know it can not be long before the Lord will descend with the voice of the archangel, and the trumpet of God; when every one of us shall appear before Him, and give an account of his own works. 'Wherefore, behold; seeing ye look for these things,' seeing you know He will come, and will not tarry, 'be diligent, that ye may be found of Him in peace, without spot and blemish.' Why should ye not? Why should one of you be found on the left hand at His appearing? He willeth not that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance; by repentance, to faith in a bleeding Lord; by faith, to spotless love; to the full image of God renewed in the heart, and producing all holiness of conversation. Can you doubt of this, when you remember the Judge of all is likewise the Saviour of all? Hath He not bought you with His own blood, that ye might not perish, but have everlasting life? O, make proof of His mercy, rather than His justice; of His love, rather than the thunder of His power! He is not far from every one of us; and He is now come, not to condemn, but to save the world. He standeth in the midst! Sinner, doth He not now, even now, knock at the door of thy heart? O, that thou mayest know, at least in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace! O, that you may now give yourselves to Him who gave Himself for you, in humble faith, in holy, active, patient love! So shall ye rejoice with exceeding joy in His day, when He cometh in the clouds of heaven!"

Of the associates and fellow-workers of Wesley there are a number whose character and works justly entitle them to more extended notice than is feasible in this account. Charles Wesley (1708-1788), younger by five years than John, and, like him, educated at Oxford, was for a short time associated with his brother in the work in Georgia, became also the subject of a "conversion" or at least a deeper realization of spiritual things, engaged in the itinerant ministry with John, but married and gradually left off that mode of work. He was the "sweet singer" of Methodism, and left many well-known and precious hymns to enrich Christian hymnody. The Perronet family, of whom Edward, the author of *All hail the power of Jesus' name,* was the most important, also furnished several preachers to the movement. Besides these there were several lay preachers of notable gifts, of whom the most remarkable were John Cennick (also a hymn writer), Thomas Maxfield, and John Bennett. Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury belong rather to the history of missions and of American preaching. After the Wesleys themselves, the most important man among the early Methodists was John William Fletcher (1729-1785),[43] vicar of Madeley. He was a French-Swiss by birth, the family name being De la Fléchière. He was educated chiefly at Geneva, but came to England as a tutor. He learned the English language very thoroughly, and—what was more signal—fell in with the Methodists, and was led to a deep experience of grace. Being ordained in 1757, he preached as opportunity offered, and became, in 1760, vicar of Madeley, a rough mining town in Shropshire, where he did the work of his life. But, about this same time, Lady Huntington established her seminary for training preachers at Trevecca, in Wales, and engaged Fletcher to have the oversight of the work there, as far as his duties at Madeley permitted. His visits to the institution were frequent, and his influence on the students was great and wholesome. He also worked with the Wesleys and Berridge in evangelistic labors and journeys as much as he could. Fletcher was a man of pure and lofty character, a devoted pastor, as well as ceaseless toiler in other spheres of duty. He was an ardent Arminian in theology, and was drawn into many controversies. His famous *Checks to Antinomianism* was long the standard of Wesleyan theology in opposition to Calvinism, and still remains one of the classics of Methodist theological and polemical literature. But notwithstanding his doctrinal battles, Fletcher was a man of deep devotional nature and spirit, lovable and beloved. In the seventh volume of his *Works* there are nine sermons in full and thirty outlines. Their doctrine is evangelical to the core on sin and atonement, Arminian in the interpretation of the divine sovereignty and the danger of falling from grace, firm and unequivocal in moral and spiritual teaching, without going to the extreme of perfectionism. In form the sermons have usually a simple outline, though a little more elaborate than is now the taste. The style is clear, sweet, and winsome, remarkable English for a foreigner to have written. There is no exuberance of imagination or marked fertility of illustration, though these are not wholly wanting. The tone is deeply spiritual, and the method chiefly hortatory, with some argument and exposition.

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[43] *Life,* by Joseph Benson, 1817; good account in Ryle, p. 385 ff.; *Works* in 7 vols., 12mo, 1826.

There was a relatively small but important group of Nonconformist preachers throughout the eighteenth century, who have left a broad mark on the religious thought and life of English-speaking people. Here we must place the gifted, pious, and eccentric Rowland Hill (1745-1833),[44] who, though ordained as a deacon in the Established Church, could never induce any bishop to put him into the priesthood; so that he occupies a somewhat anomalous position, but is rather to be reckoned with the Dissenters. He was born of an old and honorable family in Shropshire who have furnished several distinguished men to English history. As a child Rowland was bright and humorous, but also deeply inclined to religion. He was converted under the leading of his pious elder brother, Richard. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he enjoyed and wisely used the best advantages. During his career at Cambridge he was active in religious work, dealing personally with his fellow-students, and working among the poor, somewhat like the Methodists at Oxford. He was invited by good old Berridge to visit him at Everton, which he did frequently and to his great profit spiritually. The college authorities were opposed to Hill's methods, particularly his lay preaching. But he received encouragement from Whitefield, Berridge, and others, and pursued his way, being fully persuaded that he was doing the will of God. Harder yet to bear was the opposition of his father and other members of the family. On his graduation at Cambridge he applied for ordination, but was refused by six bishops successively to whom he made application. So Hill determined to pursue his course of itinerant evangelization. His father reduced his allowance almost to the starving point, but still the heroic young man persevered. He preached all over the kingdom, wherever he could find hearers—and he usually attracted crowds wherever he went. Of course, he found friends and helpers among those who valued his work, as was the case with Wesley and Whitefield and their fellow-workers. But his position was trying and precarious. He found an admirable helper and sympathizer in his wife, who encouraged him in his work, but recommended prudence and tact. When Hill was about to proceed to his degree of M. A. at Cambridge, he again made application for ordination, and was so far successful as to be inducted into the diaconate of the English Church. He obtained the curacy of Kingston, a small parish in Somersetshire, which he held for many years. Meantime he pursued his itinerant ministry wherever he could, and his preaching was very acceptable and fruitful.

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[44] *Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill, A. M.,* by the Rev. Edwin Sidney, A. M., 2d Amer. ed, New York, 1835.

Finally his converts, admirers, and friends erected for him the famous Surrey Chapel in London, and this remained the scene of his labors to the end of his life, which extended over into the first third of the nineteenth century.

Rowland Hill was greatly loved as a man and pastor, and his work was blessed to the conversion of thousands. He was a man of marked eccentricities of speech and sometimes of conduct, but these were no blemish on his character or reputation—only occasional infractions of good taste. His humor was spontaneous and natural, sometimes irrepressible; but it often enlightened and helped his discourse, rather than marred it. The depth of his piety, the strength of his mind, and the unselfishness of his devotion to the cause of Christ and humanity could not be questioned. His preaching was marked by the character of the man—earnest and evangelical, but original and often quaint. He preached without manuscript, and often from the suggestion of the moment, but his well-stored mind, rich experience of religion and life, and responsiveness to environment more than made up for lack of careful writing. Sheridan is said to have remarked, "I go to hear Rowland Hill because what he says comes hot from the heart." His few printed sermons naturally conveyed little notion of the actual man. His vivid imagination, quick and tender sympathy, and earnest feeling, relieved by occasional flashes of wit and humor, made him effective and often eloquent as an extempore preacher.

Among the Independents we have the name of the great and famous hymn writer, Isaac Watts (1674-1748).[45] Besides writing hymns and being the author of useful text-books on logic and other subjects, Dr. Watts was a preacher of well-established reputation and influence, though not of the highest rank. Southampton was the place of his birth. Here his excellent father taught school, and suffered persecution, even to imprisonment, for his nonconformity. A pathetic story relates how the wife sat at the prison gate with the puny infant Isaac in her arms, waiting to see her conscientious and faithful husband. The child was feeble in body, but great in brain. He was carefully taught by his father, then at school in Southampton, then at Stoke-Newington, in London. After school, Watts became tutor in the family of Sir John Hartopp, a distinguished Nonconformist, who attended a dissenting Church in Mark Lane under the care of Dr. Chauncy. Watts joined this Church, became a teacher in it, then (1702) its pastor. The church was removed to a better location, and an assistant was employed to do most of the work; but Dr. Watts remained pastor all his life, preaching as often as his feeble health permitted. Owing to his weak health, he was invited by Mr. Thomas Abney, a wealthy member of his flock, to visit him indefinitely at his home at Theobalds, near London. The visit lasted almost a lifetime; for the lovable poet-preacher became an inmate of the home, for whose children at first he wrote those "Divine and Moral Songs" that for several generations made his name a household word in thousands of Christian homes the world over.

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[45] *Complete Works,* 6 vols., quarto, London, 1810 (ed. of Doddridge and Jennings), and separately; *Discourses on the Love of God,* London, 1770; *Life* by E. Paxton Hood.

The sermons of Dr. Watts are not marked by the poetic quality and fervor that his hymns would lead us to expect. But they are clear, readable, and instructive. They would not awaken much interest now except as coming from him, for the particular modes of thought and expression which they exemplify belong to their own times rather than to ours, and the style and analysis alike are somewhat labored and heavy. The sermons usually end with a devout meditation or prayer.

High among the Independents stood the learned and evangelical Philip Doddridge (1702-1751),[46] pastor and teacher at Northampton. Doddridge was born at London, the twentieth child of his parents. But of all the children only an older sister and himself survived infancy. He was of feeble constitution, but was tenderly nurtured, both in body and mind, by his pious mother. Left an orphan when about thirteen years old, he was kindly cared for by friends, and properly educated. The Duchess of Bedford became so interested in the promising youth that she offered to educate him at either University, but it was on condition that he should enter the ministry in the Anglican Church, and Doddridge conscientiously declined. Friends provided for his entering the Academy for Dissenters at Kibworth, near Leicester. Here he was taught, and later himself became teacher as well as pastor. He served awhile also at Harborough; but, in 1729, was called to Northampton. He took his students with him there, and labored for about twenty years as teacher, pastor, and writer. Many young men, especially of the Independents, were trained by him for the ministry. But his health gave way in the too severe strain he put upon his strength. Hoping for help from the climate, he went to Lisbon, but died there a short time after his arrival.

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[46] Various edd. of the *Works* in whole, and of the *Expositor,* and *Rise and Progress,* separately. *Life* by Job Orton.

Among Doddridge's writings are a number of excellent and still highly valued hymns, his famous *Family Expositor*—a paraphrase and commentary on the New Testament—and his long useful, devotional treatise, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.* Along with these he published at intervals several volumes of sermons, among them a thoughtful series of discourses to the young. Doddridge was exemplary in pastoral work and in preaching, and was greatly and justly beloved by his flock. His sermons are judicious rather than weighty in thought, evangelical in theology, clear in order and style, but with no special unction or eloquence.

The Baptists have three men of especial distinction in this epoch, first of whom in the order of time is the somewhat erratic but gifted Robert Robinson (1735-1790).[47] He was of rather humble origin, his father being an excise man. His mother was well connected, but unhappily married. The boy was brought up in hardships, but was bright and ambitious, and acquired some learning. Apprenticed to a hairdresser in London, he improved his spare time in reading. Hearing Whitefield preach, he was greatly moved and interested in Methodism. He began as a lay preacher among the Methodists, but set up an independent congregation at Norwich, soon became convinced of the correctness of

[47] *Miscellaneous Works,* with *Memoir* (by B. F.), London, 1807.

Baptist views, and became a member of that body. He had married without much prospect of a living, but was called to a small congregation of Baptists in Cambridge. The salary was so small that he was forced to do other things for a support, and in the meantime his love of writing asserted itself and he wrote some productions. He had mastered French by some means, and published translations of Saurin's sermons and of Claude's *Essay on a Sermon.* These literary labors brought him some reputation as scholar, but not much money, and he became a farmer and trader. Besides, he sometimes preached at other places than Cambridge. His hymn, *Come, Thou Fount of every blessing,* gives him more fame than all his writings, though these were important in their day. He preached without notes, and was heard with pleasure and profit. A few of his sermons were written out and printed, and though they show talent and varied learning, they are nearly all on moral subjects and have now little of interest or value. Robinson did not escape some criticism, both as to doctrine (thought to entertain some Arian opinions) and conduct; but perhaps without entire justice. He was a remarkably gifted man, and had also many admirable traits of character.

Andrew Fuller (1754-1815),[48] the eminent theologian and missionary leader, was also a pastor of excellent gifts and a preacher of strong though not shining qualities. He was born, the son of a farmer, near Ely, in Cambridgeshire, at the little village of Wicken. His parents were Dissenters and attended the Baptist Church presided over by Mr. Eve, a high Calvinistic preacher. Andrew became in early youth subject to decided religious impressions, and also became dissatisfied with the extreme type of theology to which he had to listen in the preaching of Mr. Eve. Thus early he showed his aptitude for theological thinking. By little and little young Fuller was led to take up the work of public exposition of Scripture, and his pastor having resigned, he often led the public worship, until finally the little church invited him to be ordained and take the pastorate. He had been converted and baptized in 1769, and though without college instruction, he had been a diligent and thoughtful student, and was not ill-equipped for the humble beginning which he now was led to make. His self-improvement was rapid and thorough. His salary was distressingly small, and he was forced to do other things to take care of his family. Under such seemingly untoward circumstances this really great man was formed for the work he had to do. In 1782, reluctantly and after much urging, he accepted the call of the Baptist Church at Kettering, where he discharged the duties of pastor till his death. Here he studied, wrote, attended to his flock, and took great part in the religious movements of the day, especially in organizing and helping on the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. His writings had great influence, being widely read, not only in his own denomination, but more generally. Both Princeton and Yale Colleges conferred on him the degree of D. D., but with characteristic modesty he declined to use the title. He was a careful and judicious thinker, and a strong expounder of the Scriptures.

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[48] *Complete Works* with *Memoir,* by Andrew G. Fuller (his son), Am. ed., 2 vols., Boston, 1833.

In Fuller's *Works* there are many discourses, outlines of sermons, and a few sermons written out in full. Characteristically he was an expository preacher as to method, and a solid preacher as to thought. There is little warmth—no heat; imagination is scarcely in evidence at all; and "flights of eloquence" nowhere appear. The sermons on themes are orderly, discriminating, logical; the expositions (on Genesis, the Apocalypse, the Sermon on the Mount, etc.) are careful and plain, in homily form; the style is clear and even, but lacks grace, fervor, and movement. Excellent good sense and timeliness for their day characterize the writings of Fuller, and they did good and enduring service; but they have not enough literary quality to make them standards, and their adaptation to contemporary thought has, of course, passed away with their own times.

William Carey (1761-1834)[49] is a name most highly honored in the annals of the foreign missionary enterprise, and he claims mention in the history of preaching because of one famous sermon which is forever associated with his name and cause. Carey was of humble parentage and born in Northamptonshire. Both his father and grandfather had served the parish as clerks, and Carey himself in early life was an Anglican; but with his conversion to God came also his conversion to Baptist views, and he was baptized by Dr. John Ryland in 1773. Four years later he became pastor of a little Church at Moulton, but supported himself and family by mending shoes. Later he became pastor at Leicester. His remarkable aptitude for acquiring languages went on with his other work, and he became a great self-taught scholar. After the organization of the Baptist Missionary Society, in 1792, he went as its first missionary to India, and never returned to England. His great work as a missionary pioneer and scholar in the Indian languages does not properly belong here. As a preacher he probably would not have attained great distinction, but it fell to him to preach the annual sermon before the Nottinghamshire Baptist Association, which met at Nottingham in May, 1792. He had long been thinking and praying over the religious needs of the heathen and of the duty of Christians to give the gospel to all the world. He had published his tract on *The Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen.*[50] His soul was aflame with the subject. He took as his text the words in Isa. 54:2, 3, and deduced from them the famous discourse on the theme: "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God." The sermon produced a profound impression, and under the lead of himself and Andrew Fuller, who nobly seconded his efforts, the great modern missionary movement was inaugurated. This famous historic sermon was not published; it is doubtful if it ever was written out. It is not found in any list of Carey's writings that has been examined for this work. Its thought is no doubt elaborated in the pamphlet already mentioned, which has been often republished. It is a notable instance of the effect of one sermon, and yet the sermon itself is preserved only in its abundant fruits.

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[49] See *Carey, Marshman, and Ward,* by J. C. Marshman, London, 1864; there is also an older *Life* by his son; *Biographical and Literary Notices of William Carey* (with a bibliography of his writings), by John Taylor, London, 1886.

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[50] Many times republished, recently in *Highway of Mission Thought*, ed. T. B. Ray, Nashville, 1907—a collection of missionary sermons.

Passing from the English pulpit to that of Scotland,[51] we have to notice that the Revolution of 1688, the settlement of William and Mary as king and queen, and the Act of Toleration were events of great moment in the religious history of Scotland, as well as England. The Act of Settlement distinctly allowed Presbyterianism as the established religion of the country, and thus the long and fatal efforts of the Stuarts to establish episcopacy in Scotland fell down. But the conditions were mixed; the Scottish Parliament, before its discontinuance in 1707, had passed some rules not altogether acceptable to the rigid Presbyterians. This was true, also, of the first meeting of the General Assembly. The easy entrance of Episcopal clergymen—many of them unfit—into the Presbyterian minstry created much discontent. Then the establishment of patronage, that is, the appointment of ministers over parishes, not by election or consent of the congregation, but either by lay or church authority, was a great sore. This tension and division of feeling was emphasized by a theological controversy between the stricter and more liberal groups, especially over a theological treatise called the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*—hence called the "Marrow Controversy." The evangelical party defended the book, the worldly party attacked it. All these causes, combined with some others, led to a secession from the Church, led by the Erskine brothers. This secession left the evangelical party within the Established Church weakened in their conflict with the liberalistic wing, which came to be known as Moderatism. The popular or evangelical party stood for the old truth, the old ways, and an intenser religious life and discipline; while the Moderates were more cold, worldly, literary; preaching morals rather than the gospel. They were the counterpart of the German Rationalists and the English Latitudinarians. The preaching and preachers, accordingly, fall into two groups: Evangelicals (including Secessionists), and Moderates.

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[51] See W. G. Blaikie, *The Preachers of Scotland*, pp. 184-267; The St. Giles Lectures (First Series) on *The Scottish Church*, Lec. IX, *The Church of the Eighteenth Century*, by John Tulloch; also McKerrow's *History of the Secession Church;* works and biographies of the preachers named.

Among the early Evangelicals the leading figure is that of Thomas Boston (1676-1732).[52] He was born at Dunse, where his father was an intense Presbyterian and suffered for his principles. Thomas when a boy spent some of his time in prison with his father. He was converted at the age of twelve under a sermon from Henry Erskine, father of the two famous brothers. Boston grew in Christian experience. By hard endeavors and his father's help he managed to get to Edinburgh for his collegiate and theological education. He then taught awhile as tutor, was licensed, and began preaching; finally was ordained, and settled as pastor over a small country parish in 1699. Boston's autobiography reveals much of that introspection and study of frames and states which we find in many of the journals of Christians of that age. He was diligent and successful in his pastoral work, and preached to the edification of his people. He married a fine and lovely girl, concerning whom, after thirty years of married life, he speaks with a tenderness and enthusiasm beautiful to read. In 1700 Boston found in the cottage of one of his flock that famous book, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*. He was pleased with its teaching, and induced a friend to publish a new edition of it. The book, as we have seen, was unacceptable to the liberal party and occasioned a great dispute, in which Boston took conspicuous part. In May, 1707, he was called to Ettrick, where he remained the rest of his life. Here he was full of earnest, spiritual, and fruitful labors. In 1712, by the advice of a brother minister who had seen and approved his notes, Boston was advised to prepare for publication his series of sermons on *The Fourfold State of Man*. He completed writing them out in a year, but the book was not published till about 1719. It became and long remained a famous and much-read classic of evangelical teaching. In the opening paragraph of the first sermon, Boston thus clearly states his theme: "There are four things very necessary to be known by all that would see heaven. First, what man was in the state of innocence as God made him. Secondly, what he is in the state of corrupt nature as he had unmade himself. Thirdly, what he must be in the state of grace as 'created in Christ Jesus unto good works,' if ever he be made a partaker of the 'inheritance of the saints in life.' And, lastly, what he should be in his eternal state as made by the Judge of all, either perfectly happy or completely miserable, and that forever. These are weighty points that touch the vitals of practical godliness; from which most men and even many professors, in these dregs of time, are quite estranged. I design, therefore, under the divine conduct to open up these things and apply them." The sermons exhibit a firm and uncompromising grasp and exposition of the evangelical type of theology. In form they are scholastic to the limit, with a number of heads, divisions, points, doctrines, applications, uses, improvements, etc., in the most approved style. But with all this excess of analysis there is clear unity of theme, with completeness and mastery of treatment. There is want of imagination, illustration, and glow, but not of feeling, which is deep and intense. Other sermons, as those on *The Crook in the Lot,* that is, the adversities which God permits or appoints in our earthly lot; on *Prayer,* and a number of other subjects, show the same qualities. Boston was a man of might in his own small parish, and extended his influence far beyond. After a faithful service as pastor and preacher, and through many trials, he passed to his reward, a much loved and much opposed, but true and faithful man.

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[52] *Select Works* (with *Life* based on his autobiography) of Thos. Boston, ed. by A. S. Patterson, 1847.

The name of Erskine is notable in the Evangelical ministry of Scotland. Henry Erskine, under whose ministry Thomas Boston was converted, was a brave, faithful, and godly Presbyterian minister, who suffered many vicissitudes in his career of many removals. He was the father of the two notable Secessionists, Ebenezer Erskine (1680-1756) and Ralph Erskine (1685-1752).[53] Both the brothers were educated at Edinburgh, Ralph (being the younger) in a better time and to better advantage.

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[53] See A. R. MacEwen, in *Famous Scots* series (No. 34), 1900, *The Erskines* (Ebenezer and Ralph); also *A Collection of Sermons on Several Subjects, by Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine,* ed. by T. Bradbury, 1738.

Both became ministers of the Established Church, Ebenezer first at Portmoak, near Loch Leven, and later at Sterling; and Ralph at Dunfermline, where he spent his life. Both took the Evangelical side and led out the Seceders, forming the first Associate Reformed Presbytery. In this movement Ebenezer was the leader. The Secession was accomplished about 1733, though it was not till seven years later that Ebenezer was formally expelled from the Assembly. Ralph joined the Secession in 1737, seeing no way to effect reforms within the Establishment. Their congregations were led with them, and many other churches and ministers joined in the movement. It is sad to relate that within their own ranks came further dissensions and trials, but the Erskines were following conscience, and through all their troubles they lived and taught and preached with great power. The doctrines of grace were recommended by them with great unction and force. They were not so strong in thinking as Boston, but they excelled him in tenderness and in the joy of salvation. They attracted great crowds, —especially Ralph,—people coming from long distances, particularly on communion occasions. Their published sermons are of the extreme analytical type, with elaborate introduction, formal statement of heads, divisions, doctrines, points, etc. They abound in Scripture quotations, but are sparing in the use of illustration. Definition, distinction, argument, and appeal are the main things; but there is a spiritual glow through all the bony structure and wearisome refinement of analysis. There is a warmth of conviction and pastoral concern in the quaint modes of expression that still make appeal, even to the reader whose taste is offended by the faults mentioned—which were largely the faults of the age in which the preachers lived.

After the Secession the Established Church enjoyed comparative peace, and though an Evangelical party remained in it, the trend of things was decidedly toward Moderatism. The Moderates frowned upon what they called "enthusiasm," "fanaticism," etc. They were for a cool and moral Christianity, a gospel of good taste and literary excellence. A warm and glowing Christian life or a deep conviction and proclamation of the doctrines of grace was far from their thoughts.

Perhaps the most extreme representative of this school was Alexander Carlyle (1722-1805).[54] He was the son of a Presbyterian minister, born at Prestonpans, where his father was, as he describes him, "An orthodox and popular orator, entirely beloved and much caressed by the whole parish." Carlyle was educated at both Edinburgh and Glasgow. His choice of the ministry was entirely professional, without any conviction either of divine leading or of personal devotion. He was led to it chiefly by the persuasion of his family and friends. Of his views and sentiments in entering the ministry he has written his own condemnation in these words:[55] "I had only one sermon to deliver before the Presbytery of Haddington to become a preacher. . . . The genteel people of Prestonpans parish were all there; and one young lady, to whom I had long been attached, not having been able to conceal her admiration of my oratory, I inwardly applauded my own resolution of adhering to the promise I had made my family to persevere in the clerical profession." In such a worldly spirit he became minister at Inveresk, where he served for fifty-seven years—until his death. In his *Autobiography,* written when he was eighty years old, but not published until 1860, he reveals himself as a man utterly worldly, though respectable, without warmth or devotion, but with good taste, fondness for society, literature, and company. His few remaining sermons (no need of any more!) are wholly destitute of gospel truth or fervor, though written in good taste and agreeable style. No wonder even Hume airily rebuked him once for giving to a congregation where he heard him preach one of "Cicero's Academics," and that Sir Walter Scott, in speaking of his alleged poetry, should have described him as "a shrewd, clever old carle, no doubt, but no more a poet than his precentor," on which Blaikie[56] justly remarks that Sir Walter might have said with equal truth, "no more a minister of the gospel."

A younger contemporary of Carlyle was John Logan

[54] See Sermon on the *Usefulness and Necessity of a Liberal Education,* Edinburgh, 1793; and in Vol. 2 of *The Scotch Preacher* (1775) a sermon on *The Tendency of the Church of Scotland,* etc.; *Autobiography of Alex. Carlyle, D. D.,* ed. by J. H. Burton, 1860. [55] *Autobiog.,* p. 201. [56] *Op. cit.,* p. 225.

(1748-1788),[57] who claims for his talents, his errors, and his misfortunes at least a brief notice. He was born in Midlothian, his father a farmer, and both parents pious Seceders. He was carefully brought up. His parents earnestly desired that he should be a minister, and sent him to Edinburgh for education. Here Dr. Robertson befriended and helped him. He was distinguished as a student, became tutor for awhile, and then minister at Leith. He tried faithfully to discharge his duties, and was very eloquent and popular as a speaker, but personally he was not deeply pious nor in love with his work. Ambitious of literary distinction, he essayed writing in several departments. He wrote a drama called *Runnymede,* which was acted in Edinburgh. This raised a storm. Logan became depressed, drank too much, retired from his work, went to London, and died there in distress. Undeveloped as historian and poet, he might have done well in either line of writing. Some of his hymns and paraphrases of the Psalms are among the treasures of the Scottish Church. His sermons, published by his executors after his death, show far more of religious feeling than those of Carlyle; and more of heart power, native eloquence, and fire of imagination than those of Blair, but their warmth is scarcely evangelical. We miss the tone of one who had experienced the divine life in the soul, though there is something to win sympathy and even respect.

The most famous representative of the Moderates was the celebrated Dr. Hugh Blair (1718-1800).[58] He was born of a good family, his father being a highly respectable merchant of Edinburgh. Blair took his degree at the University of Edinburgh with great applause in 1739. His first charge as pastor was at Collessie, in Fifeshire, but he was soon transferred to the Canongate Church in Edinburgh, and, after faithful service and some promotions, to the High Church, where he served forty years. Blair paid great attention to rhetoric and literature, and was made professor of these subjects in the

[57] *Sermons of John Logan, LL. D.,* with an account of his life, 1810.

[58] *Sermons of Hugh Blair, D. D.* (with account of his life), ed. by J. Finlayson, 5 vols., beginning 1777.

University. His *Lectures on Rhetoric* were published, passed through many editions, and continued for a generation one of the favorite text-books on that subject. As preacher and pastor Blair was circumspect, irreproachable, dignified, and amiable. His eloquence was admired, his hearers were numerous, his influence was widespread, and his character respected to the end of his regular and orderly life. His sermons began to be published in 1777. They had wide acceptance, translation, and circulation, and were long considered models of style and taste. Their failure to interest modern readers lies just here. Their strong point was their appeal to taste, not to thought nor to depth of religious feeling, and so when taste changed they fell into disregard. Macaulay is too severe in speaking of Dr. Blair as a "poor creature," but still he could not be ranked as one of the great preachers of his age and country. His sermons are cold presentations of the accepted Christian doctrines and ethics, without the warmth of evangelic earnestness or the driving power of great conviction. There is want of vitality, and the elegance which characterizes them has passed away along with the starched frills, powdered wigs, and buckled knee-breeches of that age.

Neither the withdrawal of the Secessionists nor the rationalistic coolness of the Moderates left the Established Kirk destitute of evangelical preachers. Some were still found who cherished the doctrines of grace and proclaimed them with earnestness and fruit. One of the best-known of these was John Maclaurin (1693-1754).[59] He was born in Argyllshire (where his father was a preacher), the eldest of three sons, who were early left orphans and cared for by an uncle. One died young, the other became a distinguished mathematician. John received the usual training at Glasgow, and was a hard student. He settled as pastor, first at Luss on Loch Lomond, and read much during this country pastorate. He was soon called to Glasgow, where he served to the end of his life. He was very active as pastor, counselor, and leader. He corresponded with Jonathan Edwards and others interested in evangelistic movements, but in that work he was prudent and sensible. Only three of his sermons were published, one of which became famous and was long regarded as a notable masterpiece, on *Glorying in the Cross.* These sermons are sound and Scriptural in doctrine, not tediously analytical, and have far more of feeling than those of the Moderates, but they lack something of simplicity, showing no particular gift of style, and somehow they do not melt or stir as one would expect. Even the great sermon on *Glorying in the Cross* gives one a certain disappointment on reading it now. Blaikie[60] is not far wrong in saying that it is rather a treatise than a sermon.

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[59] *Sermons and Essays of John Maclaurin,* with *Life,* by John Gillies, D. D., 1802.

Other Evangelicals are named and discussed by the historians, but the most important remaining one is John Erskine (1721-1803),[61] who was a cousin of Ebenezer and Ralph, and the son of a very distinguished lawyer. He had the advantages of wealth, social position, education, and general culture. Though his father naturally wished him to become a lawyer, his heart was given to God for the ministry. Ordained in 1744, he first served a small country church, and then a larger church at Culross. In his early life he published a vigorous treatise on *The Natural Light of Reason and the Consequent Accountability of All Mankind.* He invited Whitefield to Scotland, and defended that great evangelist when he was sharply criticised for his methods. In 1758 he became pastor at the New Grayfriars Church, and some years later at the Old Grayfriars Church, where he was associated with the famous Dr. Robertson, the historian and professor. Erskine was not so favorable to Wesley (on account of his theology) as to Whitefield, though he held some correspondence with Wesley. He was opposed to the war with the American Colonies, and both preached and published on the subject, arguing against the policy. He was active in many ways, by pen and voice, and most earnest in his pastoral work. Sir Walter Scott, whose parents were members of Erskine's congregation, has given a fine and famous description of the preacher in his novel of *Guy Mannering*.[62] After speaking of his ungainly person, his fair complexion, and scanty gesture, the novelist says: "Something there was of an antiquated tone of argument and metaphor, but it only served to give zest and peculiarity to the style of the elocution. The sermon was not read; a scrap of paper containing the heads of the discourse was occasionally referred to, and the enunciation, which had first seemed imperfect and embarrassed, became, as the preacher warmed in his progress, animated and distinct; and although the discourse could not be quoted as a correct specimen of pulpit eloquence, yet Mannering had seldom heard so much learning, metaphysical acuteness, and energy of argument brought into the service of Christianity." Considering that Scott himself was more in sympathy with Moderatism than with Erskine's views, this testimony acquires additional value. Erskine's sermons were published in two volumes, the second appearing after his death. In several of them he touches on the duties of the pastoral office. In one of them he says:[63] "Christ crucified and salvation through Him; the law as a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ; and exhorting the disciples of Jesus to adorn His doctrine by the conscientious performance of every duty, ought to be chief subjects of our sermons." Again he says: "Little pains may serve to display criticism and literature on subjects which do not need them, or without occasion to plunge so deep in abstract philosophical speculation that the bulk of an audience shall lose sight of us. But it is incomparably more difficult to compose a popular discourse in a style plain, elegant, nervous, grave, and animated; neither bombast nor groveling; neither scrupulously exact nor sordidly negligent." This very well describes the quality of Erskine's own sermons as they impress the reader. They are weighty in thought, but not abstruse; orderly in arrangement, without tediousness; clear and forcible in style, without pretense or undue polishing. They are animated by a true purpose to present the gospel of the crucified Redeemer in a way to win a personal acceptance of Him from the hearers.

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[60] *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

[61] *Discourses Preached on Several Occasions,* by John Erskine, D. D., 2 vols., 1804-1818; second vol, with *Life,* by H. M. Wellwood.

[62] Quoted by Blaikie, p. 263.

[63] *Discourses*, Vol. I, pp. 114, 116.

We turn now to preaching in Wales,[64] and we must not forget that the Anglican Church was strong in that principality. The sees of St. David's and St. Asaph's have been filled by some of the most illustrious of the English clergy, but the distinctive preaching of Wales has been largely in the Welsh tongue and by Dissenters—chiefly Methodists and Baptists. Welsh pulpit eloquence has been specially characterized by imagination and fire. The native language is said to possess peculiar charm and fitness for this kind of speech. Not a great many sermons of Welsh preachers have been preserved from the eighteenth century in the English language; but there was great preaching and very effective work by many Welsh preachers during that epoch. The work of Vavasor Powell and others in the seventeenth century prepared the way for the great revival in the eighteenth. In the early part of the century there was great coldness, both in the Established Church and among Dissenters, but the revival began about 1735.

The most notable of the preachers was Daniel Rowlands (1713-1790). He was the son of the rector at Llangeitho, Cardiganshire. He was educated at home, and designed for the ministry, was ordained in London in 1733, and became his father's curate. He preached without a spiritual conversion, and was a gay and lively young parson, but under a sermon of Griffith Jones, in 1735, he was soundly converted, and immediately changed the spirit and method of his preaching. At first his preaching was denunciatory, but grew in grace and gospel power. Crowds came to his services, and he was invited to preach in a neighboring parish. He went, and a great revival ensued. The bishop reproved and silenced him for insubordination, but the people built for him a chapel at Llangeitho, and thus he withdrew from the Established Church. He had great success in his ministry, and also itinerated, preaching in many parts of the country with great power. He was a man of deep piety

[64] See E. Paxton Hood, *Vocation of the Preacher* (1886), chapter on "The Preachers of Wild Wales;" Owen Jones, *Some of the Great Preachers of Wales*, 1885; Daniel Davies, *Echoes from the Welsh Hills* (1883), with an essay by J. R. Kilsby Jones on *Characteristics of Welsh Eloquence;* account of Daniel Rowlands in Ryle's *Christian Leaders*, p. 180 ff.

and consecration, and highly gifted with the oratorical imagination and feeling.

Along with him should be mentioned Howell Harris (1714-1773), who was born at Trevecca, Brecknockshire. In 1735 he went to Oxford to study for orders, but became dissatisfied and returned to Wales. He began to exhort and form societies independently of Whitefield and Wesley in England, and of Rowlands. He applied for ordination, but was refused on account of his methods, and remained a lay preacher to the end. He worked much and cordially with Rowlands. He also met Whitefield in 1739, and Wesley later.

Another of the noble evangelistic preachers of this time was William Williams (1717-1791), who was converted under Harris's preaching, and turned from his medical studies to the work of preaching. He, too, after being ordained, was virtually driven out of the Established Church because of his evangelistic methods. Besides his preaching, which was full of power and success, Williams has given to Christianity two immortal hymns, which are well-known in their English dress, viz., *Guide me, O Thou Great Jehovah,* and *O'er the gloomy hills of darkness.* Still another of these revival preachers was Robert Roberts (1763-1802), who came from humble circumstances, without much education, but was a man of remarkable native gifts and greatly blessed in his preaching. At the end of the century we find the famous Christmas Evans (1766-1838), but his life in its height of power and influence belongs to the next century.

Passing by political and social conditions in Ireland during the eighteenth century (they were surely bad enough!), a word must be said of the religious situation.[65] There were three elements: Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian. The Catholic was native and the preference of the majority. Not the peasantry only were Catholics, yet that religion was held mainly by this class with great tenacity, much ignorance, and fanaticism, but also with devotion and courage. The people were oppressed, deprived of their just rights, and kept in subjection by force. Protestantism (Church of England) was an alien institution forced on a reluctant people; the whole body of Anglican churches and bishops was sustained by taxation and bayonets, yet there were a few natives who accepted the Episcopal Church. What a picture does that Church present with its absentee prelates, its incompetent curates, its persecuting bishops! In the north there was an influx of Scotch Presbyterians, and these were hostile alike to Catholicism and to English prelacy, with not a few quarrels among themselves.

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[65] W. E. H. Lecky, *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,* 5 vols.; W. D. Killen, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,* 2 vols.; *Ireland and Her People* (a collection of brief accounts of Irish celebrities); articles in *Dict. Nat. Biog.,* and in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia;* lives and sermons of preachers named.

Among the Catholics there were no preachers of special distinction. The natives preached mostly in the Gaelic, and cared little if at all for literary distinction. Lecky describes two sorts of Catholic priests in this epoch.[66] One sort were those who had been educated at various Catholic schools in Europe and brought to Ireland the culture of those schools. They did not produce any writings of lasting value, but they were cultured, and preached in good taste. Priests of this kind were chiefly active in the latter part of the century. Before that there were many of the uncultivated and ignorant sort, who were themselves often fanatical, superstitious, violent, and sometimes coarse. The only preacher of much note in the latter part of the century was Bishop Doyle, who, however, was more of an administrator than a preacher. He is said to have been the first Irish Catholic preacher of note who preached in the English tongue. Of the Protestant preachers only a few are worthy of note.

John Abernethy (1680-1740)[67] was the son of a Presbyterian minister at Coleraine, in Ulster. During the Revolutionary troubles, which occurred in his childhood, he was taken by a relative to Scotland. Later he returned, but was sent back again to the University of Glasgow, and afterwards to Edinburgh, for his education. He settled as preacher at Antrim in 1703, and continued there for twenty-seven years, when he was called to Dublin. After some difficulties, he finally settled there in 1730, and remained to his death.

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[66] *Op. cit.*, III, p. 354 ff.

[67] *Sermons on Various Subjects, by John Abernethy, M. A., with a Preface containing the Life of the Author*, 3d ed., 2 vols., London, 1762, ed. Duchal.

Abernethy's sermons show that his drift was decidedly in the direction of Moderatism—they lack depth and warmth of evangelical religion. They are ethically sound, and in style quite pleasing, but would awaken little if any interest in a reader of to-day.

Far more famous, though not as a preacher, was the celebrated Jonathan Swift (1667-1745),[68] dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Though born in Dublin, Swift was of English family. His father was rather a thriftless man, and the family suffered hardships, though helped by the liberality of an uncle. Swift's mother returned to England, and Jonathan was sent to Oxford, where he finally got his Master of Arts. His uncle's death left him penniless, and his early years were a struggle. By the help of Sir William Temple, he was ordained and assigned to the parish at Kilroot, near Belfast. His literary activity had already begun, he having written *The Battle of the Books* and *The Tale of a Tub.* As is well known, he also wrote many political pamphlets. He went back and forth between England and Ireland, was most anxious to obtain preferment in England, but never did. Finally, in 1713, he became dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, holding the position to the end of his life.

Swift's political and literary career lie apart from our topic. His unamiable character and his strange conduct toward two women who loved him, his unacknowledged marriage to one of them (Esther Johnson, known as Stella), the gloom and darkness of much of his personal life, finally ending in insanity and death, are sad shadows upon his life. As a churchman, according to the low standard of his times, he had some ideas of conscience and duty. He sought to promote the interests of the Established Church. He professed a formal and doubtless sincere attachment to the accepted doctrines of Christianity, but without depth of conviction or feeling. The defects of his character and the faults of his conduct, though serious, were not scandalous. He espoused the cause of Ireland in a number of ways, and his memory is respected by those who love that unhappy country.

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[68] Various edd. of *Works* of Swift (collected and separate); account and extracts in *Warner Lib.*, XXIV, p. 14259; *Life,* by Sir Henry Craik, London, 1882; *Sermons* (with *Life* prefixed), 2 vols., 1790 (?).

Swift's sermons are without evangelical content and without the warmth of personal and deep conviction. They are cool moral essays, often with a vein of satire native to the author. Their style is as clear as a sunbeam, their outlines natural and simple, and their diction luminous and refreshing. The sermon on *The Trinity* is a remarkable discourse as coming from such a man. There is an entire absence of rancor and metaphysics. It is a plain, common-sense treatment of the doctrine as a mystery beyond but not contrary to reason and to be accepted because revealed of God in the Bible. The other sermons are wholly of a moral nature—one on *The Condition of Ireland,* one on *Mutual Subjection,* one on *Conscience.* There is also a sermon on *Sleeping in Church,* based on the episode of Eutychus, in which the preacher finds occasion, not only to berate that fault, but generally to reprehend both the neglect and the undue criticism of preaching. The topic is scarcely suited to the dignity of the pulpit, but no reader of Swift needs to be told that from the points of view of literature and wit, the treatment is delightful.

Undoubtedly the greatest Irish preacher of the century was Walter Blake Kirwan (1754-1805).[69] He was born in Galway, of Catholic parents, and was educated for the Catholic priesthood in various European schools, especially St. Omer's and Louvain, where he was ordained and became professor of philosophy. He then became chaplain to the Neapolitan ambassador at the British court. In 1787 he became a Protestant, believing that he could do more good as a preacher in the Established Church. He had great success, was a genuine orator, especially noted for his pathetic appeals on behalf of charitable institutions. He held various charges, finally was made dean of Killala, which he held to his death. Kirwan's published sermons naturally lack the glow and warmth which characterized their free delivery, but still they are flowing and oratorical in style, though somewhat careless in arrangement. They want the evangelical element which was partly due no doubt

[69] *Sermons of W. B. Kirwan,* with a sketch of his life (supposedly by his daughter, Wilhelmina), 1816; Lecky, Vol. II, p. 506 ff., and V, p. 86; sermon in Fish, I, p. 583.

to the fact that they were charity sermons, but even granting that, there is surely more room than is found for the gospel. Of Kirwan's splendid oratory, one of the strongest witnesses was his friend, the great orator, Henry Grattan, who is quoted as saying: "He called forth the latent virtue of the human heart and taught men to discover in themselves a mine of charity of which the proprietors had become unconscious. In feeding the lamp of charity he almost exhausted the lamp of life. He came to interrupt the repose of the pulpit, and shake one world with the thunder of the other. The preacher's desk becomes a throne of light."

PART THIRD

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XI

PREACHING IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE PULPIT OF SOUTHERN EUROPE

In the history of human progress there is no greater era than the nineteenth century. Besides the wonderful advance in the material elements and forces of civilization, there were great movements in political, social, and intellectual life. The great problems of human thought were profoundly considered from many new points of view and with new data. In every department it was a century of investigation. No period of human history has been marked by so eager a quest for truth, or was so crowded with contributions to the sum of knowledge. The bewildering mass of material gathered in every sphere of research is beyond estimate. This search for facts and reality has been in the main characterized by intense desire to know the truth and to use the facts obtained in the interest of intellectual and moral advancement. There was necessarily much unrest and stir in all departments of thought. Religion and preaching powerfully felt the movement of the age. In fact, many of the best movements were led by these forces.

In the nineteenth century preaching maintained its place amid the forces of human culture. The pulpit of the period ranks high in comparison with the past. In fact, this era marks one of the four great culminating points in the history of the Christian pulpit after the apostles. The three preceding culminations were those of the fourth, the thirteenth, and the sixteenth centuries. While the preaching of the nineteenth century was not marked by any one or two outstanding characteristics, but rather exemplifies the heightening of power in all directions, it is perhaps on that very account to be regarded as the greatest of the four epochs mentioned. This general character applies to the preaching of the century as a whole. The pulpit of the United States came to its power in the nineteenth century, and that in other countries and in missionary lands has also features of great interest. Our attention, however, in this volume is confined to the preaching of Europe, of which a brief survey must now be made.

I. General Survey of the European Pulpit

The preaching of Europe in the nineteenth century was, of course, the product of all the past. As we have traced its history since the Reformation we have seen a long, involved, and mighty process of evolution. In all European lands the varied elemental forces which combine to make pulpit oratory have been in evidence.

The first thing we naturally think of is to compare the European preaching of the nineteenth century with that of the preceding ages. In such a comparison its superiority must at once be admitted. Taken all in all, the preaching of Europe has never been so good, so successful, so powerful as in the nineteenth century. Yet, in making this statement, and making it with confidence, due allowances must be made. In the first place, we must remember the differences of time and taste. If old Schuler could have continued his remarkable *History of the Alterations of Taste in Preaching* through the nineteenth century, he would have had to write a much stouter volume and to have employed much wider research. Perhaps the main thing he would have had to recognize would be the many different standards of taste which prevailed. As in all other matters, so in preaching the nineteenth century differed widely from the past, and it was so pleased with itself that its own standards of judgment and taste were not always fair to those of previous ages. The style of preaching, whether referring to language or method, which characterized the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was no longer acceptable in the nineteenth. We must always remember that contemporary taste decides the form of literary or oral expression, and the different standard or standards of the nineteenth century are no more in force for preaching than for other methods of intellectual expression. The taste in music and other arts, as well as in all forms of literature, shows this. When, therefore, we speak of the superior excellence of nineteenth century preaching over that of the past, we must always remember that this is said from the point of view of reigning taste. The preaching which captivated and moved the nineteenth century audiences would not have had so great effect in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, could it have been anticipated and practiced then; and in the same direction the preaching which moved and pleased the audiences of those centuries does not strike the same level when read in the light of nineteenth century criticism. But when we make, as we must, this allowance, it still remains true that the nineteenth century pulpit of Europe as a rule is far in advance of preceding times in all the essentials of pulpit eloquence; and this brings us to another consideration which must be borne in mind in making a comparative judgment. We must remember that the preachers of the nineteenth century could profit by the faults and failures of the past. Historical and critical studies brought the leaders of thought and mode into judicial contact with past errors. If the nineteenth century pulpit had shown no improvement on that of the past, it would have written itself down a failure. In addition to this, it could avail itself of the wonderful progress already alluded to in all departments of intellectual life.

When we compare the preaching of the nineteenth century with that of the three culminating points before noted, we should be able the better to appreciate its excellence. As to intellectual power and grasp of Christian truth, the European pulpit of the age in question shows well in comparison. The points under discussion were somewhat different, but the sermons of the nineteenth century show at least as much of mentality as those of the sixteenth century; and when brought into comparison with the thirteenth and with the fourth century, the balance would lie in favor of the nineteenth. If we press the comparison on the point of spiritual fervor or moral power, the nineteenth century will not suffer. Again, it appears to be not far from an average with that of the sixteenth, and superior to the thirteenth and to the fourth. Another point of comparison, where a just opinion is more difficult to reach, is that in regard to adaptation and influence. On this point it is exceedingly difficult for one age fairly to judge any other, for no doubt the preaching of the fourth century, of the thirteenth, and of the sixteenth was better adapted to each one of those epochs than that of the nineteenth (had it been possible to anticipate it) could have been; so that the fairest thing we can say on this point is that the preaching of the nineteenth century was certainly no less fitted to impress its own age than that of each of the preceding historic culminations. Thus, on a hasty, but it is hoped not unfair, comparison of the last great culmination of pulpit power with those of preceding times we should not go astray in assigning the supreme place to the nineteenth century.

When we compare the preaching of the nineteenth with that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which we have just been studying, the comparison is both easier and more difficult: easier because the contrast is closer; more difficult because the points are more numerous and complicated. Here we can only speak in general terms, leaving for minute consideration as we go along many of the particular points. On the whole, we shall find in the sermons of the nineteenth century less of dogmatism, less of coldness and formality than in the immediately preceding times. We shall find more of ease, flexibility, and adaptation, perhaps also we shall find more effect in reaching the mind and life of the people. So far we have spoken of the comparative excellence of the nineteenth century preaching. Leaving now the comparative method of judging it, we must notice a few of the salient features of the nineteenth century preaching as a whole.

One of the most remarkable of these features is variety. It may safely be said that never before in the history of the Christian pulpit was there so much variety as in the nineteenth century. The point is easily illustrated. Take, for instance, the differences of creed and sect. The Reformation, with its various groups and parties, introduced the modern era of almost infinite sectarian divisions. In the acceptance and the expression of Christianity, both among individuals and groups, naturally every creed and sect found their advocates in the pulpit; and with increasing freedom of utterance there was added variety in doctrine and traditions. This variety appears also in the matter of method and style. Individual preachers here and there felt more liberty to depart from traditional and academic methods of presenting the Word of God; and while something of formality and sameness always remains in the literature, whether homiletical or other, still great differences also appear. In Europe we must remember also the different languages; the vernacular tongues had now long been in use for pulpit work, and the literary development of these various languages was especially marked in the nineteenth century. The preaching of each country and tongue and dialect adds its interest and charm, together with the qualities of each particular language, to the appearance of the nineteenth century preaching as a whole.

The contents of preaching remained substantially the same—the great doctrines and morals of the Christian faith as presented in the Scriptures. But the interpretation of the Bible was much improved. Exegetical scholarship was never so accurate in the Christian pulpit as in the nineteenth century. There was a more general and manifest desire among the preachers to get and apply the exact meaning of the Word of God. As a consequence there was far less than in former times of allegorizing, or strained and fanciful use of texts. There also appeared, particularly as the century advanced, less readiness to adopt the traditional pulpit interpretation and application of texts. Individual preachers made more effort to find for themselves the meaning of Scripture for their immediate purposes. Yet along with this we have to remember that faults in the use of the Bible still persisted in many of the sermons. And far more to be regretted than this persistence of old faults was the loosening in many preachers of profound respect for the Bible as an authoritative revelation of the mind and will of God. If a greater and more sympathetic appreciation of the human and historic elements of Scripture appears, so also does there come in less positive and personal acceptance of it as the direct Word of God.

But it would not be true to say that the traditions of homiletical method were entirely banished from the pulpit of the nineteenth century. This is manifestly impossible, and as undesirable as impossible. Improvement there was,—leaving off of some incumbrances, the development of some excellencies; but no sudden cutting away from the principles and methods of the past. The great improvement of homiletical teaching, both academic and literary, is noticeable. And this teaching is not revolutionary, but evolutionary. Besides the generally accepted doctrinal content of preaching, the use of experience remains a most important element of the sermons of the century. Perhaps, on the whole—though it is not wise to dogmatize upon the point—there was increasing use of this sort of material. Making allowance for differences in individual preachers, the personal experiences of both speaker and hearers finds effective use in most nineteenth century sermons. There is also a large infusion of humanitarian, social, and ethical elements in the contents. This also varies with persons, times, and places, and grows toward the end of the period, but is prominent enough in the whole course of nineteenth century preaching to call for special remark.

The literary quality of nineteenth century preaching in Europe reaches and maintains a high level throughout the period. While there is no slavery to form and method, much attention is paid to the best canons of rhetorical art and taste. In all the European countries and the leading Churches and sects this is true. The ministry as a class presents a very high degree of scholarly and literary culture. One can not read widely and attentively in the sermonic literature of the period without being impressed with this fact. There is less of pedantry and display than in some former periods, but for thoughtful and studied yet popular and skillful expression, the European preaching of the nineteenth century will bear searching comparison with any other method of speaking or writing in that great period of literary activity and excellence. It may be true—though not demonstrable—that sermons, in comparison with other literature, were less read than in former times; but they were never more worthy to be read for their literary excellence alone than in this period. Among the preachers of modern Europe there are not a few masters of literary expression, some of whom have become famous and found extensive reading, while many equally worthy have not obtained wide popular recognition.

No less impressive is the practical aim of preaching in this great century. The two primary purposes of preaching—the didactic and the proclamatory—have not been lost sight of. The first has comparatively more prominence, especially in the printed sermons; but the evangelistic note is also heard.

The forces opposed to the Christian pulpit were much the same in the nineteenth as in the earlier centuries. Only some assumed different forms and received greater or less attention as occasion demanded. The same old sin and unbelief had to be attacked. Human nature changes not with the progress of events and the evolution of material and social forces. The selfishness, immorality, vice, and crime of humanity are much the same in all time. The rejection of the spiritual appeal of religion was as characteristic of Europe in the nineteenth century as of any region and people in any age. The prophet's function was as hard and thankless then as ever, his call and task no less weighty and imperative. Also the preachers of this as of earlier ages found themselves confronted with a constant and unresponsive class of nominal believers. The worldliness and indifference of professing Christians were ever in evidence and gave to the modern pulpit, as to the ancient, one of its chief difficulties and most frequent themes.

In addition to these perennial foes, we must not fail to notice two others, which, though not entirely absent in some form or other from all periods, came to a prominence, character, and strength in the nineteenth century different from what we have found in any preceding age. These were the rationalistic criticism of the Bible, and the scientific hostility to traditional Christanity. The former, indeed, came over from the eighteenth century—as we have seen,—but in the hands of several influential groups of German scholars assumed more formidable shapes and became more aggressive and confident in its attacks upon the traditions of Christianity than ever before. The pulpit had to take its solemn account with this tremendous force. Then, too, the wonderful development of physical science and the rise of the British school of scientific speculation about the middle of the nineteenth century made an epoch for preaching as for other departments of human thinking. Materialistic evolution as a theory of all causes and phenomena, not only attacked the foundations of the Christian faith, but threatened to become the substitute of all spiritual thinking, until, toward the end of the century, the inadequacy of so one-sided a view of life began to produce the inevitable reaction. This scientific opposition to historical and spiritual religion was a fearful opponent of preaching and at the same time a powerful stimulus to it. Both phases of this effect are traceable in the sermons of the period. The pulpit did not decline its serious task, but grappled it with both ability and courage of a high order.

The attitude of preaching toward both the scholarly and the scientific criticism of current Christianity in this era naturally varied much in character and quality according to conditions of time, place, and persons; but in a general way the preachers fall, with other thinkers, into the three well-known groups of advanced, mediating, and conservative. The advanced group contained those preachers who more or less fully accepted the theories of the hostile critics and scientists, and in their effort to interpret and adjust Christian doctrine into some harmony with the new theories departed very widely from the creeds and methods of former times. This school delighted to call themselves "liberal," and often were not sparing in arrogant criticism of their "traditionalist" brethren. The conservative group, at the other end, were equally convinced that most scientists and critics were out-and-out infidels intent on destroying the very foundations of the Christian faith and of true religious life. Between these an ill-defined group of mediating thinkers were found, inclining now to one or the other side, or trying to find the real elements of truth and right held by the opposed groups and combine them in some sort of just and enduring harmony. We shall see that all these schools had their representatives in the pulpit, with varying degrees of ability and influence, there being both large and little men in all groups. We shall be able to see this more distinctly when we come to closer range with the preaching of the various countries, epochs, groups, and individuals in our ensuing study.

II. The Pulpit of Spain and Portugal

It is not necessary to make more than passing reference to the political and social conditions in Spain and Portugal during the nineteenth century in order to introduce what little there is to say concerning the preaching on the Peninsula during that period. Spain was shorn of her American Colonies in the early years of the century, and of Cuba and the Philippine Islands during its closing days. Internal revolutions and trials marked her history. From the French occupation under Napoleon's rule down to the end of the century the struggle of dynasties, of parties, of people, and Church were sharp and ceaseless. Turmoil and decline, financial difficulties and popular distress were the rule. For Portugal also a similar state of affairs has been characteristic of modern times. The independence of Brazil and other losses occurred, along with internal disputes and struggles.

In literature there were distinguished names in both countries.[1] They felt the breath of the nineteenth century in this sphere perhaps more than any other. Of Spanish poets there were Zarate, Espronceda, Zorrilla, and others; of historians, Lafuente, Canovas del

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[1] See accounts in *Warner Lib.*, Vol. 31, p. 24 ff., and the references to other places. Also cyclopaedia articles.

Castillo, and others; of novelists, Balagua, Alarcon, Pereda, Galdos, and Valdes were in the lead; of statesmen and orators, the most distinguished was Emilio Castelar. In Portugal some of the more eminent names in literature in this period are those of Almeida-Garrett, Herculano, Ribeiro, Diniz, and Braga.

In religious affairs[2] the Catholic Church continued to be dominant and to use its power to the utmost. But its supremacy felt the check of some Protestant work in the Peninsula, chiefly by colporteurs and evangelists; and also that of political opposition to the clerical power, and some movements toward religious freedom and the separation of church and state.

In preaching no great names appear of men known and influential beyond their own countries. The improved literary taste of the century doubtless had its effect upon the style of sermons, and the lesson given by Isla in rebuke of the burlesque method was fruitful in banishing that wretched travesty from the Spanish pulpit. Portugal seems not to have furnished any preachers of distinction; and Spain only a few.[3]

Among the most renowned were Jose Macedo, Benedetto, Francolin, bishop of Charcas, Emmanuel Gonzales y Sanchez, canon of the Cathedral of Seville, and Ildefonso Infante, who published *Conferences* on the Church and its doctrines. Riesco le Grand published a series of Lenten discourses in 1851 which attracted notice. He was a Franciscan monk of Santiago. Atiliano Melnigzo, Cistercian and vicar-apostolic, published "mission" sermons; and from Juan Gonzales, of Valladolid, there appeared eight volumes of sermons embracing the widest range of subjects and enjoying a second edition. From this slight notice we perceive that the Catholic pulpit was not silent in Spain during the nineteenth century, but it can not be called distinguished.

As for Protestant preaching,[4] while there was some, it was depressed and discouraged. There was sometimes nominal toleration, but little real freedom in religion. The names of Ruet and Matamoras are given as those of faithful laborers who preached as they dared and could, through persecutions and trials. Strong Protestant congregations were gathered at Madrid, Seville, and other places, but they had a checkered history.

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[2] See Kurtz, *Church History*, Am. ed., Vol. III, p. 394 ff., and the art. on Spain in C. Werckshagen, *Der Protestantismus am Ende des XIXten Jahrhunderts*, 2 Bde., 4to., Berlin, 1902, Bd. II, S. 1090 ff.

[3] See Zanotto, *Storia della Pred.*, p. 542.

[4] See Kurtz and Werckshagen, as in note 2.

III. The Italian Pulpit

To understand properly the preaching of modern Italy, we must briefly recall the chief political, literary, and religious events in the remarkable history of that famous land during the nineteenth century.[5] The century opened for Italy under the shadow of French dominion. The supremacy of Napoleon and the various changes under his government lasted until 1815, when, by the Treaty of Vienna, the old political status was restored. Austria was supreme in the north, except for the growing rivalry and power of the kingdom of Sardinia. The States of the Church still controlled the central part of the peninsula, while in the south Naples and Sicily were restored to King Ferdinand under the title of the Two Sicilies. Among the people there was great discontent with this divided state. Patriots and statesmen, especially Mazzini, wrote much and encouraged the hope for better things. The Revolution of 1848 gave an opportunity to the patriots for a short time, and a Republic was erected in Rome and the pope put to flight; but the Revolution did not accomplish all that was desired, yet from 1850 on there was growth toward unity under the advance of the House of Savoy. Victor Emmanuel II, the wise king; Count Cavour, the patient and sagacious statesman, and Garibaldi, the agitator, patriot, and general, were leading Italy to her unity and strength. The French alliance, in 1859, resulted in the victories of Solferino and Magenta which broke the Austrian rule and established the kingdom of Italy with its capital at Florence, in 1861. Garibaldi captured Sicily, overthrew the Bourbons, and thus the south of Italy was united to the kingdom under the victorious House of Savoy. In 1866 the Prussian victory over Austria was improved by the Italians to drive the Austrians from Venice and attach that region to the new kingdom. Only one step remained to the accomplishment of Italian unity. That was the annexation of the States of the Church and the establishment of the capital at Rome. This was accomplished in September, 1870, when the French troops supporting the pope were withdrawn to defend France from her German invaders. So at last Victor Emmanuel entered Rome and established his throne over a united Italy. Since that great event Italy has made great progress, though amid many trials of various kinds. The kingdom, however, is well established upon constitutional principles, and the three kings who have reigned since 1870 have been men of courage, wisdom, and popularity.

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[5] *Historians' History*, Vol. IX, p. 566 ff., and the authorities there quoted. Also a good brief sketch in McKenzie's *Nineteenth Century*, and for the time since 1850 in *The Reconstruction of Europe*, by Harold Murdock, New York, 1889.

The literary history of nineteenth century Italy presents great strength and growth in all departments.[6] There were great writers during this growing period of Italy's political power. Of historical writers eminent names are those of Botta (d. 1837) and Cantu (d. 1895) and F. De Sanctis (d. 1883). With these should be reckoned Silvio Pellico, whose account of his imprisonment became famous, and Joseph Mazzini, the great political writer (d. 1872), and P. Villari, writer of lives of Savonarola and Machiavelli. Of poets there was the passionate patriot Aleardi (d. 1878), and Carducci, who was greatly beloved among his people. Of novelists and story writers the eminent name of Manzoni first occurs to mind, though he was also a poet of distinction. Later came Verga, Farina, and Edmond De Amicis, whose beautiful stories are written in the choicest modern Italian. The latest writers of this group are the well-known D'Annunzio and Foggazzaro. In the hands of these masters the traditions of Italian literature have been ably sustained, and the literary distinction of Italy in this period is as brilliant as her triumph in the political sphere.

[6] See *Warner Lib.*, Vol. 31, p. 18 ff., with the references to other volumes of the *Library* for accounts and specimens. Also other recognized authorities on Italian literature.

Religious movements[7] in Italy during the nineteenth century were closely interwoven with its political history. The gradual unification of the kingdom under the House of Savoy, a constitutional monarchy, carried with it an ever greater degree of religious toleration, to the final establishment of freedom of worship throughout Italy. Against the progress of Italian political unity and the liberal policy toward other forms of Christianity the popes continually protested. In 1814 Pius VII restored the order of Jesuits, and they came back to power determined on the further strengthening of the papacy. Pius IX became pope in 1846. At first he showed liberal tendencies, but the Revolution of 1848 caused him to react and he became one of the most thoroughly reactionary of the popes. In 1854, without a council, he proclaimed the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, thus placing her almost on a level with her Divine Son. Ten years later, in 1864, he published his famous Encyclical and Syllabus. In these documents he advocated very high Catholic principles and condemned Protestantism and modern progress in no uncertain terms. In 1870 the decree of Papal Infallibility was passed by the Vatican Council, but soon afterwards the triumph of Victor Emmanuel took away the temporal power of the pope. The later popes have maintained the policy of their able and distinguished predecessor. Roman Catholicism has been uncompromising, and still fights Protestantism and progress as much as possible.

Parallel with the maintenance of the highest Catholic pretensions have gone the Protestant movements for evangelizing Italy. Early in the century the emigrant Protestants formed congregations in some of the Italian cities, and chapels for the use of the embassies of the various Protestant powers were permitted. The liberal constitution promulgated by the House of Savoy in 1848 was strictly adhered to, and with the growth of the kingdom religious freedom went hand in hand. The Waldensians of Piedmont pushed into Italy. Under these varied influences a Free Church of Italy was formed, but through internal divisions it was somewhat weakened, though many strides have been made towards the establishment of a native Protestantism in Italy. German, English, and American Protestants have established missions in Italy, and through the co-operation of all these forces considerable advances have been made in the direction of strengthening the Protestant cause. Necessarily, the various movements and events thus briefly recalled were intimately and influentially connected with the history of preaching.

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[7] See Kurtz, *op. cit.*, p. 389 ff.; Newman, *Church History*, II, p. 444 ff.; G. B. Taylor, *Italy and the Italians, passim*, and especially p. 377 ff.; Werckshagen, *op. cit.*, art. on Italy (Bd. II, S. 1062 ff.) by Prof. E. Comba.

Taking up, now, the study of the preaching and preachers of Italy during the nineteenth century, we naturally begin with those of the Catholic Church.[8] Here we find two phases or characteristics which are distinguished in time as well as method. From the French Revolution and the disturbance in Italy during that period to about the middle of the nineteenth century, when the modern revolutionary movements occurred, we find a style of preaching different from that which characterizes the latter half of the century. Of course there was no sharp line of cleavage, but there is a notable change of general tone and manner which will be more clearly indicated as we proceed.

Regarding the first of these periods as a basis, we shall say that, after the turmoil in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the greater quiet which came following the overthrow of Napoleon, in 1815, the Catholic preaching of Italy assumed a more scholarly and academic style. The Revolution had helpfully affected preaching by drawing away the preachers from the commonplace topics and methods of the past. The pulpit had to grapple with a great crisis in human thought and with a time filled with new political and social theories. But following that came a lull which gave time for more studious reflection, and we have a period of expository and hortatory preaching giving more attention to instruction in doctrine and morals and to spiritual edification; but the style of preaching became more studied and more academic again, and there was a tinge of classic romanticism which tended too much to ornament and display. So there is in many preachers of this earlier period some recurrence to the bombastic and flowing style which had too often in the past marred the oratory of the pulpit.

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[8] Zanotto, *Storia della Pred.*, p. 423 ff. (capp. XI, XII); Micocci, *Antologia della Sacra Eloquenza Moderna*, p. 30 ff.

In the latter part of this century, however, there is quite a change again. The stirring events since 1848, and especially of 1870, had a profound influence upon the Catholic pulpit. Two phases of this influence are especially to be noted; one good, the other mixed. The good influence was in the direction of making the preaching more simple and popular. The Catholic pulpit had to meet what it esteemed the gravest errors in doctrine and the most dangerous forces against its own supremacy. It found, also, that the aristocracy was becoming less and less amenable to religious influences, and accordingly there must be increasing appeal to the common people. These two things called for and occasioned a more direct, vigorous, and popular mode of address, and this was certainly an improvement. On the other hand, the demands of the hour induced too much of the polemical and argumentative method in the pulpit. Zanotto complains that there was too much dependence upon mere human reason and philosophic arguments. In part, he traces here the influence of Lacordaire and other French preachers of the apologetic school. There arose a tendency to make sermons mere defenses of the traditional faith or sharp and often indiscriminate attacks against all modern ideas. This led in a measure also to the neglect of moral and spiritual teaching.

So far as doctrine was concerned there was no great change. The Roman system as developed through the ages remained the substance of Catholic preaching, though, as we have seen, there was constant effort to bring it to bear on modern opposition and attack. In the effort to popularize religious teaching and meet errors among the people, missions, or evangelistic meetings, became much in vogue. These were subject to some abuses, and rules for their regulation were devised. Following the French models, there also arose a style of preaching called "conferences." These were free talks on popular themes rather than carefully studied sermons based on Scripture or doctrine. These also became subject to abuse and were regulated by authoritative rule. In both the early and latter periods thus indicated there were strong preachers who exemplified in their work the various phases of preaching which have been sketched. To some of the more important of these men we must now give attention.

Among a large number of preachers in the early years of the century, named and criticised by the authorities followed here, only a few need be mentioned. Pier Luigi Grossi (d. 1812), a Carmelite friar, had some reputation for eloquence, a clear intelligence, and a vivid imagination; but he employed a somewhat pompous style. Pacifico Deani (d. 1824), a Minorite, also attained fame as a preacher of both learning and popular gifts, who left after him a large number of published discourses on the usual themes. A more pronounced follower of the exaggerated and pompous manner of the day was Nani di Loiano (d. 1828), who attracted many enthusiastic hearers and whose sermons were often reprinted. Antonio Cesare (d. 1828), Francesco Villardi (d. 1833), and Francesco Finetti (d. 1842) ranked among the preachers of the first class in their times; but the most noted of this earlier group was Giuseppe Barbieri (1771-1852).[9] Born at Bassano, in the Venetian territory, and carefully educated, he early manifested great aptitude for study and eloquence. He was professor of sacred rhetoric at Padua, but after some years of service, entered the active ministry and became a much admired preacher. Although his style too much followed the strained and over-polished manner, and he sometimes fell into a pompous and wordy vein of speech, he had a strong native intellect and an ample culture that made him worthy of respect in spite of his faults. He was himself not unaware of the exaggerations of the time, and commented upon them in a treatise on the state of contemporary eloquence. He published many sermons. An extract, quoted by Zanotto from Barbieri's eulogy on St. Vincent de Paul, shows considerable brilliancy of conception, a fine flow of language, but

[9] Zanotto, p. 464 ff.; Lentz, *Gesch. der Hom.*, Bd. II, p. 359.

the usual exaggerations of expression and straining after effect. Lentz says that Barbieri avoided the worst defects of his age (it must have been bad, indeed, if he was moderate!) and exhibited a "true fullness of oratorical splendor and a harmonious rhythm."

Of the preachers who illustrated the second half of the century, one of the most famous was Gioacchino Ventura (1792-1861).[10] He was a native of Sicily, and in his young manhood joined the order of Theatines, of whom his lofty intellect and his earnest piety caused him to be made general. He spent some time in Rome, where he preached often, especially at the Church of St. Andrew and at St. Peter's. He preached the funeral of Pope Pius VII, and delivered a striking eulogy on the famous Irish orator and patriot, Daniel O'Connell. At first he sympathized with the movements for independence and freedom in 1848, but, grieving for their failure, he left Italy and sojourned in France, first at Montpellier, and then at Paris. Notwithstanding his foreign accent he created a profound impression in Paris by his eloquent sermons, many of them delivered at Notre Dame. After awhile he became reconciled to the pope, and returned to Italy, where he continued preaching to his death. Judging from pretty liberal extracts quoted from Ventura's sermons by Micocci, we should not fail to class him among the better preachers of his time and church. His style is popular, clear, and full of vigor. The two Italian critics are quite right in praising him for introducing a vastly improved method of preaching. He had genuine oratorical gifts, both of imagination and feeling. His doctrine is intensely Catholic, and his attacks upon Protestantism and philosophy are narrow and often unfair. Micocci over-praises him in calling him the "prince of modern sacred eloquence" and a "universal genius," but he made a great impression upon his hearers, both in Italy and France.

Next to him comes Vincenzo Stocchi (1820-1881),[11] a Jesuit, born of an honorable family in Senalunga. He pursued his literary education at the Seminary of Pienza, and through life continued an earnest student.

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[10] Zanotto, p. 491 ff.; Micocci, p. 33 ff.; *Encycl. Italiana*, s. v.

[11] Zanotto, p. 501 ff.; Micocci, *passim.*

He joined the Jesuits in 1840, and in 1853 became professor of eloquence in one of their colleges. He sometimes conducted missions, and preached with great success at Venice, at Florence, at Rome (where he remained twelve years), and lastly at Bologna for the last ten years of his life. The matter of Stocchi's preaching is thoroughly Catholic, and his opposition to modern ideas is pronounced. He had a smooth and flowing style, carefully wrought out, but not overwrought. The extracts given by the critics impress us with his earnestness and with his logical power. A few sentences from a sermon on *The Cross* will give some idea of his manner. Speaking of the Saviour, he says: "Being made flesh, this Word of the Father, as He had in His incarnation no other end than that He should save us, so all His works in the flesh are works of a Saviour. While He tarried in the maternal bosom He was a Saviour. If He was born in Bethlehem and cries a Babe in the cradle, He is still the Saviour. He is Saviour in fleeing to Egypt, and in returning thence. If in youth He labors in the carpenter's shop; if poor and on foot He passes from place to place, sowing the seed of His doctrine; if He eats, if He drinks, if He prays, if He works, if He suffers, if He sleeps, He is still the Saviour. Every breath of His bosom, every beat of His heart, every drop of His sweat, every tear of His eye, are the sighs, throbs, tears, and sweat of the Saviour. This is the one and only name which belongs to this prodigy of two substances—omnipotent and weak, infinite and a babe, wounded and incapable of suffering, eternal and temporal, mortal and immortal, glorious and abased—in one word, God and man." In general, Stocchi's work, while clear and popular, is sometimes too rhetorical, though earnest in tone and feeling.

Another worthy preacher of this period was Giulio Arrigoni (1806-1875),[12] born at Bergamo. He preached much in Lombardy, Piedmont, and Tuscany, and received great applause as a preacher of unusual gifts. For a while he taught theology in the University of Pisa, and tried to popularize his subject. He was a great admirer of Segneri, whose preaching profoundly

[12] Zanotto, p. 501; Micocci, p. 80.

influenced his own. He died archbishop of Lucca, and left a good repute behind him. In a striking sermon on *The Love of Pleasure,* the following sentences occur: "Human life in this condition is usually accompanied by an empty heart ill adapted to raise itself to anything noble and dignified, because where the senses are all the time active and alert, the soul is deadened and, in fact, apart from every virtuous exercise. . . . This eternal need of dissipation and diversion is nothing else than a prolongation of infancy and an impoverishment of the spirit. . . . What greater degradation than this continual busying one's self to do nothing, passing only from gay company to the shows of the stage, from noisy banquets to the sad quarrels of gambling. Alas! I here touch a bleeding sore among us, and one which covers us with shame. Yes, of gambling, that passion of unfeeling souls which makes of rational man the sport of chance; which is an insensate amalgam of prodigality and avarice." In this whole sermon there is power of language as well as soundness of thought, and when the preacher comes to balance the real pleasures of a pious life over against those of sin, he shows both poise and penetration. There is another sermon, on *The Christian Mother,* which is admirable, not overdrawn with sentimentality and effort to say pretty things, but expressing what good men feel in pleasing and acceptable speech.

The last of this group whom it is worth while to notice is Carlo M. Curci (1809-1891).[13] He was born at Naples, the son of a noted lawyer. In early youth he became a Jesuit and was an earnest member of that order, but in later life he accepted and defended liberal views, opposing the temporal power of the pope, and believing in a united Italy. He also held some evangelical views. He insisted that the church should devote itself to spiritual work and leave politics alone. These sentiments brought on him the criticism of the extreme Catholics, but Curci was a man of real vigor. His thought is not very profound, but is strong and well reasoned. The style is somewhat heavier and less popular than that of the other preachers mentioned. In a sermon on *The Problem of Death,* he takes hold

[13] Zanotto, p. 503 ff.; Micocci, *passim.*

of the materialism of the day quite strongly from the Catholic standpoint and has some solid things on death and immortality.

On the whole, the specimens read of Italian Catholic preaching in the nineteenth century leave these impressions: It is not very profound, though thoughtful; too bitter at times in its polemic against Protestantism and modern thought; thoroughly convinced of Catholicism as to doctrine; earnest and persuasive in spirit; for the most part simple and pleasing in style, often eloquent, but some times inclined to rhetorical exaggeration.

Protestant preaching in Italy during the nineteenth century presents an interesting story.[14] In the earlier part of the period the Waldensians were active in Piedmont, and to some extent pushed their labors into other parts of the country. But there was much opposition and persecution, and it was not till the middle of the century and afterwards that the Protestant Italian pulpit amounted to much. Since the establishment of the kingdom in all Italy with freedom of worship guaranteed by the government, there has been a great development of evangelical preaching. Three groups of preachers distinguish the modern times. First, there are the foreigners—German, English, and American, who came to establish missions and churches. Many of these learned the language well, and preached to the edification of their congregations. A second group is made up of the evangelists and pastors attached to these missions. Some of these have done excellent work as preachers, scholars, and pastors; a few have been reckoned eloquent and influential. But the third group—which is the first in time and significance—is that of the native preachers, who have presented the evangelical opposition to the Church of Rome. Not a few of these have attained distinction as leaders and preachers. Three remarkable men claim special mention.

The Waldensian Church had a noble representative in Giovanni Pietro Meille (1817-1887),[15] long pastor in Turin, and a preacher of excellent gifts and usefulness. He came of an old Piedmontese family in the parish of Bobbio, where his father cultivated a little farm and also taught school. Later the family moved to another parish, to a more important school. Here the future pastor was trained in the rudiments of learning, and later went to Lausanne, where he spent about ten years in studies. Young Meille enjoyed the esteem of Professors Monnard and Vinet, the latter of whom is said to have remarked that the young man was "born for the pulpit." After his graduation, Meille taught in the Waldensian college for a time, but also preached as opportunity came. During 1848-9, Meille and several other young men spent some time at Florence perfecting themselves in the Italian language (French being their native tongue), and doing some evangelistic work. The Sardinian government had favored the little Waldensian church at Turin, and religious liberty was making some progress. The Waldensian Board determined, in 1850, to strengthen that work, and their choice naturally fell upon Meille as well fitted to take the pastorate. Here, accordingly, he came in that year, and found the work of his life.

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[14] See Taylor, and Comba, as mentioned in note 7.

[15] See *Sermoni di G. P. Meille* (with a brief account of his life), ed. by "A. M."—probably a member of his family, Florence, 1890; Taylor, *passim.*

After several years of hard foundation work, a large and suitable house of worship was built and dedicated, the pastor preaching on the occasion a noble sermon, setting forth the history and labors of the Waldensians. The church grew and prospered, attracting many of evangelical opinions. Among these were the evangelical preachers, Mazzarella and De Sanctis, who labored with Meille for awhile. But the variant Protestant elements—not all Waldensians—fell into some dispute, and De Sanctis led out a disaffected body, who were not satisfied with the older and slower methods of the Waldensians. This split hurt the cause for a period, but Meille labored to build it up again, and with success. He retired from the pastorate a few years before his death, after having done a valuable and enduring work. As a preacher Meille had decided gifts—a good delivery, a clear and pleasing style, and unction. He labored on his sermons, and they are full of thought and Scripture, with a deeply earnest spirit and thoroughly evangelical views.

The following is a description of a morning service held on one occasion at the Waldensian Church at Turin:[16] "It was not now the mellifluous and rather Frenchified word of Signor Meille. . . . It was instead a robust voice, a speech purely Roman, which thundered against the innovations of the papacy and enchained the attention and the sympathy of the congregation. It was a noble and sympathetic figure, that of the preacher. Tall and imposing in person, the spacious forehead was plowed in the midst with a deep furrow. His look was at the same time sweet and severe, truly fascinating. His gestures were few and dignified. Although he was but a little over forty, yet his hair, which he wore long, and the beard framing his manly face were already sprinkled with gray. It was Luigi De Sanctis." This eloquent and able leader of Italian Protestantism was born at Rome in 1808, and died shortly after 1885. In his youth he became a Carmelite monk and devoted himself earnestly to the service of the Catholic Church, but both the doctrine and life of the Church gradually drove him away. "Intellect and heart were at one in his decision to separate himself from the Church of Rome" (Taylor). This he did in 1849, fleeing to Malta, and writing letters explaining and justifying his course. Here he married an English lady, who became a great help in his subsequent work. De Sanctis was invited to reside at Geneva, which he did for three years, then going to Turin as associate with Meille, as already related. Here the unhappy division occurred in the Waldensian Church, with its dissonant elements. This led De Sanctis and Mazzarella to found the "Free Italian Church." The movement spread with the progress of affairs, but unwise views later crippled these Churches, and before his lamented death De Sanctis returned to the Waldensians, and served for several years as professor in their school at Florence. De Sanctis was a clear thinker, a strong and impressive speaker, and a man of deeply earnest life. His preaching and writings were of the first importance in the early developments of the native Protestantism of Italy.

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[16] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 386 ff.; and compare notice in Comba's article in Werckshagen, *op. cit.*

Another of this noble group of patriots and preachers was one whom Dr. Taylor[17] describes as "the most splendid figure in Italian evangelization"—Alessandro Gavazzi (1809-1891). Born at Bologna, he was carefully educated and early became a priest of the Barnabite order. For a time professor of rhetoric at Naples, he soon entered the active ministry, and preached with applause in many places. But his liberal drift became soon apparent to himself and others, and he was regarded with suspicion. In the troubles of 1847-9 he took the patriotic side, and delivered at Rome a great eulogistic address on the soldiers who had fallen in the struggle. He opposed the French occupation and the restoration of the pope, and acted as chaplain in Garibaldi's army. By some means he was more fortunate than his friend, Ugo Bassi. who was captured and shot, and escaped into England, where he supported himself for awhile teaching Latin and Italian. But his personality and his splendid gifts as orator could not be hid. He addressed immense and enthusiastic audiences in England and America, but was almost mobbed by the French-Canadians on one occasion. In 1858 he was truly converted and became a Protestant under the helping guidance of Luigi de Sanctis. They were fast friends and co-laborers henceforth. He was connected with the Free Italian Church after the unification of Italy, and labored earnestly for the evangelization of his native land. He was much beloved and honored by all evangelical denominations and worked with all as he could. Some of his sermons were translated into French, but he did not leave a large literary fruitage of his varied powers and learning. He was chiefly a man of action and a soulful orator, who mightily moved his hearers and set in motion strong influences for the work he had so much at heart.

Of later preachers mention should be made of Ravi, who founded the first evangelical church in Sicily, and later devoted himself much to missions among the Jews; and of Rostagno, for some time the eloquent and attractive pastor of the Waldensian Church at Rome, where he preached to large and attentive crowds.

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[17] *Id.*, p. 430 ff.; also Comba, as in note 16.

CHAPTER XII

THE GERMAN PULPIT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The history of the German people during the nineteenth century is full of thrilling interest.[1] In the early years of the period Germany lay prostrate and humiliated under Napoleon. The famous victories of Austerlitz and Jena brought both Austria and Prussia under his iron hand. In 1806 the phantom of German empire was dismissed from history. But it was impossible for even such a military genius as Bonaparte to maintain a condition of affairs so abhorrent to natural justice and so galling to a brave, aspiring people as was the French ascendency over Germany. The German folk rose in their strength from disaster and defeat and finally drove the conqueror out in 1813. But the rulers rather than the people arranged the state of things at the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, and the dream of German unity was not yet near to reality. The various political units which divided the German folk could not yet find a sound and enduring basis of union. The two leading powers were Prussia and Austria, with the balance of weight with Austria, though her rival was pushing and constantly increasing in strength. There was a disappointed element of the people to whom the arbirtrary power of Hapsburg or Hohenzollern was not the ideal of German political destiny. The longing for freedom and unity could not be suppressed, however much it might be silenced and discouraged. During the revolutionary movements of 1848 Germany was in turmoil, and it seemed as if a large measure of popular liberty would be obtained, but the thrones were as yet too strongly entrenched to be upset. The monarchical principle conquered, though some reluctant concessions in the way of constitutional government were won in most of the German States. Prussia and Austria, in 1864, forced Denmark to surrender her claims to the Schleswig-Holstein lands, and then fell out over the division of the spoil. Prussia won in the memorable six weeks' war of 1866, and thus established her supremacy as leader among the German powers. The terrible but short war with France in 1870-71 put the finishing touch to Prussia's acknowledged hegemony, and her king was acclaimed emperor of a new federal German empire, Austria alone of the more important States being left out.

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[1] Bayard Taylor's *History of Germany; Historians' History*, Vol. XV; and other authorities.

These great military and political events were matched by progress in the arts of peace. In no age has Germany developed her natural resources and grown in wealth and strength as in this era. Her commerce and manufactures, her inventions, her growth in population, her leadership among the forces of civilization have all been pronounced and acknowledged. The development of patriotism, of national feeling, has been very strong, along with great political differences amongst the parties and powers which have divided her national life. In all departments German thinkers have had a great influence in the world. Whether in politics, music, art, business, philosophy, science, criticism, or literature, the power and suggestiveness of German thinking have been frankly recognized by the world. The lack of clearness, the passion for individual freedom of utterance, the constant conflict of theorists, with the rise and fall of schools and opinions, have been marked phenomena of the German mind in modern times.

German literature[2] in the nineteenth century did not maintain, much less surpass, the strength and glory of its classic period, which matured toward the end of the eighteenth, and lingered with Richter and Goethe into the first decades of the nineteenth century. Lyric poetry, however, distinguished itself in the beautiful work of Uhland and Heine. The modern German drama had only a few names of importance during the nineteenth century, such as Grillparzer, Hebbel, Ludwig, and latterly Sudermann. Musical drama, however, had in Richard Wagner its most illustrious representative. Fiction, as in other countries, had in Germany during the nineteenth century a great development. The brothers Grimm in the earlier part of the period gave great vogue to German popular tales. Short stories also flourished from Kleist, in the earlier years, to Paul Heyse, Storm, and Keller, toward the middle and end of the century. Longer novels were written by Auerbach, Ebers, Freytag, Spielhagen, Rosegger, Sudermann, and others. It is, however, in the literature of philosophy and criticism that the Germans have excelled. Here belong the philosophers Hegel, Schelling, Schopenhauer, and later Hartmann, Wundt, and Nietzsche, together with the critics, the Grimms, the Schlegels, Scherer, Fischer, and others. Nor should their great historians, such as Niebuhr, Ranke, Treitschke, Mommsen, and others, be omitted. In brief, we may say that German literature in the nineteenth century was strong, varied, often profound, touched with romance, but steeped in philosophy.

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[2] Priest's *Short History of German Literature;* Wilkinson's *German Classics for English Readers;* sketches and specimens in *Warner Library, passim.*

Religious affairs during this period are also of great and varied interest.[3] King Frederick William III of Prussia endeavored, in 1817, to effect a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. The new body was called the Evangelical Union. The effort was in large measure successful, but not wholly so. The stricter Lutherans refused to come into the body, partly because of their long-standing dispute with the Calvinists, and partly because the ritual was more elaborate than they desired. The union movement, however, secured a large following, both in Prussia and some of the other German States, though the old Lutherans still remained a very considerable party.

Among the Catholics in the early part of the century there arose an evangelical movement led by Gossner, Boos, and others. It was largely a reaction against extreme Catholicism, but was opposed and cast out. The movement fell into fanaticism and was not permanent, though not without some good fruits. The restoration of the Jesuits in 1814 strengthened the papal party in Germany, as elsewhere. The Jesuit and generally High Church type of thought, known as Ultramontanism, had its strong adherents in Germany, but was not without opponents. In 1870 the dogma of Papal Infallibility, passed by the Vatican Council, was strenuously opposed by some of the leading German Catholics, as Hefele, Döllinger, and other distinguished scholars. Some of these yielded and accepted the doctrine, but others formed an Old Catholic party, which commanded some influence for a short time, but has not proved a permanency. The Ultramontane efforts were vigorously opposed also by Bismarck and other political leaders in Germany. They dreaded the influence of the Jesuits, against whom the Imperial Diet passed strong repressive laws, known as the Falk Laws. Latterly, however, the political exigencies of the empire have led to a more cordial relation with the Catholics. In recent times, especially in Austria, an Anti-Catholic movement has originated under the cry, "Away from Rome." Thus within the Catholic body there were some stirring movements in Germany during the century.

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[3] Kurtz's *Church History* (Am. ed.), Vol. III, appropriate sections; Newman's *Manual of Church History*, Vol. II, *passim*.

Among the sects there was some advance, with the larger measure of toleration which the country has enjoyed since 1848. Minor parties and groups had more freedom. Among these the Baptists gained strength and did some worthy work in various parts of Germany.

German theology and criticism have had great influence upon the modern pulpit, both in the Fatherland and throughout the world. We can here only briefly outline the principal elements of modern German religious thinking. The overthrow of Napoleon and the freeing of Germany from the French yoke were regarded by the people as a direct interposition of Providence. Amid the general rejoicings gratitude to God was not forgotten, and this attitude caused a considerable reaction from the cold Rationalism of the eighteenth century. There was a wave of genuine evangelical feeling throughout Germany. Along with this the influence of the great theologian and preacher Schleiermacher must be reckoned. Recoiling from the bald Rationalism which had desolated German religion in the preceding epoch, he insisted upon a return to religious feeling, making the center of his thought to be faith in God, or, as he called it, the feeling of dependence upon God. Schleiermacher did great service in recalling the heart of Germany to a deeper religious experience, but on the intellectual and critical side he was too sympathetic with Rationalism. The older form of Rationalism was indeed dead, but under the lead of Strauss and Baur a new rationalistic criticism of the

New Testament arose about 1835, and this went on in various forms but increasing power throughout the century. Through the influence of Wellhausen and his school, this criticism was largely directed to the Old Testament, and, under the name of Higher Criticism, or destructive criticism, has been a potent force in Biblical studies and theological thought for a generation. Along with this newer criticism came a sort of continuation of Schleiermacher's influence in the theology of Ritschl and his school. Religious experience was magnified and the accepted forms of religious expression retained, but large deference was paid to the advanced type, both of critical and philosophic thought. Together with these forces must be reckoned the rise and power of scientific Materialism. The theories of the English school were accepted and pushed to a great extreme in Germany, especially under the teachings of Haeckel. More recently the radical philosophy of Nietzsche has been hostile to true religious sentiment, as well as to traditional Christianity. Still another influence in Germany must be dealt with as affecting the religious life in all its bearings, that is, Socialism. The teachings of Marx and other socialistic thinkers have involved large elements of materalism, and thus far have been hostile to religion. This attitude has been emphasized because the government has been identified with the State Church, and so the political has blended with the religious situation.

On the other hand, along with all these hostile forces and problems there has been a steady evangelical and earnest maintenance of the true Christian faith. Many of the preachers have held firmly to the traditional Christian doctrines, and among the people a true spiritual life on the basis of the New Testament Christianity has maintained itself. Toward the end of the century there were not wanting signs of a strong and wholesome reaction in favor of a real Biblical and spiritual thought and life.

I. General View of Preaching

All the conditions and forces which have been described powerfully influenced German preaching during the nineteenth century. The national feeling had its effect upon preaching in giving a heightened tone of strength and independence to the German pulpit. Both the classic and the romantic influence in literature strongly reacted upon pulpit work, more especially as to form and style, but somewhat as to thought. It is easy to see how the philosophic and religious movements affected the preaching, and this will be more apparent as we proceed. It is necessary to discuss separately the Catholic and Protestant preaching.

Though the distinctive preaching of Germany since the Reformation has been Protestant, there has also been strong and worthy pulpit work among the Catholics.[4] This was true, not only in Southern Germany and Austria, where the older Church has remained strongest, but in other parts of the land as well. Upon the whole, and as was to be expected, the Catholic pulpit was not as much influenced by the progress of modern thought and activity as was the Protestant. There were, however, progressive elements in the Catholic Church, both in the evangelical direction and in the line of independence of thought and criticism. These tendencies were not without fruits, for they were ably represented; but the strenuously traditional and orthodox element in the Catholic Church proved to be the strongest. The restoration of the Jesuits in 1814 was a reactionary measure and gave strong help to the Ultramontane party. During the first two decades of the century there is not much to note in the Catholic preaching. It was the terrible time of Napoleon's supremacy, at the end of which Germany was still divided. It is true that the evangelical impulse given by Sailer continued over into this earlier period, yet parallel with this the chilling influence of the Illumination with its Rationalism was still felt. But about 1820 the spiritual reaction which followed the overthrow of Napoleon influenced Catholics as well as Protestants to return more warmly and devoutly to the old faith. Kehrein thinks that it was easier for the Catholics than for the Protestants to return to a more spiritual preaching because they did not have so far to come and were greatly helped by the restoration of the Jesuits, among whom were a number of strong preachers. The progress in knowledge and literary art, together with the intensifying of patriotic feeling, had a salutary influence on eloquence in general, and naturally upon that of the pulpit. It is true that some of the sermons were of the order of cold discussions and orations decked with rhetorical brilliancy and ornament. Some preachers paid too much attention to secular events with a polemical purpose and effect. Along with the more spiritual and orthodox preachers there also remained some of a more worldly and partisan kind. Kehrein describes "a cold indifferentism in which many preachers seem to be ashamed both of themselves and of their Church, and sought to hide their identity so as to move on a smooth generality; and to this was opposed not seldom a somewhat bitterer zealotism which could not omit in any sermon casting a polemical side-glance on the Non-Catholics." We shall see later how some of these tendencies were represented in individual Catholic preachers.

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[4] Kehrein, *Geschichte der katholischen Kanzelberedsamkeit unter der Deutschen*, 2 Bde., Regensburg, 1843; l'Abbé Renoux, *Les Prédicateurs célèbres de l'Allemagne*, Tours, 1885; Zanotto, *Storia della Predicazione;* of Protestant writers, artt. in *RE*, especially Christlieb-Schian, with some others previously noted.

On the Protestant side of preaching a vigorous and abundant life showed itself amid great variety of parties and schools of thought.[5] The old Rationalism which had flourished in the latter part of the eighteenth century and lingered over into the nineteenth was no more a strong impulse in preaching, but its sway had been very widespread. So much so that Rothe remarks,[6] "About the year 1800 we find in evangelical Germany all other schools of preaching as good as died out, only that of the Illuminism, the so-called philosophico-moral is left." This statement is too sweeping, for Reinhard and Müslin, both representative men, were opposed to this extreme, and they were certainly evangelical, as Rothe himself elsewhere shows. But there is a large measure of truth in the statement. Hence, the first thing we have to note in the German Protestant pulpit of the nineteenth century is the decided reaction against the older forms of Rationalism. This reaction may be characterized as twofold, proceeding in part from the side of feeling as represented in Schleiermacher and his school, and in part from a more decided evangelical recurrence to Biblical and evangelical orthodoxy. We may mention as a third force that worked somewhat with this, the founding of the University of Berlin, in 1810, an event which, coming at the time it did, represented both the patriotic and religious movement of German life. Against the coldness and deadness of the old rationalistic method all these forces operated, and not in vain, to bring in a warmer, more genuine, more highly Christian life and power in the pulpit of Germany. Schleiermacher's *Discourses on Religion* appeared in 1799, and they produced a profound impression throughout Germany. Men began to see that too much stress had been laid on the purely intellectual and logical in religion, and too little scope had been permitted to faith and feeling. Henceforth a new breath is felt in the German pulpit. There were many who took up the new movement with earnestness and with power. Deeply spiritual men like Klaus Harms in the north and Ludwig Hofacker in the south appealed not in vain to the deeper piety of the German people. With this good start the evangelical trend of German preaching came to great power along about the middle of the century in such men as Nitzsch, Tholuck, Krummacher, Koegel, and others. This side of preaching was represented chiefly, though not wholly, by active preachers, men who were in contact with human life. Its representative preachers were strong and popular. Christlieb, writing about the year 1886,[7] says that during the preceding forty years there had been more unity in witnessing for Biblical evangelical truth than had prevailed in a hundred years, and "the great majority of German preachers is to-day positively evangelical."

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[5] Works of Rothe, Christlieb-Schian, Sack, Nebe, Brömel, Hering, Werckshagen, Ker, previously mentioned; Fish, both the *Masterpieces of Pulpit Eloquence,* and the *Pulpit Eloquence of the XIXth Century;* Stiebritz, *Zur Geschichte der Predigt in der evangelischen Kirche,* Gotha, 1875; L. O. Brastow, *The Modern Pulpit,* New York, 1906; and *Representative Modern Preachers,* 1904.

[6] *Op. cit.,* S. 452.

On the other hand, we must take account of the persistence of Rationalism. A few preachers like Rohr and Wegscheider still leaned to the old philosophic school of Rationalists, and they had some influence, both through their writings and in the pulpit. This group receives little respect at the hands of German historians of preaching, who called them "stragglers;" but, as remarked above, the rise of New Testament criticism under Strauss and Baur, about 1835, and the powerful reinforcement which came from the materialistic philosophy after the middle of the century, brought in a new and strong type of Rationalism into German thought, and this laid its damaging hand upon the pulpit. Preachers of this type, however, were found chiefly among the university professors, or those who were rather academic than popular. Of course there was all along a group of those who may be called mediating preachers, who made concessions to the new Rationalism without going all the way with it. In the latter part of the century the Ritschlian school of theology produced its characteristic effect. Men talked of repentance, faith, atonement, inspiration, in the old terms, but with a meaning borrowed largely from the time-spirit. Feeling and morals were exalted, but a definite grasp of Scriptural authority and thought was wanting. The familiar language did not bring the old message.

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[7] *RE* (2d ed.), Bd. XVIII, S. 621.

When we undertake to classify in groups the German preachers of the nineteenth century we encounter the usual difficulties. Distinctions can not be sharply made, and there is much combination and overlapping. German critics are apt to be a little subtle and arbitrary in making these groupings. Two obvious methods may be adopted. The more evident is that by church relation: whether Lutheran, Reformed, Union, and the various sects; but there is little use in maintaining any grouping of this sort. The second method, which is quite a favorite with the critics, is that of grouping according to theological position; in general, whether rationalistic, evangelical, or mediating; but under these a number of smaller groups which it would be more confusing than edifying to follow out. Still, such a classification, even though not perfect, is proper and suggestive.

The character of German preaching in this period appears in both its content and form. As to material or contents, the theology would be determined by that of the preacher himself, but as a matter of fact there is not a great amount of formal theology in modern German preaching. Here the classification pointed out above prevails. The somewhat vague theology of Schleiermacher and Ritschl and their followers is contrasted with the more definite and Scriptural views of men like Tholuck, Luthardt, and others like them. In all of the more popular and earnest preachers there is much appeal to feeling. Both of the groups just mentioned make much of this, and popular preachers like Hofacker and Krummacher make feeling the main element of their work. There is a good deal of apologetic and critical material. Sometimes this assumes the polemic form, but the attack on current unbelief is not so sharp as in previous centuries. The attitude of the pulpit toward attack is brave and firm, and for the most part competent, but is more respectful and does not descend to personalities as was too much the case in former times. Scriptural material is much in use, and the exposition of the Bible gains much from the great progress made in Biblical scholarship. For the most part, there is a much saner and a more practical use of Scripture than in former times.

As regards the form of preaching, there is vast improvement over the seventeenth and eighteenth century methods. While something of the older homiletical division and stiffness is retained, the plans and subdivisions of sermons are much simpler and in better taste. The double introduction remains, and the outline is usually plainly laid down and strictly adhered to. The style in many of the preachers, unhappily not in all, tends to more ease and clearness. In a few it is vivid and sweet, but in too many it is still involved and heavy. There is evidence of a high standard, both of homiletical and cultural ideals. The sermons show careful training, large knowledge, virile intelligence, and strength of purpose.

A few words must be said regarding the homiletical teaching in Germany during the nineteenth century. In this department there was excellent progress. Here again we must recall the widespread and powerful influence of Schleiermacher. In his lectures at the University of Berlin on *Practical Theology* he gave a strong and needed impulse to improved pastoral training, both in homiletics and the cure of souls. In the early part of the century also Theremin, in his little book, *Eloquence a Virtue* (published in 1814 and 1837), had maintained a high standard of moral character as necessary in preaching, and Rudolf Stier, in his *Keryktik* (1830 and 1844), had endeavored to emphasize the evangelistic or proclamatory side of preaching. Excellent treatises were later published by Palmer, Hagenbach, Nitzsche, and Otto. All these insisted on a Scriptural type of preaching, with good taste and an earnest effort to benefit the hearer. Later in the century Th. Harnack, von Zezschwitz, Hering, and others published learned, practical, and earnest treatises on homiletics. In this case, as in others, improved practice has brought in improved theory (as Christlieb justly remarks), and then improved theory helps a better practice. On the whole, the nineteenth century marks, both for the theory and practice of preaching, the highest point that has ever been attained by the German pulpit. This is said in no way to disparage the glorious work of the Reformation, which restored to Germany a Biblical preaching and made possible the developments of modern times. But after the Reformation, as our previous studies have shown us, there was a falling off in the power of German preaching, both in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It has come to its own only in the nineteenth.

II. GERMAN CATHOLIC PREACHERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Early in the century there was a considerable movement in the German Catholic Church toward a more spiritual and evangelical life and preaching than that which had prevailed in the preceding period. This was largely due, as we have seen,[8] to the character and work of Sailer (d. 1832), who was still active in the first three decades of the new century. Along with

[8] *Ante*, p. 214 ff.

him, though scarcely so able or influential, must be reckoned Martin Boos (1762-1825),[9] a Bavarian, born of humble parentage, early left an orphan, but cared for and educated by friends, mainly an uncle in Augsburg. During his student days he experienced a genuine conversion and found peace in the Saviour. His doctrine and preaching were too much like those of the Lutherans to suit the Catholic authorities, and though no formal heresy nor the least unworthy conduct could be made out against Boos, he suffered much persecution in one way and another. But he won friends and followers in the various places where he wrought his faithful and spiritual work, and his preaching was blessed to the saving of many. Of this group also was Ignatius Lindl (d. after 1829),[10] a powerful orator, who attracted great crowds to hear his evangelical preaching in several places, but became obnoxious to the authorities and was finally cast out of the Catholic Church. He went off into some fanaticism, and became lost in a sect, but in his early work he was a strong preacher of gospel truth and did much good. The most important of this group was John Gossner (1773-1858).[11] Influenced by Sailer and Boos, and long associated with Lindl, he, too, was finally forced out of the Catholic Church, and became, in 1829, pastor of the Bohemian (Protestant) Church in Berlin, where he served for seventeen years as pastor. In his last days he still preached in Berlin in connection with a charity establishment which he had founded. Active in home and foreign missionary endeavor, diligent in writing, in care for souls, in preaching, Gossner led a busy and fruitful life. Had he and his fellow-workers been permitted to remain in the Catholic Church, they would have been among its chief ornaments.

Though these gospel preachers left their Church, others remained in its fold, and some of them preached with power. There was Francis Xavier von Schwäbl (1778-1841),[12] born in Reissbach, Lower Bavaria, student at Salzburg, Munich, Ingoldstadt, professor at Landshut, parish priest in various charges, and finally bishop of Regensburg from 1833 to his death. Though not so great as Sailer, he is worthy to be placed along with him in both character and services. He was a mild and lovable man whose character enforced his word in the pulpit. His preaching was marked by sincerity, earnestness, a good flowing style, and pleasing delivery. Schwäbl paid attention to passing events, but not in a sensational manner. Kehrein gives an address from him at the opening of a seminary for priests at Regensburg, in 1836, while Sailer was bishop there. It is unpretentious, but earnest in feeling, clear and winsome in style, devout in tone, judicious in thought. It teaches the essentials of preaching for all ages and churches. The four necessary things for a priest—which he should learn in his seminary life and ever afterwards practice—are: the spirit of separation from the world (in the right sense, not leaving it to its sins), the spirit of prayer, the spirit of knowledge, the spirit of consecration. The opening paragraph of his discussion of prayer is well worth quoting, and is as follows:[13] "Prayer is the ornament, the essential duty of the priesthood, is the soul of all priestly official actions. Without it the priest is no longer fit for any holy service and is useless to the Christian people. He sows, and God gives no increase; he teaches, and his word is sounding brass; he sings the praise of the Lord, but his heart is far from Him, and he praises Him only with the lips of his mouth. Prayer is like oil in the lamp of the priestly life; if the oil gives out, the wick can burn no more. In the troubles and labors of his calling prayer instills into the priest every comfort; without prayer, however, he is a being without life and light, a thing of shadows, whose most sacred actions are nothing more than the recurring motions of a soulless machine; his official duties are then for him the yoke of a slave, only dry, hard, oppressive labors, unless prayer sweetens the care of them or lightens their pains, or for their slight results comforts him by its confiding look to Him who blesses the sowing at the due time appointed in heaven."

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[9] Christlieb-Schian, *op. cit.;* art. by Ahlfeld in *RE;* Kurtz, *op. cit.*, III, p. 237.

[10] Christlieb-Schian, and Kurtz, *ll. cc.*

[11] *Id.*, and art. by Hollenberg in *RE.*

[12] Kehrein, I, S. 258 ff.; II, S. 406 ff.; Renoux, p. 426.

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[13] *Op. cit.*, S. 408.

Of similar devout spirit was the gifted and soulful Melchior Diepenbrock (1798-1850),[14] bishop of Breslau, and cardinal. He had a most interesting history. Born of noble family in Bochold, Westphalia, he grew up a wild and indocile youth, became enamored of military glory, and sought a soldier's education and life under and then against Napoleon, but was disciplined for insubordination and dismissed from the army. Yet he was an ambitious student, and made good progress in study and general culture, in spite of his irregularities of conduct. His conversion was notable. Sailer was invited to visit the Diepenbrock home, and young Melchior angrily declared he would absent himself during the good man's visit. But in some way the guest arrived the day before he was expected. At dinner the stubborn youth sat as far out of range as he could, and Sailer, perhaps thinking him shy or possibly divining the true state of the case, at the end of the meal went up to the boy and pleasantly asked him to take a walk with him about the grounds. Refusal was impossible. The interview lasted for only half an hour, and neither one ever told just what passed. But the wild boy was led to Christ; the change was immediate and thorough. He attached himself at once to his spiritual father, studying under him at Landshut, then becoming his private secretary and helper until his death. It was a beautiful friendship. After Sailer's death Diepenbrock's promotion was rapid. He was made cathedral preacher at Regensburg, in 1835, later bishop of Breslau, and then cardinal shortly before he died. Among his sermons are two panegyrics upon bishops of Regensburg—Wittmann, who immediately followed Sailer, but lived only a short time, and Schwäbl. These are both admirable in their way, and Renoux quotes also from other sermons which show the poetic turn, depth of feeling, beauty of language, and earnestness of purpose which characterized the preaching of Diepenbrock. Kehrein[15] gives the following extract as illustrative of his views of preaching as well as his style: "The sermon is to me a living word which has its value, its significance, and its effect through the vital and vitalizing relation in which the Christian preacher has to put himself toward the eternal truth and toward his hearers, as mediator between the two. The pervasive electric spark of the inner spiritual movement, not self-made, but coming from above, that is the enlightening ray and the fructifying germ of a Christian sermon. A printed one is a living breath hardened to a dead ice-flower on a cold window-pane."

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[14] Kehrein, I, S. 490; II, S. 593; Renoux, pp. 368 ss. and 414 ss.
[15] Bd. II, S. 593 ff.

One of the most remarkable preachers of the age was John Emanuel Veith (c. 1788-1876).[16] He was a Bohemian, of Jewish family, educated for a physician, but was converted in this thirtieth year, and became a preacher of unusual powers. At first he entered the Redemptorist order of monks, but later left them in order to have better opportunities of preaching. He received important appointments, and drew and held large congregations at Vienna and other places. But his ministry was mostly at the Austrian capital. He had a fine combination of qualities for the popular preacher: imagination, humor, brilliancy of epigram, sarcasm, poetic quality, keenness of argument, richness of illustration. Specimens of his work, given by both Kehrein and Renoux, show a master of popular discourse and bear out the judgment of Kehrein, who says of him:[17] "Veith's productions commend themselves by liveliness and wealth in images and comparisons, but great knowledge of nature as of the history of the world and of families. Depth of feeling and genuine Christian spirit, as well as great familiarity with the Fathers and Holy Scripture, allow us to forget that sometimes the argumentative intellect is too prominent, and sometimes the dignity of the pulpit is not guarded."

The last of this group to claim notice here is Henry Foerster (d. 1881),[18] successor of Diepenbrock as bishop of Breslau, and one of the notable German prelates who came into conflict with the imperial government in the so-called *Kulturkampf,* i. e., the enforcement of the Falk laws against the inroads of Catholicism after 1871. He was living when Kehrein and Renoux wrote, and they

[16] Kehrein, I. S, 364 f.; II, S. 504 ff.; Renoux, p. 508 ss.
[17] Bd. I, *l. c.*
[18] Kehrein, I, S. 390; II, S. 549; Renoux, p. 488 ss.

give only slight notices of his life, but good specimens of his sermons. These show a very cultivated mind, a noble and clear style, and a good deal of attention to rhetorical art. But the spirit is devout and pleasing, the thought worthy of attention. Foerster is said to have influenced Draeseke and other important Protestant preachers. He was given to the expository homily as a method, and his exposition and application show traces of the modern scholarship and taste. One of the discourses quoted treats of Christ as the Light of the World (John 8:46, 12:12), with this neat outline: He is the Light because He brings (1) The Truth of Heaven to Our Faith; (2) The Offering (Sacrifice) of Heaven to Our Love; (3) The Bliss of Heaven to Our Hope. The original is more striking because of the alliteration in the leading words: *Wahrheit, Weihe, Wonne.*

III. Protestant Preachers

It would probably be agreed among German students of their own preaching that the three men who have most profoundly influenced the modern German pulpit were Luther, Spener, and Schleiermacher. Widely different in character and environment as these men were, there was one thing in which they were very much alike, and out of that one thing came chiefly, though not exclusively, their great influence upon preaching. This one thing was their view of the personal relation of the soul of man through faith to Jesus Christ as the Saviour. This ground-thought found different expression in each of these great men. In Luther it was justification by faith; in Spener and Schleiermacher it was the life of piety as growing out of the mystical union between Christ and the believer. In Luther and Spener the Biblical element was more pronounced and authoritative than in Schleiermacher. The men and the times were very different, and each man in a sense was the child of his age. Each has left a broad mark upon the religious life and thought of Germany, but each in his own way. It is said that when Neander heard of Schleiermacher's death he remarked that he was a man from whom a new epoch in theological thinking would date, and it was even so. Schleiermacher's thought (and his thought found living expression in his preaching) represents a recoil from the cold and irreverent Rationalism and the morally fruitless speculations of Illuminism, which had their hurtful influence upon German preaching in the latter part of the eighteenth century and early years of the nineteenth. Luther recoiled from scholastic and corrupt Romanism, Spener from scholastic and narrow Lutheranism, and Schleiermacher from scholastic and cold Rationalism. They all recognized the value of religious feeling and the indispensable necessity of union with Christ, thus emphasizing the mystical element in Christian experience and the need of enforcing this in the pulpit.

As already noted, the German Protestant preachers may be grouped according to their theological and ecclesiastical positions, or simply in the order of time. The latter method is followed here, and we note an earlier, middle, and later group of preachers, whose theological views and relations will be indicated in each case. We naturally take first in the earlier group, during the first third of the century, the great and influential thinker whose name introduces the new epoch.

Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834)[19] was the son of a strongly orthodox preacher of the Reformed faith, who was serving as an army chaplain in Breslau when his remarkable son was born. As a child Schleiermacher was marvelously bright, studious, and thoughtful. Both parents watched tenderly over his mental and moral training. He likewise owed much to the intelligent and sympathetic care of an older sister, Charlotte, to whom he was tenderly attached through life. After careful home training, Schleiermacher was sent, in his fifteenth year, to the Moravian school at Niesky, and later at Barby. In these two schools he remained four years. The aim of the father was to protect the intellectual development of the son against the current Rationalism, as well as to implant in him the seeds of an earnest piety. In part only was the plan successful; for free thinking was in the air, and the boy was a thinker. He loved reading, and was of an inquiring mind. The strenuous and, it must be acknowledged, somewhat harsh and one-sided orthodoxy in which he had been reared itself raised some doubts in his mind. He felt keenly that the traditional modes of thought and expression failed to answer his questions. His father was greatly distressed at the boy's state of mind, and was rather harsh with him. The Moravians also could not retain the young man among them, as he was no longer clear in his Christian belief. It was a very painful crisis in his life, but one through which thousands of young men have had to pass. The affectionate sympathy and help of his sister Charlotte at this time was a great comfort to him, and the pious training in which he had been brought up kept his heart strongly attached to Christ while his intellect was disturbed with many speculations.

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[19] *Life* (autobiography) and Letters of Schleiermacher, tr. by F. Rowan, 2 vols., London, 1860. Sack, Brömel, and Nebe (*opp. citt.*) all have excellent discussions of Schleiermacher as a preacher; see also art. in *RE* and other authorities. In German there are various edd. of the *Werke, Predigten,* and the *Reden über die Religion; Predigten* von Fr. Schleiermacher, 4 Bde., Berlin, 1843. In English see Ker (*op. cit.*), Brastow, *Representative Modern Preachers,* p. 1 ff.; *Selected Sermons of Schleiermacher* (with an account of his life), tr. by Mary F. Wilson, F. & W., N. Y., not dated; sermon in Fish, *Masterpieces,* I, p. 525; reprinted in *World's Great Sermons,* III, p. 201.

He was fortunate in finding at Halle, whither he was now sent, a very helpful guide in his mother's brother, Stubenrauch, who was a professor there. Here for two years he remained, reading very widely and thinking through the problems which disturbed his mind. He loved the Moravian type of piety, loved Christ, and he had deep feeling; but his mind was beset with many doubts, and the philosophy of the age, as well as its literary trend, encouraged his revolt from the traditional orthodoxy. His whole subsequent career shows this struggle and division in his soul. Though personally he came to greater peace of mind, his theological position was never a very clearly defined one. Many of his sayings show intellectual sympathy with Rationalism, but he was no Rationalist in the proper sense. A characteristic remark of his is often quoted: "For his intellect alone I love no man; Schelling and Goethe are two mighty intellects, but I shall never be tempted to love them." On leaving Halle, in 1790, he became a tutor in the family of a Prussian nobleman, and later taught in an orphan house in Berlin. In 1794 he was ordained, and accepted a country charge. Two years later he became chaplain of the famous hospital in Berlin, called The Charité, where he remained till 1802. It was during this time that he was greatly occupied in varied literary labors—for one thing, translating from the English the sermons of Blair and Fawcett. It was at this time also that he published the first edition of his famous *Discourses on Religion* (1799). For three years he held a pastorate in Stolpe, and in 1805 was called, as professor of theology and university preacher, back to Halle. On the breaking up of this university by Napoleon, in 1807, Schleiermacher returned to Berlin, where he served a small church for two years, and finally, in 1809, became pastor of Trinity Church (Dreifaltigkeitskirche). Here he found his life-work and remained pastor of this great church to the end of his days. In addition to his pastoral labors, he was made professor of theology in the University of Berlin, where his lectures were heard with applause and profit by many students. Schleiermacher was not only preacher and professor, but an active, sympathetic, and wise pastor. How one man managed to fill these three important positions with such eminent success in all remains a marvel. It is explained in part, of course, by his wonderful natural endowment. He was a highly gifted man; but the other part of the explanation must not be left out: he was a very conscientious and laborious man. In a sermon on laziness, he declared that to be one of the chief vices, the parent of many others. It was certainly one which had no place in his make-up.

In domestic and social life Schleiermacher was genial and affectionate. His great learning and wide culture, his intellectual and personal sympathies, his deep feeling and intense patriotism caused him to be greatly loved and honored in a wide circle of friends. Though of small stature and somewhat deformed about the shoulders, he had a pleasing and intellectual face. There was almost a feminine, though by no means effeminate, trace in his nature. It is said that he once expressed the wish that he had been a woman! The romance of his married life is characteristic of the man. After an early disappointment he remained single for many years, but during the wars a young pupil and friend of his left his wife and children to the care of Schleiermacher. The young man was killed in battle; Schleiermacher continued to take care of the widow and children; and the expected happened. Though his wife was much younger than himself, it was a very happy union. One of the most beautiful things in his career was the tender sermon which he preached after the death of his only son. He was a man of large heart as well as brain, pure in life, and of high and noble purpose. He died in great peace and Christian hope, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Schleiermacher's preaching can not be understood without some reference to his general theological position. As already suggested, this is hard to define. It was, perhaps, not clear to himself, certainly not in his younger years. In feeling and sympathy he was closely allied with the evangelical spiritual element of Christianity. But on the intellectual and speculative side he was a philosophic Rationalist. Consequently, he does not belong entirely either to the orthodox or to the rationalistic party. The warmth of his feeling, his personal trust in Christ, and the energy of his thinking made him a strong foe of the older type of Rationalism. Its extreme development, at least in the pulpit, received its deathblow at his hands. He spoke of it as consisting of "ill-connected fragments of metaphysics and ethics which is called rational religion."[20] Yet in his relation to Scripture he was a Rationalist. The Old Testament made little appeal to him, and he used it not much in his preaching. In later times he would doubtless have sympathized with the higher critics. He was free also in his dealing with the New Testament writings, valuing them chiefly as the revelation of Christ. His famous principle that religion consists in the feeling of absolute dependence upon God is interpreted by his teaching and experience of the mystical union with Christ. His Moravian piety kept in his soul the great

[20] Quoted by Sack, *op. cit.*, S. 276.

principle of Zinzendorf: "I have one passion only: It is He! It is He!" And yet this absolute trust in Christ and love for Him did not make Schleiermacher accept in the full Scriptural sense the doctrine of our Lord's atonement. He believed in and constantly spoke of Jesus as the Saviour and the only Saviour, but his conception of the person and work of Christ was rather that He saves us by dwelling within us, purifying us, keeping us in touch with Himself and God. His view of the Trinity was not clear; he teaches little concerning the Holy Spirit. Though he spoke the language of the church, he was no ardent upholder of church doctrines as such. His gentleness of nature kept him from being polemical, but he does occasionally criticise with severity those who hold to the letter of Scripture and doctrine. Thus, while believing in the deity and saviourhood of Jesus, he was not in full sympathy at all points with traditional orthodoxy. So, to repeat, he was not in accord with either the out-and-out Rationalists or with the evangelical group of thinkers. In moral teaching he was far more satisfactory. Here his teachings ring true to the essence of the Christian system. His ethical teaching is founded both in the teachings of Christ and in the personal experience of Christ's indwelling in the soul.

As to Schleiermacher's preaching, it was for substance one with his theological thinking. It had the defect and the value of his central theological position. It grew out of his own religious feeling, and it appealed to the religious feeling of his hearers. It was inadequate through what it lacked rather than erroneous in what it emphasized. He seemed to address himself almost exclusively to those whom he believed to be already Christians, and his effort was to arouse and encourage and strengthen within them the love of Christ and the practice of Christian virtues. His preaching was not distinct enough in its presentation of the essential principle of the gospel, but it was profoundly spiritual and uplifting within its somewhat restricted range. His method of preaching was admirable. He carefully and thoroughly thought out his subject, making prolonged and patient study of it in all its bearings, and then he preached without notes, or with only a brief outline. His published sermons were either from shorthand reports reported by others, sometimes revised by himself, or written out by himself after delivery. They are usually well-analyzed and logical. He had his division and subdivisions carefully in mind, and made them clear to the hearer as he proceeded. The practical aim of his sermons is evident throughout. It was to awaken feeling, not, however, for feeling's sake, but that it might become fruitful in conduct and life. The style of his discourse is characteristically German. It was reasonably clear, always pure and lofty. He avoided ornamentation. There is no straining after effect. We do not find much of illustration, but his imagination appears in occasional flashes of description. There is little or nothing of formal argument, but the logical power of his thought exhibits itself. There is no appeal to surface feeling, no effort to bring tears or produce a sensation; but there is depth of feeling and more definite appeal to the higher reaches of Christian sentiment in the conclusion of his sermons. The style is flowing, and the movement of thought and appeal is winning and elevated. He could not be called a popular preacher, and yet as early as seven o'clock in the mornings his church was filled with the thoughtful and cultivated people of Berlin to hear his elevated and powerful presentation of the truth as he held it. The greatness of his mind, the sincerity of his aims, the sympathy and breadth of his touch with men are greatly apparent in his work.

A very characteristic sermon is that given in Fish's *Masterpieces* on the resurrection of our Lord as a model for the new life of a Christian. Taking the words of Paul in Romans 6:1-4 as his text, he develops the points of similarity between the resurrection life of the Saviour and the regenerate life of the saved. The three main points of comparison are: First, the origin of both lies in the same power of God to raise the dead; second, the nature and character of the two are similar in many points; and third (which seems a little strange), the risen life of Jesus appeared to be incomplete, showing itself only occasionally, and this corresponds to the imperfect life of the Christian. In developing the second point, that the new life of the Christian resembles the risen life of Jesus in its character and manner, he says:[21] "Although a new life, it is still the life of the same man, and most intimately connected with that which preceded it. So with our Redeemer. He was the same, and was recognized by His disciples as the same, to their great joy. It was the identical form; the marks of His wounds He bore, as a memento of His pains and a sign of His death, even in the glory of His resurrection, and He retained the profoundest and most exact recollection of His former state. Even so, my good friends, is the new life of the soul. If the old man of sin is dead, and we live now in Christ, and with Him in God, we are still the same persons which we were before. As the resurrection of the Lord was not a new creation, but the same man Jesus came forth out of the grave who had sunk down into it, so there must have lain already in the soul, before it died the death which leads to the life from God, a capacity for receiving in itself, after the body of sin should have deceased, the life from God; and this life now unfolds itself in the same human soul, under the previous outward relations, and with the same quality of its other powers and faculties. We are wholly the same, except that the fire of the higher life is kindled in us; and we all bear the signs of death also, and the recollection of our former state abides with us. Yea, truly, in various ways and often are we reminded of what we were and did before the new life-summons sounded in our hearts; and not easily do the scars heal over of our wounds, and the manifold traces of these pains amid which the old, sinful man must needs die, that the new man might live. But the glad faith of the disciples rested in the fact that they recognized the Lord, in the glory of His resurrection, as the same which He had been; and so our confidence in this new life as a permanent, and to us now, a natural condition rests solely in this, that we find ourselves in it to be the same persons that we were; that there are the same inferior and higher powers of the soul which before served sin, but are now converted into instruments of righteousness; yes, and in all the vestiges of that death as well as of the former life, we are touched with a lively sense of the momentous change which the quickening call of God has wrought in us, and are incited to the warmest thankfulness therefor."

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[21] Fish, *Masterpieces,* I, p. 528.

Of the same age as Schleiermacher, and almost exactly contemporary with him, was the famous Reformed pastor at Bremen, Gottfried Menken (1768-1831).[22] The son of a merchant at Bremen and of a pious and wise mother, he had a careful nurture and a happy childhood. Educated in the schools of his native city, and at Jena and Duisburg, he yet did not owe much to the schools, but most to his own application and reading, for the ripeness and fullness of his culture. Already while a schoolboy his talent for speaking and his piety of life were recognized, and he was sometimes appointed to preach. On leaving the university he became assistant pastor to a blind preacher at Uedem, where he remained several years, and read much in philosophy and literature. Then he served for a time at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and then at Wetzlar. Finally, in 1802, he was called to Bremen, first at St. Paul's Reformed Church, where he worked for nine years, and then at St. Martin's, where he continued to his resignation in 1825. Menken had a real and deep experience of inner union with Christ after conflicts. His life, though happy in his Lord and in his work, had its shadows. He aroused some antagonism, his marriage was uncongenial and unhappy, and he was often sick and in pain; but his work was fruitful and his influence wide and beneficent.

Menken's theological position was his own. He opposed with all his earnestness the older Rationalism, taking a firm stand upon the Bible as the inspired Word of God and the real revelation of the divine thought and purpose; he accepted Christ as the only Saviour and true Revealer of God; but his view of the atoning work of Christ was defective, being somewhat like that of Schleiermacher. He minimized sin and the need of satisfaction, though exalting Christ as Lord and the Giver of eternal life through faith. Though a Reformed pastor, he was out of harmony with the Calvinistic theology on many points. Thus he stood somewhat alone in his thinking, but he gave stout blows against the older philosophic and moral Rationalism, and, with Schleiermacher, wrought nobly for a better acceptance and comprehension of the revelation of God in the Bible. But he was far more Scriptural and evangelical than his greater contemporary. His method of preaching was that of the homily. He avoided themes and their logical analysis, making his sermons consist almost exclusively of expository comment on some passage of the Bible, preferring the historical treatment. He estimated the Old Testament much more highly than Schleiermacher and others of that day. He was very careful in the preparation of his discourses, and many of them were published and preserved in various editions. Though not especially fond of pastoral work, he gave much attention to the training of children. He was chiefly active and chiefly great in the pulpit, and drew many to hear his spiritual and instructive teachings of the things of God.

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[22] Sack, *op. cit.*, S. 297 ff.; Brömel, II, S. 85 ff.; art. by Ph. Haenchen, in *RE*.

Along with Schleiermacher and Menken, who opposed the old Rationalism so strongly, we may mention one of its late but vigorous defenders in J. F. Röhr (1777-1848),[23] who was educated at Leipzig, and began his ministry there, but was chiefly active as leading preacher at Weimar. He held to a "rational" view of religion in the older sense—the Bible was a human record of the things it contained, Christ was the human Representative and Teacher sent from God, we must believe in Providence, in human virtue, and immortality on grounds of the human reason—and all the rest of the old rationalistic talk. Röhr was a strong man, and sharply opposed Schleiermacher as well as the more evangelical preachers. His many published sermons, and his "Letters on Rationalism" had much influence with those of his way of thinking, and are an echo of past days.

The newer type of rationalism, which the German critics distinguish as "speculative," found an able though not extreme representative in the first half of the century in J. H. B. Dräseke (1774-1849).[24] Of him Tholuck speaks as one of the most brilliant preachers of the modern German pulpit, comparing him to a meteor more brilliant than warming, and passing away as a meteor with his time, but the latter part of his judgment is scarcely deserved, for Dräseke had considerable influence during his life, and his sermons were read long after, though perhaps not much in more recent times. He published during his lifetime a great many sermons, and the volumes were eagerly accepted and read. Very notable among them was a series addressed to *Christian Believers* in Germany, and another on *Germany's New Birth,* and still another on the *Kingdom of God.* From extracts and outlines, as well as from the judgments of the critics to whom reference is made, we may gather a fair notion of Dräseke's standpoint and manner of preaching. But first a word or two as to his life.

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[23] Sack, S. 368 ff.; art. by Franck in *RE*.

[24] Sack, S. 347 ff.; Nebe, II, S. 286 ff.; art. by Tholuck in *RE;* Stiebritz, SS. 52 and 512.

Dräseke was born in Brunswick, of a very busy civil officer and a very pious mother, who lived until after he was grown and had begun his notable career as a preacher. He studied at the University of Helmstädt, becoming, in 1795, pastor in a small town, and, in 1804, at Ratzeburg, where he served for ten years. Although he was a Lutheran, he was called, in 1814, to the Reformed Church of St. Ansgar, in Bremen, as pastor for the Lutherans in that city. This was a customary arrangement. It was here that Dräseke did the best work of his life for about eighteen years. He was highly esteemed, indeed almost worshiped in Bremen, and his great popularity somewhat turned his head. His best friends could not acquit him of vanity. In 1832 King Frederick William III of Prussia, who greatly admired him, appointed him chief preacher in the cathedral at Magdeburg, to the office of General Superintendent of the province of Saxony, and with the title of Evangelical Bishop. Here for some years he did admirable work, and was heard in various parts of the province with great applause, but his last days were embittered. Personally he was a believer in the divinity of our Lord, but some of the strong Rationalists having made objection to the worship of Christ, Dräseke felt compelled to condemn them. He desired to dismiss the chief offender from his office, but the case was appealed to a higher church court and compromised, the bishop being instructed to warn and rebuke the offender. This event greatly disturbed Dräseke, and led to his resignation. At first the king would not accept it, but finally consented. In 1843 Dräseke retired from his active work and took up his residence at Potsdam, where he died in December, 1849.

Dräseke's theological position was mediating between Rationalism and evangelical orthodoxy. He rejected the older Rationalism and, with Schleiermacher and Menken, accepted and preached the personal union of the soul with Christ as the Saviour, but he came to this position more gradually than either of his contemporaries. In his earlier years he was not so clear as he later became. The human side of the Bible and of Christ were more emphatic in his teaching; but with years and experience he came to stronger faith, and we have seen how he finally broke with the old rationalistic party. His views of the inspiration of Scripture and of the atonement of Jesus were not satisfactory. He preached a moral gospel rather than that of free grace. His theology was Pelagian in regard to sin and salvation. On the homiletical side his preaching deserves high praise. It was brilliant, popular, powerful. He had strong individuality, departing from stiff rules and traditional methods. He used antithesis, strong statements, sweeping appeals. Of course there was some exaggeration and aiming at effect, but his thought and style alike were fresh, strong, and impressive. He had in marked degree the genuine oratorical gift.

There was in this earlier group a number of earnest, efficient, and highly respected preachers who held and preached evangelical opinions. Notable among them was the devoted Moravian bishop, Johann Baptist von Albertini (1769-1831).[25] His parents were of good family and position, his mother a highly gifted and devotedly pious woman. The parents moved from their first home to Neuwied on the Rhine, where was a congregation of Moravians to which they desired to attach themselves. It was here that Albertini was born, and his childhood years were spent under the guidance of these consecrated parents. His youth was passed at the Moravian

[25] Stiebritz, S. 45, S. 504; Nebe, II, S. 345; Sack, S. 316; art. in Plitt in *RE*.

schools of Niesky and Barby, where he received his education, and where he had all through the course the companionship and friendship of Schleiermacher. The two, though unlike in many points, were bound in a close and congenial intimacy of soul, based on intellectual, moral, and spiritual affinities and on somewhat similar experiences in religion during their schooldays. Both were distressed with doubts, both loved the Moravian principles and piety, both clung in personal faith to Jesus Christ. Though they parted at the end of their schooldays and pursued very different careers, their friendship was unbroken through life.

At the close of his brilliant course as a student, Albertini was appointed a teacher in the school at Niesky, and after several years, in the more advanced one at Barby, where he had received his own training. Personally he was a beloved and successful teacher. Philosophy, mathematics, natural science—all engaged his attention. Botany was a favorite subject, and the fruit of his studies was published in a treatise of recognized value on mushrooms. He was also expert in the classics and history, as well as literature. He was fond of poetry, and his own poetic gift was not inconsiderable, finding expression in many hymns and other religious lyrics.

In his study and teaching of the Bible Albertini became more and more settled in his theological opinions and in his personal acceptance of Jesus as Saviour and Lord. After struggle he came into light and peace. His position was much clearer and firmer than that of Schleiermacher. He occasionally preached while still teaching at Barby, but the sermons of these early days are rather cold and rationalistic. But the fervor of his heightened religious experience soon appeared in his more spiritual and earnest discourses. He was appointed to the full office of a preacher at Niesky in 1804, and in 1810 was ordained an elder. He filled this office with acceptance and distinction in various places, till he was made a bishop, in 1814, and resided at various places—Gnadenfrei, Herrnhut, and Berthelsdorf, where he died, greatly beloved and lamented, in his sixty-third year.

As a preacher Albertini perhaps ranks highest in his own Church. He was distinctively Moravian in his type of thought and feeling. The mystical union with Christ was the essence and core of his preaching, and all else radiated from this center. This led to some one-sidedness and disproportion in his treatment of themes, but Albertini was true to all the main contentions of the evangelical system and presented them with conviction, earnestness, force, and charm. His classical culture, purity of style, soundness of taste, sincerity of soul, and devout piety appeared in his winsome sermons. These were widely read among the pious, and remained long as classics of German evangelical literature. Albertini was more generally read than any other Moravian preacher; his style was far more acceptable and polished than that of Zinzendorf, and he accordingly had a wider reading and, on the whole,—so far as preaching goes,—a more wholesome influence among the German people.

Another useful preacher of the early evangelical group was Franz Theremin (1780-1846),[26] long the honored cathedral and court preacher at Berlin. Theremin's father was a French refugee pastor at Gramzow, a small Prussian town, where Franz was born and received his early training. As a youth he studied at the French gymnasium at Berlin, and took his university course at Halle. Here he studied philology under F. A. Wolf, and theology under Knapp, and had as fellow-students and friends among others the poet Chamisso and the future church historian Neander. He completed his theological studies at Geneva, where he was ordained in 1805. The accounts give nothing as to his life and work till his call, in 1810, to the pastorate of a French Reformed Church in Berlin, where he labored four years. He desired, however, to preach in German rather than French, and the opportunity came when, in 1814, he was appointed cathedral (*Dom*) preacher in Berlin, a position which he filled with distinction and success for thirty-two years—the rest of his life. In theology Theremin held with conviction and fervor to the evangelical essentials; in church relation he passed easily from the Reformed to the Lutheran confession, accepting unionist views; in homiletical skill he was a master of style, having formed his oratorical principles upon Demosthenes and Massillon, upon whom he wrote a treatise; his views of preaching are set forth in his famous little book, *Eloquence a Virtue,* in which he insists on character as the first essential of oratory; his sermons are rather thematic than expository, sound in doctrine, devout in spirit, clear and flowing in style, eloquent and moving in substance and manner, without much depth or originality of thought.

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[26] Sack, S. 356; Stiebritz, SS. 46 and 505; Nebe, II, S. 235; Brömel, II, S. 116; Palmer in *RE;* sermon in Fish, *Masterpieces,* I, p. 547.

In this group also belongs Ludwig Hofacker (1798-1828),[27] who was born in Wildbad, a town of Würtemberg, where his father was pastor. His father was a preacher of some force, and was called to a church in Stuttgart in 1812. The mother was a woman of strong character and devout piety, and her two sons, Ludwig and William, proved to be excellent witnesses to her maternal fidelity and Christian training. Ludwig, in 1816, became a student at the University of Tübingen. For the first two years of his course he was rather a rollicking student, being of a jovial disposition and much liked by his comrades. While he fell into no serious vices, he was given over to worldliness and pleasure, and did not profit much in learning. But in the beginning of his third year, when he began to take up the study of theology, he became more serious. Soon he was smitten with a sense of his sins and distance from God. He began to pray much, and to read books of a mystical tendency. About this time he suffered a sunstroke, which undermined his health and left him a sufferer through life; but on recovering he devoted himself wholly to the service of his Lord, and the remainder of his short life was filled with earnest service in the pulpit. He was only thirty years old when he died, and because of ill-health, had only four years of active service in the pulpit. Two years he served in St. Leonard's Church at Stuttgart—the first as assistant to his father, the second as full pastor after his father's death—but his health broke down, and for more than a year he was disabled. In July, 1826, having somewhat improved in health, he accepted the pastorate at Rielingshausen, a village near Marbach, and not very far from Stuttgart. Here he preached and served as pastor till his lamented death, in November, 1828. A short life, but a great work. Hofacker is one of those few and noteworthy men like Spencer, Summerfield, Nott, and others, who died greatly lamented in early manhood, but have left behind them a good work and an undying fame.

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[27] *Predigten,* 22te Ausg., Stuttgart, 1898 (with account of life); Sack, 338; Nebe, III, 124; Brömel, II, 138; Ker, 328 ff.

Hofacker's sermons were first printed in part during his lifetime. Soon after his death his brother William, also a beloved preacher, gathered all his sermons together—about eighty in number—and published them. They had an immense circulation, the twenty-second edition was put forth in 1839, and up to that time about 80,000 copies had been sold. The edition here referred to was printed in Stuttgart in 1898, showing that these wonderful sermons are still read. When we ask the reason of this great influence from so young a man, it is not far to seek. Two things especially strike us in the sermons. One is their thorough and deep Scriptural evangelical tone, the other their sweet and genuine simplicity. Back of them lies the deep heart experience of the young man; through doubt and pain he had found his Lord and loved Him, and brought his message out of personal contact with his Saviour to the heart of his hearers. Such a voice was needed in those rationalistic days, and the people thronged to hear a man who brought with no uncertain sound the gospel of grace and salvation through Christ. Hofacker must have had, like the young Spurgeon of later days, a winsome manner as well as a strong and sweet message. He was not driven to vanity by the great popularity which he enjoyed, but humbled by it; in fact, he could not understand it. All the German writers and critics pay emphatic tribute to the worth of the man and the timeliness and beauty of his message. He was no deep thinker, and there are evident faults of manner and style, some of the crudeness of youth; indeed, it would have been wholly unnatural had this not appeared. His sermons are one-sided in that they are chiefly addressed to sinners and pay little attention to the training of Christians, but that was the message needed then and there. Hofacker was a true evangelist. In the first sermon of the collection, on the Triumphal Entry of Our Lord into Jerusalem, he deals especially with the words, "Say to the daughter of Zion, behold thy King cometh to thee in meekness." He pleads for the entrance of the Lord into the heart, and thus tenderly expresses himself: "O, whoever would have an open heart for Him and let Him in, how happy would such a man be! how many reasons for joy would such a heart have! not only on the feast days, not only in the church, but at home in his chamber, in his business, in his daily circumstances. For everywhere He meets his own. He is always coming; He has been coming for 1,800 years to the daughter of Zion. He comes in His Word, He comes in His Spirit, He comes in His Supper, He comes at the most different times and under the most different circumstances. He comes in good and bad days, through suffering and through joy. His gracious voice is everywhere audible, on the street, in the field, when thou in the sweat of thy face dost eat thy daily bread as well as when thou restest on thy bed. He meets us often in the meanest circumstances. He is always coming, but He can not always come in. The doors are often shut to Him, because His enemy dwells in the heart. His knocking, the footstep of the coming One passes unheard, the noise inside is too great, the cry is too great, the traffic, the sin-traffic, the traffic that thinks of this world is too great in the heart, the sleep of sin is too heavy, we can not hear Him; the heart is too earthly, too proud. It will not recognize the lowly Son of man who would enter in humility as the King of Peace. Jerusalem had a noble temple and beautiful services therein, and distinguished priests and high priests and a great pride, therefore she despised Jesus of Nazareth, who came not with conqueror's might and glory, but in lowliness. Such a King, such a Messianic Kingdom they would not have. And so it goes yet with the poor hearts of men. But be only still, let thyself be little, and bow thy heart in the dust, abhor only in thyself all that will be puffed up and is contrary to the mind of Jesus, then wilt thou understand the call of the Spirit, 'Thy King cometh to thee,' and open with joy thy heart to Him, and thy King will come to thee and rule in thy heart."

Hofacker had no arts of eloquence nor sensational novelties, but with his soul he preached Christ and Him crucified. This was the open secret of his power and success. He died comparatively a youth, but being dead he yet speaketh. He passed away in pain, but yet in peace, and his last words were: "Heiland! Heiland!—[Saviour! Saviour!]"

Another great evangelical and evangelistic preacher of this time appeared in North Germany. This was Klaus Harms (1778-1855).[28] Harms was a man of the people and gloried in his origin. He was born in Holstein, the much disputed province, of German population, but at that time under Danish rule. His father was a well-to-do miller, and he himself served at that trade. His parents were religious and early desired that Klaus should become a preacher. It is said that when a boy he repeated to the servants one of Schmolck's hymns with so much earnestness and effect that people said he was a born preacher. His parents were not able to afford him the best education, but he studied and worked at intervals. On his father's death he inherited a small sum, and in this way he was enabled to study at the University of Kiel, where he made good use of his opportunities and mended the lacks of his culture. Though morally earnest, he was of rationalistic tendencies, and the university at that time was under the sway of rationalistic views; but Harms could find no spiritual satisfaction in Rationalism. The study of the Bible was bringing him to a sense of deep spiritual need when, at that crisis, a friend of his said to him one day: "Klaus, I have just got a book that I think you will like. I can not make much of it, but I think you can. Come by my room and I will lend it to you." The book was Schleiermacher's *Discourses on Religion.* Harms joyfully took it to his room, shut himself up with it, having told the servant to deny all visitors, began to read it, and read it through by midnight. The next morning he arose early, it being Sunday, and read the book through again by evening. It was in a sense the means of his conversion; at any rate, it brought him to see the utter spiritual worthlessness of the old Rationalism, and he would have no more of it. Turning now with renewed interest to the study of the Bible and of the Lutheran theology, he found in this the resting place for his mind. He accepted decidedly and finally the evangelical doctrines. He saw man to be a lost sinner, and Jesus to be a perfect and sufficient Saviour. He had found his soul and his message at the foot of the cross, and henceforth through life he was a strong and powerful preacher of the gospel of salvation by grace. He began to preach at Kiel while still a student, then served for a little while as tutor for a neighboring pastor, preaching occasionally to the people, where a little congregation heard him gladly. He was called as pastor to a church at Lunden, in Ditmarsch. While here he published his first collection of sermons, and they were well received. In 1816 he was chosen archdeacon in St. Nicholas' Church, in Kiel. This post he held till 1835, when he was advanced to a higher position in the same church. The year preceding he had declined the king of Prussia's invitation to become Schleiermacher's successor at the Trinity Church, in Berlin. In his latter years he received various honors, his talents and services being widely recognized. In 1849 a partial blindness and advancing age caused him to lay down his work. He died, greatly beloved and honored, in 1855.

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[28] Sack, 330; Nebe, III, 401; Brömel, I, 178; Stiebritz, 45, 505; Carstens in *RE;* Fish, I, 535; Ker, 338 ff.; Petersen in Werckshagen, II, S. 602.

Harms as a preacher was, like Hofacker, decidedly evangelistic. He attacked with all his might the current Rationalism, and turned the hearts of many to a better faith. In 1817, the anniversary of the Reformation, he put forth, after the manner of Luther, ninety-five theses in defense of the evangelical faith. This provoked a great controversy, but Harms maintained his cause with vigor, if not always with good taste. As to the form of his preaching, this was more studied than that of Hofacker. He did not go deeply into exposition, though this was not wholly lacking in his work. His divisions were usually clear and striking, his spirit was elevated and sincere. He knew how to adapt himself to the popular needs, both in thought and style, and yet he attracted a large hearing from among the more cultured. During his whole career he was the most popular and powerful preacher in North Germany. His published sermons, though scarcely so widely read or so long useful as those of Hofacker, had great circulation and influence in their day. The man and his work gave a great and blessed impulse to evangelical preaching over against the dull Rationalism of the early part of the century.

We pass now to a group of evangelical preachers whose work lay mainly in the second third of the century. First to be named among them is Karl Immanuel Nitzsch (1787-1868).[29] He was born near Leipzig, the son of a pastor who later became professor of theology at Wittenberg, where Karl received his education. He taught for a while after his graduation at Wittenberg. In 1811 Nitzsch was ordained as deacon and preached at the Castle Church. In 1817 he received the degree of Doctor of Theology from the University of Berlin, and after serving as pastor at Kemberg, he was made professor of theology and university preacher at Bonn. He performed his double office with great distinction and success, besides writing a number of theological treatises. Finally, in 1847, he was appointed to a high church office and professorship of theology in the University of Berlin, where he also served at various times as preacher in important churches. He lived to a great age, and was actively at work nearly to the end. His eyesight and hearing both failed him towards the last, but the gentleness and patience of his disposition never left him. It is beautifully said of him somewhere that he remarked, "I can't see, nor hear, nor write, I can only love." Nitzsch early and firmly assumed a definite evangelical position in theology; as Sack well says: "His richness of thought was united with a decidedly grounded direction of the feelings upon the revelation of God in Christ. There resulted a progress from the revealed mysteries and truths in which the conception of God was biblico-theistic. The revelation appears as fact, miracle and self-witnessing of God; the person of Jesus Christ as of the eternal Son and Mediator who yet appeared in time; and the work of salvation as a fact of experience; faith as practice." Certainly there was nothing original in this, but it shows the clear and definite standpoint of Nitzsch over against the uncertainties of Schleiermacher and the rhetorical expressions of Theremin. Nitzsch was a man of the highest dignity and holiness of character. His influence over pupils and hearers was full of blessing. He had some vividness of imagination and a great sincerity and depth of feeling, but his style is involved, hard, and unattractive. He must have been difficult to follow, and his readers have not been very many, but those who have learned his method have not failed to profit by the power of his thought and the devoutness of his sentiments.

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[29] Sack, S. 371; Nebe, III, S. 205; Stiebritz, SS. 47, 506; Hering, S. 230; F. Nitzsch and Christlieb-Schian in *RE;* Fish, XIX cent., p. 63.

Along with Nitzsch should be named the beloved and distinguished professor and preacher, Dr. August Tholuck (1799-1877).[30] He was born at Breslau, son of a goldsmith, who designed him for his own business, but the young man preferred learning to jewelry. Already in his childhood he displayed remarkable gifts for learning. His early studies at Breslau were continued at the University of Berlin. He was especially fond of the Oriental languages, but studied widely also in other directions. He says, in his own account of his life, that in his twentieth year he read for the first time the Epistles of Paul, and under the great blessing of God a short time afterwards he was led to believe in the crucified One as Paul preached Him. He soon decided to devote himself to the study of theology, and took up the work under Marheineke and others. So remarkable were his talents and learning that he was made professor of theology at Halle when only twenty-five years old, and two years afterwards succeeded the venerable Dr. Knapp. He was a prolific writer also on various theological subjects all through his long life. His commentary on the Psalms enjoyed great distinction and was translated into different languages. His appointment to Halle was much disliked and opposed by the Rationalists there, but he did excellent service in overcoming their influence. As a teacher he won the love and confidence of his pupils. He often walked with them and cultivated their intimacy and friendship. His health was not strong, but he lived a long life and performed great services. He also filled various preaching offices in the province of Saxony, being university preacher at Halle most of the time, and once serving a term in Rome as pastor to the German Embassy there. He published many sermons, and exercised a blessed ministry during his whole life. As a preacher he was Scriptural, earnest, and powerful. He spoke to the heart rather than to the intellect, and in a style adapted to the comprehension of the people.

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[30] Sack, S. 377; Brömel, II, S. 158; Nebe, III, 280; Stiebritz, SS. 197, 580; Hering, S. 231; Kähler and Christlieb-Schian in *RE*; *Fish*, XIX cent., p. 33; *Sketch of the Life and Character of Prof. Tholuck* (with some sermons and other writings), by E. A. Park, Edinburgh, 1840; also some sermons translated in Fish and Poor's *Select Discourses from the French and German*, New York, 1858.

Tholuck's preaching was eminently the fruit of his own experience. A highly gifted, widely learned man, he had come through difficulties to a personal experience of Christ as his Saviour. He therefore sympathized with the difficulties of the cultivated classes, and his appeal was especially to these. Like Mosheim, in the preceding century, he believed that learning and culture should be used in sermons so as to make their impression upon the thoughtful and cultivated. There is little of the doctrinal in Tholuck's sermons. He was not much of a churchman, nor does he emphasize in a theological way the main doctrines of the Bible. He says little or nothing about the Trinity, nor does he offer any theory of the atonement, but with deep feeling he presents Christ as the Revealer of God and the Saviour of sinners. Tholuck's learning never degenerates into mere pedantry. His historical allusions and illustrations are natural and apt. The style is more conversational and personal than is usual with German professors. He had a vivid imagination, but it was duly controlled. The main element of his preaching was feeling, deep, genuine, contagious, pure, and strong. His sermons were heard by large audiences, and by many generations of students at Halle. In printed form they had wide circulation in Germany and other lands. Thus both in spoken and written discourses, this gifted and devoted professor was one of the mighty forces in the German pulpit of the nineteenth century. His great gifts and learning were consecrated to his Lord. He ended his days in great peace. His last words were, "I fear not for myself; the death of Christ avails for me."

Another but quite different preacher of the evangelical type was Ludwig Harms (1808-1865),[31] the celebrated pastor at Hermannsburg. He was not related to Klaus Harms. His father was pastor before him at Hermannsburg, and he became assistant to his father in 1844, and afterwards his successor. His father was a man of strong character; his mother a pious woman, an excellent housekeeper, and loving mother. Her children were well brought up. It was in 1817 that the elder Harms became pastor at Hermannsburg, where he and his son ministered all their lives. Ludwig received his education at the gymnasium in Celle and the University of Göttingen. Here he studied under some of the most notable professors of the age, and was well trained. Harms was thoroughly evangelical alike in experience and in doctrine, but he was withal a very stout Lutheran of the pietistic sort. His preaching was with power, but was often sharp and rude. He preached with effect to the common people. Besides his preaching and pastoral work, he is noted in missionary history as the founder of the Hermannsburg Missionary Society, which was established in 1849, was supported largely by the common people of Harms's church, but grew very much and has become one of the leading missionary societies of modern times. It has worked chiefly in Africa, though in other lands also.

Among the evangelical preachers of the German Reformed Church the name of Krummacher stands very high. Several of the family have become distinguished. Friedrich Adolph was not only a teacher and pastor of note, but has obtained a permanent place in German literature through his famous *Parables*. Daniel Gottfried was a younger brother of his, and was also noted as a strong and earnest preacher. Emil W. was a younger brother of Friedrich Wilhelm, and very much like the better known preacher. There have been others also of the younger generation who are more or less known as able preachers, but the greatest name of the family is that of the famous court preacher at Potsdam, Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher (1796-1868).[32] He was born at Mörs, a small town, where his celebrated father was teaching school and preaching. The parents were both cultivated and pious. The family moved to Duisburg, in Westphalia, where the father taught and preached for six years, then moved again to Bernburg, where Friedrich and his brothers attended the gymnasium. Later he pursued his university course, first at Halle, and then at Jena. Both institutions were at that time strongly under Rationalist influence. Krummacher found no satisfaction in this. His home training and his father's earnest sermons had kindled deeper longings in his soul. Revolting from Rationalism, studying the Bible and books of piety, he found rest and peace in a personal trust in Christ. In this, like Tholuck and others, he was never shaken. He had a varied early ministry, becoming pastor successively in several Westphalian towns, especially Elberfeld, where he settled in 1834, and did a great work. His preaching attracted large crowds and was productive of much spiritual fruit. In 1847 the king of Prussia invited him to succeed Marheineke at the Trinity Church in Berlin, so long the scene of Schleiermacher's ministry. At first the change was very trying, for the spiritual conditions in his new parish were different from those which Krummacher left behind, but he soon won his way and attracted large audiences. About 1853 he was appointed court preacher at Potsdam, a position which he held till his death, in December, 1868. He was a great favorite with the king of Prussia, and was faithful in his ministry to all.

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[31] Nebe, III, S. 401; Stiebritz, SS. 85, 529; Hering, S. 237; Uhlhorn and Christlieb-Schian in *RE*.

As a man, Krummacher was jovial, hearty, and affectionate, fond of his friends, and frankly egotistical. As a preacher he held with all his might to the Reformed doctrines. He was an ardent student of the Bible, and thoroughly believed in its divine inspiration. While not distinctively a theologian, his grasp of doctrine was not hazy or indefinite. He accepted the sinfulness of man and the vicarious atonement of Christ. He was Calvinistic in his theology, and earnest and warm in the presentation of his views. His homiletical method was free and independent. While not a slave to rule, he usually followed a good outline and arrangement of his matter. His style is popular and clear, full of feeling and warmth. He had a rich and soaring imagination, which he used freely. His exposition of Scripture is occasionally somewhat fanciful, but usually able and sound. His illustrations are abundant and apposite. His series of discourses on *Elijah the Tishbite* made a great impression, because they went back to the Old Testament and used a method of character study and historical exposition which were at that time somewhat new. The sermon found in Fish's *Pulpit Eloquence of the Nineteenth Century,* despite some defects, is a model of modern expository preaching. In the great series of sermons on our Lord's passion, *Der Leidende Christus* (The Suffering Saviour), Krummacher is at his best. The firmness of his faith in the atonement of Christ, the depth of his feeling, the richness of his imagination, the power of his appeal, the clearness and popularity of his style, and chiefly the warmth and force of his eloquence are all in full evidence.

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[32] Nebe, III, S. 242; Stiebritz, 83, 528; Hering, S. 235; Kögel and Christlieb-Schian in *RE;* Sermon in Fish, XIX Cent., p. 83; *Elijah the Tishbite,* and *The Suffering Saviour* (Am. ed.); in the original, *Neue Predigten,* Bd. II, *Der Leidende Christus,* Leipzig, 1868, containing 58 sermons on the Passion of our Lord.

Among the evangelicals of South Germany no name stands higher than that of Johann Tobias Beck (1804-1878).[38] Born of humble parents, at Balingen, in Würtemberg, he received his preparatory schooling there, then completed his university course at Tübingen, where he was in close friendship with William Hofacker and other earnest Christians. In 1827 he became pastor of a small village church, and was an earnest preacher and disciplinarian, not always wise, but serious and earnest, and his work did much good in a rather rough and wild parish. Soon a more congenial place was found for him at Mergentheim, where he labored for seven years, and then became professor and preacher at Basel, where he served till 1843. While at Basel, besides his lectures and sermons, he was busy with other writings, and took deep and active interest in foreign missions. At the instance of Baur and others, he became professor and preacher at Tübingen, where he remained to the end of his life, though not preaching much in his last years on account of various ailments.

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[38] Brömel, II, S. 187; Nebe, III, S. 370; Stiebritz, SS. 141, 553; Hering, S. 242; Kübel and Christlieb-Schian in *RE*.

Beck had marked peculiarities as a preacher; his theological and ecclesiastical position was somewhat free. He inclined to the mysticism of Bengel, even verging upon the theosophy of Oetinger. He was not a systematic theologian nor a decided churchman, yet he accepted in the main and in his own way the church doctrines. His view of the person and work of Christ was similar to that of Tholuck and others of that time. He firmly accepted the divinity and mediatorship of Jesus, but without clear definitions of His atonement. Deep and warm personal attachment to Christ was the essence of his creed. In regard to the Bible, he firmly held it to be the Word of God, and did not go with the Tübingen school in their critical theories, but he held a free view of inspiration. Above all things, he was an expounder of the Scripture. This was his strong point. As to method, he discarded homiletical rules and struck out in his own way. He reverted to the homily form of explaining a passage, making application as he proceeded. He was often obscure in thought and style, but his great services in the unfolding and applying of the Bible to the thought and life of his own age gave him great influence and a name as one of the most remarkable of German preachers. A clever summary of his method has been given in the saying that "he preached in the chair and lectured in the pulpit."

Here also we must notice Friedrich Ahlfeld (1810-1884),[84] who was born at Mehringen, Anhalt, of honest and pious parents of the working class, and came to be one of the most noted preachers and pastors of his time. He had a hard struggle to get an education, but his fond and faithful mother and his own pluck made success possible. He was prepared at various schools, and finally entered the University of Halle, where he enjoyed great advantages, and improved them. He began to preach in his student days, being ordained in 1833. His faithful and pious mother was a tender and delighted hearer of his first sermon. Escaping the rationalistic tendency, Ahlfeld became more deeply pious and devoted. After teaching and preaching in various small places, he became pastor, in 1838, at Alsleben, where he served for nine busy and fruitful years. Then, through Tholuck's influence, he was called to the Laurentius Church, at Halle. The church had recently suffered by a schism and the difficulties were great, but Ahlfeld's noble preaching and wise and earnest work were greatly blessed. His fame grew and he received many calls to other places, but declined them till, in 1851, he was called to the Nicolai Church, in Leipzig. This he accepted and held for more than thirty years, up to his death. He had a very rapid delivery, and on the occasion of his first sermon in Leipzig a citizen remarked, "It is very fine, but he makes no commas nor periods."

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[84] Nebe, III, S. 422; Stiebritz, SS. 232, 597; Hering, S. 238; Lechler and Christlieb-Schian in *RE*.

As a preacher Ahlfeld was remarkably gifted with intuition and liveliness. He had a rich fancy, keen insight into life and character, dramatic power, a fine gift of narrative and description, together with warm feeling and a clear and popular style. These qualities, together with his devout earnestness, made him a powerful and influential preacher for the masses. His personal life was deeply pious, and in this he had the congenial and loving help of a good wife. His theology was stanchly Lutheran, but his sympathy and breadth made him loving toward all Christians. All in all, Ahlfeld was one of the most acceptable, beloved, and useful of modern German preachers.

There was a later group of strong and gifted evangelical preachers who lived and worked toward the end of the century. Among these was the consistory-councillor and court preacher at Leipzig and at Berlin, B. B. Brückner (1824-).[35] The authorities at hand give no accounts of his life and training, but the specimens and criticisms of his work show him to have been a preacher of noble powers and of the modern spirit. He had a keen intellect, a broad culture, a strong and striking style. His insight into his age was penetrating yet balanced, his grasp of the Christian verities was firm and hopeful, his homiletical method sufficiently but not stiffly formal. He delighted in antithesis, in strong though not extreme statements. His diction was vivid and vigorous, not involved or wearisome. His plans were often striking and excellent. In a sermon on the woman at Jacob's well, he thus states his points: (1) No soul is so erring that the Lord can not find it; (2) No occasion is so insignificant that the Lord can not use it; (3) No force is so weak that the Lord can not help it up; (4) No beginning is so little that the Lord can not lead it on to a blessed end.

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[35] Nebe, III, S. 429; Stiebritz, SS. 175, 569; Christlieb-Schian in *RE*.

Along with Brückner came Julius Müllensiefen (1811-1893),[36] who was long time pastor of the Marienkirche at Berlin, and a preacher of winsome manner and wide influence. He had been profoundly influenced by Schleiermacher and Gossner, and was specially gifted in leading seekers and doubters to a peaceful trust in Christ, such as his own rich experience had won. His easy and flowing style corresponded to his irenic and gentle spirit; as Hering describes it: "Perspicuous and clear, without the employment of strong rhetorical means; never stormy, but ever heartfelt and earnest, it recalls the saying about the waters of Siloah, which go softly."

In South Germany, along with and after Beck, were a number of important preachers, such as Adolf von Harless (d. 1878); Wilhelm Löhe (d. 1872), who was a powerful orator; Sixt Karl Kapff (d. 1879), especially distinguished for piety and a sweet and mystical tone of discourse; and Wilhelm Hoffman (d. 1873), who, though a South German by birth and training, worked chiefly as missionary secretary at Basel, and later in Prussia. Chief among these, however, was the Suabian poet and preacher, Karl von Gerok (1815-1890).[37] His religious

[36] Nebe, III, S. 425; Stiebritz, SS. 179, 572; Hering, S. 249.

[37] Nebe, III, S. 427; Braun in Werckshagen, II, S. 637 ff.; Stiebritz, SS. 277, 616; Hering, S. 243; art. by Mosapp in *RE*. *Predigten auf alle Fest-Sonn-und Feiertage,* Bd. I, Stuttgart (undated).

and patriotic poems have given him a place of his own in German literature, and his earnest, spiritual, gospel sermons in his high office as leading preacher at Stuttgart have secured his position among the most important and useful of modern German pulpit orators. The high esteem in which Gerok was held by his contemporaries is well expressed in this appreciation by Nebe: "Gerok has deep feeling, a very mobile, easily kindled soul; his spirit is of fine make, stands upon the height of modern culture, and makes use of the aid which the culture of every time has brought to him. He is well versed in the Scripture, and to Him of whom the Scripture bears witness belongs his whole heart; at His feet he lays devotedly down all his native gifts. He has a large heart, no trace of narrow confessionalism; his harp has only melodies which kindly attract, thankfully praise, joyfully worship. The style is in every aspect excellent, exemplary, classic; pure and clean, brilliant and clear, fresh and lively, full of perpetual youth, of lovely charm, of genuine popularity, of life-warm clarity." A perusal of Gerok's sermons will go far in justifying this generous praise. They reveal a genuine, poetic, sentimental nature, a fine and liberal culture, a loving heart, a loyal soul; and they are couched in an eminently readable and engaging style.

Among professors of theology who also did noble work as preachers in the latter half of the century occur the honored names of C. E. Luthardt and K. F. A. Kahnis, at Leipzig; of Julius Müller, at Halle, and—in more recent times—of Julius Kaftan, at Berlin.

The high office of cathedral and court preacher at Berlin was adorned in the latter part of the century by the incumbency of Rudolf Kögel (1829-1896),[38] who stands at the head of recent pulpit orators in Germany. He was of poetic and oratorical temperament, gifted and highly cultivated in mind, at home in modern thought and literature, master of a clear, noble, and powerful style. His thought was clear, but deep and thorough; he knew men, and the times in which he lived. Its difficulties and problems, its strong and weak places, had been

[38] Art. by Rietschel in *RE;* Dibelius in Werckshagen, II, S. 642 ff.; Nebe, III, S. 432; Stiebritz, SS. 178, 571; Hering, S. 250.

thought through; and his preaching was a word of power as well as a joy to the true believers of his time.

After Kögel, and at the turn of the century, came another great preacher to the cathedral and imperial court at Berlin. This is the strong and yet tender Ernst Dryander.[89] Twice did the author have the privilege of hearing him in the summer of 1902. A man of noble, intellectual face, of clear utterance, easy style, winsome manner, appealing voice. There is a deep earnestness arising from an evident but not obtrusive experience of religion, and a simple, hearty persuasion of the divine verities of the Christian faith. A small volume of sixteen *Evangelical Sermons,* published first in 1882, on the occasion of Dryander's leaving Bonn for a charge in Berlin, gives the reader some idea of the preacher's position and merits. The sermons are remarkably simple and heartfelt, showing (but not obtrusively) the preacher's culture and grasp of modern ideas and problems, and placing the emphasis on the saving gospel of Christ as still the emphatic need of the human soul.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DUTCH AND SCANDINAVIAN PULPITS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It is natural and proper to pass from the preaching of Germany to that of the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. For, except the French part of Belgium, these are closely related in language, religion, and habits of thought to their Teutonic neighbors. As in the two preceding centuries, so in the nineteenth much of German thought and method was reflected in the Dutch and Scandinavian pulpits.

I. PREACHING AND PREACHERS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Hitherto in this history nothing has appeared as to preaching in Belgium;[1] nor indeed now is there anything definite to say. For, so far as appears, no great personality nor any distinctive movement has arisen in the pulpit of that country. Politically its history has been closely woven with that of France and Holland, with both of which it has at different times been connected as a dependency. Its separate political existence since 1830 has not as yet brought to light anything of special interest in the pulpit. Nearly half the people speak French, nearly half Flemish, and a few both languages. The country has begun to develop a national literature in the work of Henri Conscience and latterly of Maurice Maeterlinck. Its religion has been predominantly Catholic, and the affairs of the Church have been inextricably mixed with politics; in fact, the Catholics are the leading political party. Some tendencies to modern ideas have struggled against the ruling ultramontane forces, but not with success. Some Belgian prelates joined the Old Catholics after 1870, but the movement did not come to much. There have been some Protestants in Belgium, and though they have enjoyed toleration with a growing measure of religious liberty, they have not developed any appreciable strength as a force in the political or literary concerns of Belgium; and naturally, not a pulpit of power.

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[89] Christlieb-Schian in *RE; Evangelische Predigten,* 7te Ausg., Halle, 1902.

[1] See *Historians' History; The Warner Lib.,* and other authorities for history and literature; Kurtz, *Church History,* Vol. III, p. 356 ff., for religious matters; Werckshagen, *op. cit.,* II, S. 1037 ff.

In Holland the case has been quite different.[2] The pulpit of the nineteenth century was strong, both in its *personnel* and in its national and distinctive tone. The forces which were gathering strength during the eighteenth century came to their fruitage in the nineteenth with a comparatively rich Dutch theological and homiletical literature.

Political affairs need not detain us long. The century opened with Holland under the heel of Napoleon—first, a Republic dominated by France, then a kingdom under Louis Bonaparte for a brief period. On the fall of Napoleon the House of Orange was recalled and the kingdom of the Netherlands established (1815), including Belgium, which separated, in 1830, into an independent monarchy. In the troubles of 1848 important concessions were made by the crown, and the Dutch people escaped serious disasters, and gained still larger

[2] Same authorities; Kurtz, *op. cit.*, p. 351 ff.

popular freedom. Since then, under the form of a constitutional monarchy Holland has really been a democracy. The increase in population and wealth has been marked. The modern spirit has been active in all departments of the national life.

Dutch literature in the nineteenth century has shown the qualities and spirit of the modern era. Van Kampen, the historian, and Bilderdijk, the poet and historian, were still at work in the early part of the century. Isaac da Costa, a Jew of Portuguese descent, converted to Christianity under the influence of Bilderdijk, contributed valuable works, both to poetical and theological literature. Poetry and fiction found able representatives in Bogaers, Dekker, Haverschmidt, and Maartens—especially the last, who, however, has chosen to write in English. Historical and literary criticism found strong upholders in Hofdyk, Ten Kate, Huet, and others. Theological learning and religious literature were ably represented in Da Costa, Van Heusden, Loman, Kuenen, Van Oosterzee, Kuyper, and others of the various schools of thought.

Religious history in Holland during the nineteenth century presented many points of interest. The French conquest, with all its ruinous effects, left at least one benefit in the introduction of general religious freedom. Both in Belgium and Holland this enlargement of toleration produced great conflicts, but of a quite different nature. Belgium was Catholic, Holland Protestant. What the Catholics opposed in Belgium they were glad to take advantage of in Holland. So, when the Reformed Church was restored, on the creation of the monarchy in 1815, it was done along with the toleration of all other forms of worship, which likewise drew their sustenance from the State. This was a bad arrangement and led to great controversies. Later the great statesman Thorbecke, in furthering the cause of perfect religious liberty, made even greater concessions to the Catholics, so that they were encouraged to attempt the restoration of their ancient hierarchy in Holland. Naturally this produced a storm of indignant protest throughout the land. Meantime in the Protestant ranks there were serious divergencies and controversies. The situation about 1830 is thus presented by Kurtz: "In the prevailingly Reformed National Church rationalism and latitudinarian supernaturalism had to such an extent blotted out the ecclesiastical distinctions between Reformed, Remonstrants, Mennonites, Lutherans, that the clergy of one party would unhesitatingly preach in the churches of the others. Then rose the poet Bilderdijk, driven from political into religious patriotism, to denounce with glowing fury the general declension from the orthodoxy of Dort. Two Jewish converts of his, the poet and apologist, Isaac da Costa, and the physician, Cappadose, gave him powerful support."

The writing and influence of Da Costa and others produced a powerful movement in favor of a more orthodox and spiritual teaching and practice, but this led to a serious schism, and the forming of a separate Church in 1839, called The Christian Reformed Church. In the older Reformed Church there arose the three usual parties: (1) the radical rationalists, who were very strong, and found their leaders in such men as Loman, Scholten, and Kuenen, who virtually denied any supernatural element in Christianity; (2) then the mediating school had such able leaders as Van Oosterzee, De Groot, and others, who remained in the Established Reformed Church and tried to bring it to a more evangelical position; finally (3), there were the strictly orthodox Calvinists, who, under the lead of the thinker and statesman, Dr. Abraham Kuyper, long maintained a vigorous struggle within the establishment, but finally withdrew and united with the older separates who had gone out with Da Costa. Thus the religious life of Holland in the nineteenth century was one of great turmoil and constant struggle between the semi-skeptical school of modern criticism and the traditional Calvinistic orthodoxy.

In regard to preaching, the good influence of Hinlopen, Bonnet, and others in the preceding century led to a vast improvement in homiletical theory and practice.[8] We have seen how in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a dry scholastic method had prevailed in the Dutch pulpit, but earnest and in large degree effectual struggles had been made, and not in vain, to introduce better methods. Accordingly, we find in the nineteenth century that Dutch preaching feels the forward movement of the modern spirit. As already noted, the evangelical and rationalistic parties opposed each other and acted as spurs to each other. On the whole, the evangelical revival in the early part of the century was the main cause of the heightened tone of Dutch preaching throughout the period. The preachers who professed and taught evangelical doctrines were most popular and most effective in developing the Christian life of the people. A few of the most notable of these preachers may be passed in review.

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[8] See, as before, the article by Christlieb and Schian in *RE;* Werckshagen, *op. cit.*, art. by Cramer, Bd. II, S. 917 ff.; Van Oosterzee, introduction to *Practical Theology;* Hartog, *Geschiedenis van de Predikkunde;* Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek.*

Chief among them in the early part of the century was the gifted and beloved Jodocus Eliasson Heringa (1765-1840).[4] He was born at a small town in Friesland. At ten years of age he was sent to the Latin School at Groningen, and after that preparatory course, went through the university there with great distinction and honors. He was ordained, and began his ministry as assistant pastor to an old and weak man. In this difficult office he acquitted himself so well that he naturally became the successor to his aged colleague. In 1802 he was called to the double office of professor and preacher at the University of Utrecht; and though, on account of modesty and a preference for the pastoral service, he was reluctant to undertake the double burden, he yielded to duty and found therein his life-work. Leyden and other places tried to get him, but he held to his post at Utrecht until his death. Like other Dutch and German preachers, he was distinguished both in the chair and the pulpit. He saw much trouble during the French Revolution and supremacy, but behaved with great prudence and firmness. His course was of great service to his university and the cause of religion. He lived to an honored old age, much respected and beloved by his countymen generally, and by large numbers of devoted pupils. Like Bonnet and others, and like Francke, at Halle, he combined his two offices with great distinction. He was very learned, and very popu-

[4] Art. in Van der Aa; Van Oosterzee, p. 151; Hartog, bl. 279.

lar with the students. As a pastor he was faithful and beloved. As a preacher, the cyclopædia notice of him says: "Great was his renown as preacher and instructor in homiletics. Very early a competent critic gave him high praise as pulpit orator. His preaching was popular, simple, and cordial. He knew how to enlighten the understanding with Bible truths and to move the heart in a most Christian way." His Bible expositions were very highly prized, and his influence upon many rising preachers was great and enduring.

E. A. Borger (d. 1820)[5] is mentioned by Van Oosterzee with high praise as a preacher of remarkable genius. The critic says that he could "animate and enchain an audience, and soared like a royal eagle far above the crowd of powerless imitators and envious detractors. Whatever weak sides may have been justly found in his two volumes of *Leerredenen,* there is not one of his discourses which does not present traces of a master's hand, or which does not, upon reading again after so many years, still powerfully affect and touch." Borger seems to have been original in method and powerful in expression, an able apologete and an eloquent speaker. Sometimes he was too much given to ornament and display, but was on the whole a preacher of great power and lasting influence.

P. van der Willigen (1778-1847)[6] was a pupil of Heringa, clever, bold, and clear-headed. He was pastor at Hillegom, and died at Tiel, on retiring from active work. He held liberal opinions inclining to Rationalism. He was strong intellectually, but lacked evangelical warmth and force.

Later in the century and about its middle comes another group, of whom J. I. Dermout (d. 1867)[7] was in many respects the most powerful and brilliant. He was educated at Utrecht, began his ministry at Zeist, and, after several years in various places, he came, in 1805, to The Hague, where he worked for forty-two years. Four volumes of sermons were published at various dates between 1819 and 1846. He was a master in the analysis of his text. He also possessed great ease and power in applying Scripture truth to human life. He was nicknamed "the Napoleon of the pulpit" because of his sweeping and forcible manner of speech. Along with him comes J. H. van der Palm (1763-1840),[8] famous professor and preacher at Leyden. He also was particularly strong in exposition of Scripture, and published many sermons which were widely circulated and had much influence upon the younger ministry. Hartog says that none had greater influence than he in bringing into use in a many-sided and tactful way the principle of Scripture exposition and application. Van der Palm was a native of Rotterdam, where he pursued his academic studies. During the French troubles he was silenced for a time, but after the wars he settled as professor and preacher at Leyden. In 1806 he delivered a discourse on the Christian ministry, in which he set forth and emphasized with great power the principle that the preacher above all things must adhere to and teach the Word of God. He published many sermons in illustration of his principle, and thus he became a model for many of his brethren. Another distinguished member of this group was A. A. van der Hoven (d. 1855),[9] a learned and useful professor among the Remonstrants. He had a noble son, who was also distinguished as a preacher and teacher of that period. Van der Hoven was a remarkable orator, full of unction and eloquence. In 1825 he published a striking monograph on Chrysostom, in which he held up that great preacher as a model, insisting especially on naturalness and simplicity. This he practiced himself, for his manner was impressive and appealing without being overstrained. Van Oosterzee says that it was impossible to form a due judgment of him from merely reading his sermons; "One must have personally listened to his unequaled delivery in order to explain the magic power of a preaching which to the last could with undiminished force hold spellbound a numerous audience." He preached without notes, but with great ease. He had a good voice, attitude, and gesture, and is acknowledged to have been one of the most successful of modern Dutch preachers.

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[5] Van O., p. 152; Htg., bl. 317.
[6] Chr.-Schian in *RE;* art. in Van der Aa.
[7] Van O., p. 153; Htg., bl. 286, 331.

After the middle of the century we come upon a group of modern Dutch preachers, among whom should be mentioned C. E. van Koetsveld,[10] pastor at The Hague. He published, in 1864, a strong volume of sermons on the *Apostolic Gospel,* in which he stoutly opposed rationalistic critical views. He also was successful as a preacher to children, and altogether was a man of influence and widely respected. Over against him should be named C. P. Tiele (1830-1902),[11] who as a preacher and writer represented quite ably the liberalistic trend of opinion. The mediating school of professors and preachers was admirably represented in the distinguished theologian, writer, and preacher, J. J. van Oosterzee (1817-1882).[12] He was long pastor and professor at Utrecht, belonged to the Established Church, but held orthodox views. He was learned in modern thought and literature, had mastered the German critical theories without accepting them. His great work on *Practical Theology* is one of the classics on that subject. As a preacher Van Oosterzee was both strong and popular. During eighteen years of service his preaching attracted thousands. He was especially gifted, and in great demand as a preacher on particular occasions. He was a master of the modern expository method, seeking and unfolding the exact meaning of Scripture, but applying it with unction, force, and success to the modern conditions and the modern mind.

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[8] Van O., p. 153; Htg., bl. 301.

[9] Van O., p. 154; Htg., bl 348 vv.

The best known and probably the ablest representative of modern Calvinistic orthodoxy is the celebrated theologian, preacher, and statesman, Dr. Abraham Kuyper. He was long pastor at Amsterdam, and after striving in vain to hold the Established Church to the faith of its fathers, he took the lead in establishing a Free Reformed University at Amsterdam, in 1880. The object of this school was to teach the true evangelical faith as opposed to the critical theories of Scholten, Kuenen, and their followers. Dr. Kuyper has written notable books, one of them on *The Work of the Holy Spirit,* which is the leading modern treatise on that subject. Carrying his religious principles into politics, he led a successful party in the State and for a time was Prime Minister. Dr. Kuyper is better known as a writer and leader, but the vigor of his mind and character were no doubt felt in the pulpit during his service as pastor at Amsterdam.

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[10] Chr.-Schian in *RE.*

[11] *Id.;* art. by Cramer in *RE.*

[12] *Id.;* Hartog, bl. 390 vv; art. by Doedes, revised by Van Been, in *RE.*

II. Preaching and Preachers in the Scandinavian Lands

The three Scandinavian countries had a varied and somewhat tumultuous history during the nineteenth century.[13] All were more or less disastrously involved in the troubles of the Napoleonic *régime* in the early years of the century. Denmark part of the time sided with Napoleon, part of the time played neutral, and thus in both ways incurred the enmity and felt the power of England. Sweden fell under the influence of France, and Bernadotte was elected king; but though he was one of Napoleon's marshals, he was not subservient to the tyrant, but opposed and finally turned against him. Norway was forcibly separated from Denmark in 1814, and though erected into an independent kingdom, was compelled to form a political union with Sweden. Though the two countries were under the same sovereign all through the century, they were never really united, much less fused, and early in the twentieth century (1905) the union was dissolved, Norway becoming a separate kingdom. Sweden lost Finland to Russia in 1809, and gained no real or lasting advantage by the union with Norway. Denmark attached to itself the German provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, but so unwisely used her power over them that they revolted in 1848, though unsuccessfully. Their condition appealed to the German people, but these were not united, and nothing but trouble and complications ensued until finally, in 1864, Prussia and Austria forced Denmark, in a brief and brave war, to surrender the two duchies. After 1866 they were absorbed by Prussia. Besides these relations to the other European powers, the internal affairs of the three lands were marked by political disturbances and changes. Denmark and Norway have been more favorable to modern ideas of liberty than Sweden.

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[13] For history, literature, and religion, authorities previously referred to; especially Werckshagen (Nielsen), *op. cit.*, S. 981 ff.

Scandinavian literature had in all three countries a notable development in the nineteenth century. Some of the most distinguished writers of modern times adorn the literary annals of Denmark and Sweden. The greatest of Danish poets was Oehlenschlager (d. 1850), who enjoyed a well-deserved reputation among his countrymen. After him came Ingemann, who also was most highly esteemed as a poet and novelist. Most widely known of all Danish writers beyond his own country is the delightful writer of child-stories, Hans Christian Andersen; but he did other work also which entitles him to distinction. Of later date came Brandes, noted as literary critic; Drachmann, the poet; Allen, the historian; and among religious writers, to be named later, Grundtvig and Kierkegaard. Among Norwegians the great names of Ibsen, Björnson, Lie, and Boyesen (who also belongs to America) are well known as leaders in various fields of literary workmanship. The Swedes have in their constellation such stars as Tegnér, Atterbom, Almquist, Fredrica Bremer, and the delightful Finnish writer, Runeberg, besides a number of others. The literary ideals and spirit, as well as the favorite forms of literary expression, which characterized European letters in the great century we have under review, had strong hold upon the Scandinavian peoples and produced a rich fruitage.

In religious history we must recall that the three countries were prevailingly Lutheran. In Denmark and Norway, especially after 1848, modern ideas of religious liberty gained foothold and led to the entrance and spread of other forms of doctrinal and ecclesiastical life. In Denmark the Baptists got a start from their brethren in Germany and had considerable spread. In Sweden, though subjected at first to many persecutions—before the harsh laws against other than the Established Church were repealed—the Baptists had, after 1855, a wonderful growth and strength. The Catholics also took advantage of the freedom of religious worship and sought to establish themselves, but without great success. In religious life and thought the same general conditions which we have had to remark elsewhere in Europe were more or less prevalent in the three Scandinavian countries. The Established Church was divided into the radical rationalistic and the more conservative groups, and among the people many pious and sometimes extreme mystics sought in various ways to protest against the evils and declension of the age.

Preaching in these countries as elsewhere naturally felt the influence of the modern spirit in science, literature, and criticism. Improvement in method and in popular application was apparent in Northern European preaching as in that of the other countries. As the author is not at home in the Scandinavian tongues, he is greatly indebted for the brief study that follows to a collection of Scandinavian sermons translated into German and published (1882) by O. Gleiss, pastor in Westerland.[14]

In Denmark, J. P. Mynster (d. 1854)[15] led the way in opposing Rationalism and bringing his people back to evangelical views. In 1801 he was pastor at Spjellerup, Zealand; in 1810, at the Frauenkirche, in Copenhagen, where he also gave lectures on psychology in one of the colleges. He was made court preacher there in 1825, and then bishop of Zealand in 1834, holding the office for twenty years, to the end of his life. He has been described as a man of "comprehensive learning, deep knowledge of human nature, and lofty spirit." His successor and friend, H. L. Martensen, bears this testimony to the good Bishop Mynster: "He belongs, in our fatherland, to those who can not be forgotten, for he was to many the best that one man can be to another—a way to the Way." Our authority gives two sermons from him, the first being on *The Law Our Schoolmaster to Christ*. It contains nothing very new, is somewhat lacking in unity, and covers too much ground, but it shows a clear conception of the truth, a fine spirit, and an easy, unpretentious presentation of the matter in a loving and sympathetic way. The other is a sermon on

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[14] *Aus dem evangelischen Norden; Zeugnisse von Christo in Predigten aus der skandinavischen Kirche unsrer Zeit,* von O. Gleiss; Gütersloh, 1882; Chr.-Schian, and Werckshagen as before.

[15] Chr.-Schian in *RE,* Gleiss, Einl., S. IV, and SS. 17, 171.

Christian Hope, for the Easter festival. It is admirable in conception, spirit, and manner, and contains some fine sayings. Evidently the preacher was soundly evangelical and gifted with a moving manner of discourse.

A very remarkable personality was Sören A. Kierkegaard (1813-1855).[16] He was born in Copenhagen, and after the customary education, he stood, in 1840, the required examination for entrance into the ministry, but he never was a recognized pastor nor filled any church office. But he was very active with his pen, and has a secure place among the religious writers of his time and country. In preaching he was a free lance; wherever he was offered or could make an opportunity, he preached earnestly to all who would hear him. He was intensely individualistic, having little regard for the church as an institution or for church life as such. His writings and personal influence were profoundly felt in the religious life of the North and extended beyond his own country. Gleiss gives one sermon from him on Matt. 6:24-34—*Lessons from the Lilies and Birds.* It is really a sort of running exposition on the whole passage strung on the idea of the carefree example of the birds and lilies. It is full of keen and searching though original terms of expression and essential Christian teaching. It is rather a somewhat dry though beautiful essay than a sermon.

One of the great religious leaders of Denmark was the eloquent and pious N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872),[17] born in Zealand, where his father was pastor, he took the examination for orders in 1803, becoming a tutor in a private family, and a fellow at the University of Copenhagen. He was a busy student, devoting especial attention to mythology. In 1812 he became assistant to his father for a while, then came back to Copenhagen, where he worked as teacher and writer on historical, poetical, and theological subjects. His religious interest now became deepened, and an intense spiritual life developed within him. In 1821 he was pastor at Praesto. He had an unfortunate theological controversy with Professor H. N. Clausen, of Copenhagen, which grew bitter and personal, and ended in a lawsuit. The case went against

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[16] Chr.-Schian, and Michelsen in *RE;* Gleiss, IV, and 288.
[17] Same; Gleiss, pp. V, and 201, 240.

Grundtvig, and he was forced out of his position. Once more he came back to Copenhagen, and with two friends began to publish a monthly theological journal. Finally, through the king's favor he was again put into a pastor's place at a famous hospital in Copenhagen, in 1839, and here he ministered with great faith and earnestness to his death, in 1872. It has been said, "As Mynster for the church, and Kierkegaard for the individual, so Grundtvig labored for the people." His whole effort was to promote a national Christian life and culture, and though his methods and spirit were those of a born fighter, he was in reality a deeply spiritual man. Even his opponents recognized that to him the Danes owed more than to any one man the revival of their religious life in the early part of the century. In Gleiss' collection there are two sermons, one on *The Flock and Shepherd,* and the other on *The New Birth.* They contain nothing very remarkable, but indicate both the spiritual earnestness and popular power of the preacher.

From the celebrated professor, preacher, and bishop, H. L. Martensen (1808-1884),[18] Gleiss gives four sermons. These show a happy combination of the three indispensable qualities of a modern gospel preacher: (1) Power of thought—whether in the grasp of Scripture truth or the general problems of religion and philosophy; (2) a warm and genuine spiritual feeling, both of piety toward God and of loving interest in the people; (3) a simple, straightforward style and general manner of address, unambitious but not unadorned, intent on the transfer of his own thought and feeling to the hearer. In a word, we have in Martensen sound, able gospel preaching without great oratorical or philosophical effort. The sermons do not exhibit a very sharply defined structure. Sometimes they seem to pass a little beyond the exact teachings of the text, but on the whole they are eminently Scriptural and practical. The life of Martensen was without striking incident. He was born at Flensburg, educated at Copenhagen, ordained in 1832, traveled and studied in Germany (at Berlin and Heidelberg), became professor at Copenhagen, and court preacher there. On the death of Mynster, in 1854, he was made bishop of Zealand and filled the office to his death. As a thinker and theologian Martensen became known far beyond his own land through his strong works on *Dogmatics* and *Ethics*.

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[18] Chr.-Schian and Madsen in *RE;* Gleiss, pp. VI, and 1, 91, 163, 378.

Besides those mentioned, Gleiss gives sermons of various degrees of power, but all of an evangelical character, from Bladel, Fog, Kok, Monard, Leth, Birkedal, Helweg, Frimodt, and some others. Of these, D. G. Monard, bishop of Lolland and Falster, is the most important. He was highly regarded as a preacher, both at home and abroad. Five sermons of his are given.[19] They show a deep evangelical spirit, a clear and personal grasp of the truth, an earnest zeal for God and men, and a manly yet winsome presentation.

In Norway, particularly in the latter half of the century, a number of evangelical preachers appear. There was W. A. Wexels (d. 1866),[20] who was pastor in Christiania. He was evangelical in doctrine, and earnestly opposed to Rationalism. Besides his sermons, he published a *Book of Devotion for Common People*, which sold, up to 1872, one hundred and twenty thousand copies. Contemporary with him was O. A. Berg (d. 1861),[21] who published a volume of short, taking, popular sermons. In Gleiss' collection there is only a brief mention of the names of those Norwegian preachers from whom he gives sermons. There is Christian Knudsen, of Drammen, from whom is given a strong and striking sermon on *The Missionary Service of the Church of Christ, Its Glory and Its Hope*. From J. C. Heuch, pastor and professor in Christiania, there is a sermon on *The Trial, Conflict, and Victory of Faith*, a vigorous and interesting study of the case of the Syrophenician woman. J. G. Blom, secretary of the Lutheran Institution at Christiania, is represented by a comforting and helpful discourse on John 16:16-20, *The Shortness of the Time of Tribulation*. There is also a good discourse from J. Munch, of the Inner Mission of Norway, and an earnest evangelical, but not especially striking, sermon from O. Berggsen, chaplain in Christianssand.

[19] SS. 9, 221, 256, 330, 360. [20] Chr.-Schian in *RE*. [21] *Id.*

In Sweden Van Oosterzee[22] informs us there was a great improvement in methods of preaching about the beginning of the nineteenth century; and the revival of evangelical life and teaching in the churches, though slower in appearing than in Denmark and Norway, yet had some notable representatives in the pulpit. Among the preachers mentioned as worthy of special notice are Wallin, of Stockholm, who was also a hymn-writer, and was affectionately called the David of the North. L. S. Odmann, at Upsala, and P. C. Hagberg, at Lund, are named as important men in the early part of the century. G. Rogberg (d. 1842) was a professor at Upsala. He began as a rationalist, but became evangelical and preached the old doctrine with great power and success. His was a helpful and widely influential ministry. Esaias Tegnér (d. 1846) was a beloved pastor at Lund. Besides his effective work in the pulpit and the pastoral office, he was a lovable and popular poet and also a theologian of considerable ability. Perhaps the most important preacher in the middle of the century was J. H. Thomander, bishop of Lund. He was of Scotch descent, and had the "fervid genius" of his ancestry. He was hailed by his friends as a new Luther. He earnestly opposed Rationalism, and had a great following. His contemporary, Bishop Reuterdahl, was more of a mediating theologian and preacher, whose method and spirit were somewhat like those of Schleiermacher in Germany. Among later preachers mention is made of Lindblad, Emanuelson, Tören, and Rudin as preachers of excellent repute in Sweden. Besides these of the Established Church, a number of dissenters arose; among them the Baptists, who have had great success among the people. They have exemplified a popular method of preaching and have laid strong emphasis upon evangelical views. Among the leaders and preachers, F. O. Nilsson and Andreas Wiberg are worthy of special mention.

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[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 143 ff., and *RE* as before.

CHAPTER XIV

The French Pulpit of the Nineteenth Century

French history during the nineteenth century is full of change and of surpassing interest and importance to mankind.[1] The despotism of Napoleon signalized the first fifteen years of the century. It was a brilliant and bloody time. Then came the restoration of the Bourbons, after the defeat at Waterloo; but this dynasty was not popular. Another Revolution in 1830 brought in the Citizen King, Louis-Philippe. This compromise between monarchy and republicanism did not succeed, for it did not enjoy the respect of either party. It fell ingloriously, in 1848, and was succeeded by another short-lived Republic, till, in 1852, Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great emperor, first assumed dictatorial and then imperial powers and established the Second Empire. In many respects this period marks great advances in France in all the elements of civilized progress in modern times. The Empire, however, was not strong nor popular. The fatal war with Prussia, in 1870, resulted in its overthrow, and the Third Republic, after fearful internal convulsions, was finally established.

In the arts, sciences, and literature France had a brilliant history during the nineteenth century. In regard to literature it is only necessary to recall the great names of the elder and younger Dumas, of Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset, George Sand, Balzac, Maupassant, Zola, and a host of lesser writers of poetry and fiction. In history there were a number of distinguished names: Guizot, Thierry, Michelet, Thiers, Duruy, Langlois, and Seignobos, and others. Criticism and essays found distinguished representatives in Souvestre, Taine, Sainte-Beuve, Brunetière, Bentzon, and many others. Philosophy claims the great names of Jouffroy, Comte, Cousin, Janet, and a number of others. Many other writers in all the departments besides these well-known and distinguished ones gave to French literature during the nineteenth century a power and renown comparable only to its classic period in strength and beauty, and far excelling that in extent and influence. The French genius was extremely brilliant and fertile during this great period of the national history.

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[1] See appropriate places in the *Historians' History;* the *Warner Library;* or other standard works on French history and literature.

The religious history of France in this epoch was as varied and interesting as that in other spheres of the national life.[2] Napoleon restored Catholicism after the horrors of the French Revolution, but he did it with two decided checks upon its power. One of these was the political reservation to the state of a larger measure of control over the church than had been the case before. This agreement with the pope is known as the Concordat, and under it the struggles between the papacy and the French government had their ups and downs throughout the whole century. The other check to Catholic power was the granting of toleration to the Protestants. Napoleon permitted the establishment of a Protestant training seminary for the Reformed Church at Montauban, and another for the Lutherans at Strassburg. Of course, the restoration of the Bourbons was hailed by the papacy as a boon to their cause, but both the independence of the French Catholic Church and the toleration of Protestants had become too well settled to be overthrown. Still, the majority of the people being Catholic, it was not easy for Protestantism to flourish greatly against the many forms of persecution and opposition which were still found. Napoleon III stood firmly for the Gallican liberties and tolerated Protestantism, yet, on the whole, his protection of the pope and the influence of the Empress Eugénie were strong bulwarks to Catholicism. Under the Third Republic freedom of worship was assured to all churches and parties. Very strong anti-clerical feelings were aroused in the latter part of the century which led to the final separation of church and state early in the twentieth century.

There has been a vast deal of skepticism and irreligion in modern France. In the Catholic Church Modernism has been usually quickly and severely repressed; occasionally strong men have either been forced to submit to ultramontane views or have been forced out of the Church. Nor have Protestants been free from the divisions and controversies of modern religious thinking. In the first half of the century there was a wave of evangelical revival, but rationalism and radical criticism have also had large place and strong influence within the Protestant party. Of course, all these influences, secular and religious, have had their influence upon the development and the exercise of preaching. The French pulpit of the nineteenth century, among both Catholics and Protestants, was brilliant, intellectual, and strong, though not so widely admired nor perchance so influential as in the seventeenth century.

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[2] See Kurtz, III, p. 378, and other church historians.

I. General Survey of Preaching

The opening years of the century were unfavorable both for Catholic and Protestant preaching. In its triumph over Protestantism the Catholic pulpit had decayed, as we have seen. Through the eighteenth century it had never been strong or great. It suffered terribly from the Revolution, and so had to meet the nineteenth century with greatly weakened power. Among Protestants, while the freedom of worship accorded by Napoleon gave new opportunity for pulpit eloquence and influence, the blight of Rationalism was sorely felt. These drawbacks made themselves apparent certainly during the first two decades of the century; but in order to trace the development of French preaching it will be necessary to treat separately the Catholic and Protestant pulpits.

On the whole, the Catholic preaching of France during the nineteenth century scarcely measures up to the high standard of its classic development of the seventeenth, but as the century wore on there was a decided improvement over the preaching of its immediate predecessor. Hence, while the nineteenth century preaching shows marked intellectual power and great advance in simplicity and popularity of style, and while a number of able and distinguished orators adorned the pulpit of the epoch, we must still look to the classic period in the age of Louis XIV for the highest point which French pulpit oratory has reached. The early decades of the nineteenth century show the traces of the weakness and decay which characterized French preaching toward the close of the eighteenth century. It is true that a few notable men like Boulogne, Frayssinous, MacCarthy (of Irish descent, but born a Frenchman), and some others were conspicuous and influential in the pulpit, yet they did not redeem this early period from the charge of weakness and decline. A Catholic writer (Scannell, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*), writing of Lacordaire, says: "The clergy in the first part of the nineteenth century went on preaching as before, speaking on the same subjects, bringing forward the same arguments, using the same methods, forgetting all the while that they had to appeal, not only to believers, but also to infidels. It was Lacordaire's merit that he discerned the necessity of a complete reform; new subjects, new objects, new methods must be adopted." This new movement began about 1830; some ten years later, as we shall see, than the revival of the Protestant pulpit. From this time on the improvement in the French Catholic pulpit is distinct and great.

The causes of this heightened character and power in French Catholic preaching are not far to seek. First of all, it was due in large measure to the general progress of the age. This was a note of civilization the world over. The nineteenth century was alive in France as elsewhere, and no department of the intellectual and moral life of the people could or did escape the impulse of that alert and progressive epoch in human culture. More particularly, there was in France itself a vivid and varied intellectual life. It is well known to observers that while the French Revolution desolated and destroyed, it also stimulated and constructed. In science and literature, as well as in political, social, and industrial affairs, France was among the leading peoples of the age. The constant change and debate in her political life, the oratory of the bar and of the tribune, the critical and argumentative essay writing, the psychological and keen literature of fiction, all had their influence indirectly but powerfully upon the pulpit. As already hinted, it is fair also to think that, as in the early part of the seventeenth century, so likewise in the early part of the nineteenth, the revival of evangelical Protestant preaching acted as a wholesome suggestion and as a spur by way of rivalry to the Catholic pulpit.

Within the Catholic body itself there were at least three special forces which promoted a quickening of power in the pulpit. One of these was the old and never dead assertion of the so-called Gallican liberties. Both the Napoleons favored the assertion of French rights as against the encroachments of the papacy, and there was always in France a party who responded to this call. A second force was the rise of the great movement headed by Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert, which sought to reconcile high Catholic doctrine with political and social liberties and progress.[8] Lamennais founded his paper, *L'Avenir* (The Future), and the other two were associated with him. Their motto was, "God and the future." They were really republicans in politics, and put themselves unhesitatingly and powerfully on the side of social improvement while trying to remain loyal and orthodox Catholics. The positions were incompatible, and failure was inevitable. The paper was condemned. Appeal was made to the pope, and he decided against the policy of the reformers. Lacordaire and Montalembert submitted and remained Catholic. Lamennais revolted, and finally died without the pale of the Church. The third force was Ultramontanism, over against the Gallican liberties, and over against the struggle of the liberal Catholics. The highest papal pretensions were asserted and maintained. The powerful help of the Jesuits was felt in this struggle. We have seen how Gregory XVI condemned the liberal Catholic movement of Lamennais, but it remained for Pius IX to push the Catholic pretensions to their extreme expression, proclaiming, in 1854, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin; issuing, in 1864, the famous Encyclical and Syllabus, and obtaining through the Vatican Council, in 1870, the decree of papal infallibility. The high Catholic party in France favored these ultramontane principles, but all along there was a strong and vigorous opposition. Men like Dupanloup opposed the decree of infallibility, but submitted when it was passed. Men like Loyson (Father Hyacinthe) protested within the Church as long as they could, and finally left it. Even up to the close of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth the turmoil of these conflicts has continued. The assertion of the rights of government as against the claims of the Church, and the ultramontane denunciation of Modernism are well-known movements of recent date.

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[8] Besides accounts of the leaders in cyclopaedias and other authorities, see an illuminating discussion by Leroy-Beaulieu in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for Aug. 15 and Dec. 15, 1884—*Les Catholiques libéraux et l'Église de France de 1830 à nos jours.*

Along with this movement, which imparted great vigor to French preaching in this epoch, we should observe the effect upon the spirit and style of preaching. There is more adaptation to popular thought and feeling. This is shown alike in the championship of moral reforms and in the flexibility, clearness, popularity of style. The discourses become less formal. Frayssinous and Lacordaire introduced and popularized the kind of pulpit address known in France as *conferences.* These were topical addresses, informal and direct, usually without a text or with one only as a motto. They dealt with religious and moral subjects generally, but with these as associated with social problems, and sometimes with political questions.

The Protestant preaching of France for two-thirds of the century has been presented in a thoughtful and well-written, though not very profound study, by M. Alfred Vincent.[4] It is not possible to agree with this author at all points, but the following discussion owes much to his suggestive treatise. Both in matter and form the discourses of French Protestant preachers up to 1820 show the lingering influence of eighteenth century Rationalism. Their view of preaching is that of the moralist rather than the evangelist, and the style, while usually clear, is labored and cold. Great stress is laid upon natural religion and the moral virtues. Sin, for example, is treated in its outbreaks in particular vices rather than in its nature as a corruption of the human soul. Immortality on the basis of philosophy is constantly affirmed, but the Christian doctrine as such does not receive due attention. Little or nothing is said of the Holy Spirit and of regeneration, and naturally the person and work of Jesus are presented rather from the philosophic and moralistic point of view than from the Scriptural and evangelical.

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[4] *Histoire de la prédication protestante de langue française au dix-neuvirème siècle,* par Alfred Vincent, Geneva and Paris, 1871.

What M. Vincent notes as the second phase of Protestant preaching appears during the period from 1820-1850, and he calls it significantly The Awakening. Through the influence of the earnest Scotchman, Robert Haldane, who resided in Geneva about the year 1816, a wave of revival was felt in French Switzerland. This movement was led by the pious and eloquent Cæsar Malan, who began to preach the evangelical doctrines. He met much opposition, and lost his place in the Established Church of Geneva, but some earnest followers were turned to him, and he established an independent evangelical Church. This movement gained the sympathy and adherence of such men as Gaussen, Vinet, Merle d'Aubigné, and others. Spreading into France itself, it found its greatest representative in Adolphe Monod, with whom were associated his brothers, Frederick, William, and Horace, as well as some others, such as Grandpierre, Secrétan, Martin, and others. These constituted the distinctively evangelical school. They insisted upon the usual tenets of that school, such as the inspiration and authority of Scripture, depth and degradation of sin, the need of salvation by grace, the divinity and atonement of Christ, and the need and reality of regeneration by the Holy Spirit. The usual faults of this school are not lacking. There is some one-sidedness and exaggeration, with occasional intolerance of those who do not accept the doctrinal statements of this party.

The third phase pointed out by M. Vincent is that of Liberalism, from 1850-1866. As a matter of fact, however, this tendency was contemporary with the other, but came to a larger scope and influence during the period; so much so that it may not incorrectly be taken as the dominant and descriptive note of the time. There was in this trend a recurrence to the moral and human view of Christianity prevalent during the first period, but with a difference. Historical and exegetical study of the Bible, and the great progress of scientific study and thought, put the revived Liberalism on a much higher plane than had been occupied by its rationalistic predecessor. Also this newer liberal preaching dealt more with the individual experience, as well as with social questions, and so came much nearer to the hearts of men than the preaching of the older school. The great progress of opinions in the direction of freedom of worship and in other ways made for the wider extension of this mode of preaching. Its doctrinal basis was deficient, both in its accord with Scripture and tradition. It felt too much the strength of its own freedom to be a safe guide. On many vital points of the Christian faith it was too indefinite, vague, even evasive, but it seized with power the problems—intellectual, moral, and social—of its time. It is well to distinguish, as Vincent does, two groups of preachers who were under the influence of this modern spirit. There were the extreme Liberals, like Colani and the two Coquerels; and there were the orthodox Liberals, such as Vinet, Monod, and, more recently, Bersier.

In regard to the contents of preaching in relation to the age, the Protestant pulpit of France throughout the nineteenth century exhibits a lively interest in public questions, and for the most part an intelligent and vigorous dealing with them. The great social and political changes which mark the history of France throughout the century come in for their share of attention. The preachers, as a rule, spoke boldly and clearly on these matters. They exhibited a fine balance of sympathy with forward movements, and yet all respect for the authority of custom and law. The aggressive tone of Romanism, both at the restoration of the Bourbons, and more emphatically upon the revived influence of extreme Catholicism after 1848, provoked a vigorous and intelligent restatement of the Protestant positions. The rise and growth of critical and scientific opposition to traditional Christianity produced a certain measure of apologetic preaching. While this was somewhat weak and traditional in the earlier stages of its activity, it grew in power, intelligence, and ability in the latter half of the century.

In regard to form the French Protestant preaching of modern times deserves high praise. While some little stiffness and coldness marked the early decades, there was a constant adaptation of preaching, both in style and tone, to the modern mind. The fondness for display characteristic of a former time was largely gone. Simplicity, naturalness, directness are notable qualities of the modern French pulpit. Homiletical principles are understood and employed, but there is no excess of analysis nor forcing of genius by rule. Freedom and spontaneity use method without constraint. The style is prevailingly admirable. It is clear, flexible, lofty, correct, and elegant. In the hands of the masters it rises occasionally to noble eloquence and powerful movement. In such men as Vinet, Coquerel, Monod, and Bersier the best French of the nineteenth century is not borrowed, but natural.

II. Leading Catholic Preachers

Among the notable preachers at the turn of the century we find the Abbé de Boulogne (1747-1825).[5] He had gained renown in the reign of Louis XVI, refused the oath of allegiance to the Revolutionary Government in 1793, was arrested, but released on the fall of Robespierre. Under Napoleon he was restored to his office, and made bishop of Troyes in 1808. He offended the emperor by his independence, in 1811, and was imprisoned. On the restoration of the Bourbons he was released, and retired to his diocese, being later made archbishop of Vienne. As a preacher Boulogne had in full measure the pomposity and swelling style of the eighteenth century, but along with these defects his discourses are marked by force and by occasional passages of eloquence and power.

Less pompous and more eloquent was the remarkable Jesuit of Irish ancestry, Father MacCarthy, whose fervid oratory and strong devotion to Catholic interests gave him great reputation in this early period.

More important than either of these was the famous bishop of Hermopolis, Frayssinous (1765-1841).[6] He

[5] See the Abbé Boucher, *L'Éloquence de la Chaire*, p. 415 ss.; sermons in *Orateurs Sacrés*, tom. 47.

[6] Boucher, p. 449; *Or. Sac.*, tom. 77.

was born in the diocese of Rodez, educated at Paris, refused the oath of allegiance to the Revolution, and retired to his home. In 1801 he came back to Paris to teach theology, and began a course of theological catechisms at the Church of the Carmes. The congregations overflowed, and he continued his work at St. Sulpice. The imperial police kept strict watch upon his utterances, and he was at one time silenced, but was later permitted to resume his preaching. These informal and timely addresses paved the way for the more distinctive work of Lacordaire. Frayssinous was highly praised by Lamennais and his contemporaries, but some of this praise was due to his striking personality and oratorical action. His sermons now seem rather cold and commonplace, but they deal with apologetics, and touch social and political questions. The style has something of the pomp and straining after effect, which was a heritage from the preceding period. On the whole, Frayssinous was not great, but important as a connecting link between two epochs.

The leading figure in the new movement, as has already been pointed out, was the eloquent and distinguished J. B. H. Lacordaire (1802-1861).[7] He was born near Dijon, where he was educated in his boyhood, completing his studies at Paris. Here he began the practice of law, and became a pronounced liberal in politics and theology. Through the influence of a friend he was won to a more definite acceptance of Catholic views, and decided to study theology. He was ordained a priest in 1827, and was appointed a chaplain in some family. This sort of work did not suit him, and he was on the point of going to America when, in 1830, the Revolution of July broke out and offered a new time and opportunity for liberal political principles. It was then that Lamennais, who was still a devout Catholic, invited Lacordaire to co-operate with him on his famous journal, *L'Avenir.* The principles and purposes of these men are thus briefly described by a writer in the *Catholic Encyclopedia:*

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[7] Boucher, p. 437 ss., who quotes Ste.-Beuve, Guizot, and others, and refers to a *Life by Frisset,* and to *Sermons;* Art. by T. B. Scannell in *Cath. Encycl.; Conferences,* Trans., by Henry Langdon, New York, 1870. *God and Man, Conferences,* tr., London, 1872 (original 1851).

"Their program was to renounce all State protection and assistance, and to demand religious freedom, not as a favor, but as a right. They advocated free speech and a free press, and exhorted the Catholics to avail themselves of these weapons in defense of their rights. Their religious teaching was strongly ultramontane." As we have seen, they were denounced, appealed to the pope in 1832, and their paper condemned. Lacordaire submitted, and this occasioned, along with some other things, a breach between him and Lamennais, who finally attacked the Church. Lacordaire, after his submission, began to give conferences at Stanislas College. These were criticised and referred to the archbishop of Paris, who, on reading them, was so pleased with their loyalty to Catholic views, while yet appealing to the modern spirit, that he appointed Lacordaire to give the Lenten sermons at Notre Dame in 1835, and again the next year. This was the beginning of his fame and power as a preacher. This new method and the personal magnetism of the preacher attracted great crowds and produced deep and abiding impressions. Lacordaire retired for rest and further study. He determined to become a monk, and was greatly interested in the long-decayed Dominican order of preachers. He joined this order in 1839, at Rome, and endeavored to revive its power in France. On returning to the pulpit of Notre Dame he created quite a surprise, appearing with the tonsure and in the habit of a Dominican friar. He preached off and on at Notre Dame and in other prominent pulpits. During the course of his conferences in 1852 he spoke out boldly against Louis Napoleon's assumption of imperial authority. He was, of course, silenced by the government. He spent his last days in educational work. An oft-quoted saying of his was, "I hope to die a religious penitent, but a liberal impenitent."

The *Conferences* of Lacordaire are still worthy of study as examples of a new and striking method of pulpit address. They show fine argumentative power, clear though sometimes subtle thought, some degree of imagination, and a noble flow of feeling and language. There is no text and no formal division into parts, though the arrangement is not loose. The introductions are short, merely pointing out the topics to be dealt with.

These are then freely and flowingly treated. Lacordaire had a striking personality and delivery. His voice was weak at first, but grew in power as he proceeded, and sometimes rang out with striking force. His method was to speak freely after careful preparation and arrangement of his material. As with all speakers of his sort, many of his most brilliant and effective passages came during the actual delivery. He was often eloquent and impressive.

Another famous preacher of conferences at Notre Dame was the eloquent Jesuit, Francis Xavier de Ravignan (1795-1858).[8] He was born at Bayonne, early joined the Jesuit order, and was educated in their system of learning and theology. He, however, was not a deeply learned man, but was a thoroughly devoted one. His language was not always polished, but strong, and his feeling was intense. He filled the stated appointments at Notre Dame quite often, alternating with Lacordaire and others. He naturally favored the ultramontane views and royalty. He was struck and wounded by a missile in the Revolution of July, 1830. He was very highly esteemed in his own order, one of whom described him as "virtue preaching truth." He gave a series of conferences on *The Spiritual Life*, addressed to Christian women in the convent of The Sacred Heart at Paris. A few men by special privilege were admitted to the galleries. They were published from notes taken down by a hearer, and have been translated into English. They are simple and unpretentious in style, but devotional, practical, and full of feeling. They were very appropriate to the audience. While, of course, presenting the Catholic doctrines and practices with all earnestness, they contain many passages of earnest exhortation appropriate to the general Christian life. The conferences at Notre Dame addressed to great popular audiences were naturally of a different tone and method of approach, though founded on the same principles.

L. E. M. Bautain (1796-1867)[9] was a native of Paris and educated there. He became professor at Strassburg, and later *abbé* at Paris. He gave some conferences on *Religion and Liberty* which indicate philosophic thought. He published the useful treatise, which has been translated into English, on *Extempore Preaching.* He was recognized as a preacher of brilliant gifts.

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[8] Boucher, p. 443 (refers to *Sermons*, and a *Life* by Pontlevoy); *Conferences on the Spiritual Life*, trans., London, 1877.

[9] Boucher, p. 455 (refers to *Conférences sur la Religion*, etc.); *Extempore Speaking* (tr.), New York, 1859.

Charles Joseph Félix (1810-1891)[10] was a very distinguished Jesuit preacher of the middle and latter part of the century. He often filled the pulpit at Notre Dame after Lacordaire and Ravignan, and in large measure sustained the traditions of that pulpit. Born at Neuville, department Du Nord, he was educated at preparatory schools and then at Cambrai. In 1833 he was made professor of rhetoric, and became a Jesuit in 1837. He began his ministry in Belgium, at various places, taking at one time some studies at Louvain. In 1850 we find him teaching and preaching at Amiens. He drew great crowds and was much applauded. From that time he was often called to preach at Paris, giving conferences and sermons at some of the principal churches, and was finally appointed chief preacher at Notre Dame (1853-1870). He lived later at Nancy and Lille, and preached much in the cathedrals of France and Belgium. Lalande, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* says of him: "The eloquence of Father Félix was characterized by clearness, vigorous logic, unction, and pathos, even in his reasoning. He lacked imagination and the enthusiasm of Lacordaire, but he was more skilled in dialectic and surer in doctrine. His diction was richer than that of De Ravignan, and while he was less didactic than Monsabré, he was more original." He published a series of Easter sermons called *Retreats.* There are six volumes of these. They discuss the Catholic doctrines with special bearing upon the spiritual and moral life. They are thoroughly Romanist in teaching, and of decided ultramontane principles. The style is flowing and correct. The discourse is well reasoned and often eloquent.

Another prelate and preacher of distinction in this period was Charles Émile Freppel (1827-1891),[11] bishop of Angers. He was a native of Alsace, where he attended preparatory schools. He received his university training at Strassburg, and later, after a brilliant examination, obtained the degree of Doctor at the Sorbonne. He was ordained a priest in 1847, and appointed a chaplain at St. Genévìeve, at Paris. His sermons on *The Divinity of Christ* attracted notice and were published. He frequently preached in the great churches in Paris and elsewhere. In 1869 two volumes of his sermons were published and had considerable circulation. He was made professor of sacred eloquence at the Sorbonne, and his lectures were well attended. He published a notable reply to Rénan's *Life of Jesus*. Freppel was highly esteemed by the pope, and was made bishop of Angers in 1870. He could have received higher honors, even a cardinalate, but declined. He upheld the ultramontane principles, but was in touch with modern movements. As a member of the Chamber of Deputies after 1870, he was highly esteemed. A collection of his works in seventeen volumes was published at intervals in Paris from 1869-1888. In these are many panegyrics, orations, discourses, and pastoral letters. They deal with questions of the day from the Catholic standpoint. The style is clear and modern, but not of particular charm or power. Freppel does not appear to have had the sweeping eloquence of Dupanloup and others, but was a faithful, scholarly, and widely intelligent preacher.

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[10] Boucher, p. 452; Art. by Louis Lalande in *Cath. Encyc.;* three vols. of the *Retraites,* those on *La Prévarication, La Confession, Le Châtiment,* Paris, about 1888. See also a brief but brilliant sketch by Prof. W. C. Wilkinson, *Modern Masters of Pulpit Discourse,* p. 301 ff.

One of the most important leaders, prelates, and preachers of the Catholic Church in France was the celebrated bishop of Orleans, F. A. P. Dupanloup (1802-1878).[12] The future bishop and scholar was born in humble circumstances in Savoy, but in his early childhood he was brought by his mother to Paris, where, through her hard work and sacrifices and his own diligence, he managed to secure an education. His talents were speedily recognized and, on his ordination, places and promotions quickly came to hand. In 1834 he gave a notable series of conferences in the cathedral at Orleans. A few years later he held appointments as Superior of the Seminary and also as Vicar General of Paris. In 1849 he was made bishop of Orleans, holding that office to the end of his life. He was a very active bishop, administering his diocese with great intelligence and diligence. He was also a very prolific writer on the topics of the day. He was much interested in social and benevolent measures, and in educational and literary pursuits. He was a liberal Catholic, though a convinced one. He opposed the dogma of infallibility, voting and speaking against it in the Vatican Council to the very last. He was perhaps the ablest opponent of that measure. It was not that he did not accept it personally, but he believed it was very inexpedient to define and proclaim it. When it was passed, however, like a loyal Catholic he accepted it, and did not go off with the so-called Old Catholics. Dupanloup was an ardent patriot and took a deep interest in all that concerned his country's welfare. In politics he was a monarchist, though advocating a constitutional government under the house of Bourbon. He was made a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and later a senator under the Third Republic. Besides his regular sermons, of which many were published, he put forth a number of panegyrics and funeral orations. He also wrote a very good treatise on *Sacred Rhetoric,* and a number of volumes on *Education.* He had a fine presence. His delivery was graceful, easy, and commanding. He had a clear voice and a very expressive countenance. His discourses, even in print, show a warm and fiery eloquence, which, of course, must have been more apparent in the actual delivery. Boucher, speaking of his preaching, says, "Very solid at bottom, very brilliant in form, very pure and correct in his diction, he was remarkable for brilliancy, vigor, dash; he put all his soul into his speech."

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[11] Lalande in *Cath. Encycl.; Oeuvres Pastorales et Oratoires*, Paris, 1869, and after.

[12] Art. by J. F. Sallier in *Cath. Encyc.;* Boucher, p. 449; some sermons in *Or. Sac.*, t. 83; *Ministry of Preaching*, tr., New York, 1890.

Perhaps the greatest, most popular, and widely known French Catholic preacher of his time was the famous Father Hyacinthe, whose real name was Charles Loyson (1827-?).[13] This remarkable man was born in the south of France, the home of so many gifted orators, and was brought up at Pau. His father was a teacher, and carefully directed the early education of his son. Later Loyson pursued his education at St. Sulpice in Paris, and was for some years a teacher. He joined the Carmelite order of monks about 1860, and after his novitiate began to preach at Lyons. His remarkable powers in the pulpit at once attracted attention, and he received various appointments of greater and greater dignity till, in 1864, he preached at the Madeleine, in Paris, and was then appointed preacher at Notre Dame; a place which he filled with great power and popularity till he was silenced for his liberal views and expressions, in 1869. He made a visit to America and was very warmly received by the Protestants, but he still avowed himself a Catholic, though a liberal one. He was released from his monastic vows in 1870, though still recognized as a preacher in the Catholic Church. He protested against the dogma of infallibility, and in consequence went with the Old Catholics, in 1871-72. He opposed the celibacy of the clergy and defended their right to marry. He put these principles into practice by marrying an American lady in 1873. After that he preached for a while to an independent Catholic congregation in Geneva, but later led a somewhat wandering life. He is said to have visited Algiers, and then Greece, where it was reported he had joined the Greek Church, and was welcomed by the Patriarch while at Athens. In recent times a public notice states, that along with a number of Protestants of various denominations, he was present, March 7, 1904, at a celebration, under the auspices of the American Methodist Church in Rome, Italy, of the centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Since his excommunication he could not fairly be reckoned among Catholic preachers, but previous to his separation, and in the palmy days of his work at Paris, he stands at the head of those who by distinguished pulpit gifts and wonderful influence over assemblies has adorned the Catholic pulpit of modern France. Great crowds attended his preaching, attracted not only by his splendid oratory, but also by his liberalism and the undercurrent of protest against extreme ultramontane sentiments.

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[13] Cyclopaedia articles, and various other sources; *Discourses on Various Occasions,* trans. by L. W. Bacon, New York, 1869.

In regard to later Catholic preaching, we may quote an interesting paragraph from a letter of Bersier, the famous Protestant preacher, to Dr. Broadus, written in 1876. The statement is as follows:[14] "The Catholic pulpit is singularly sterile at our epoch in France. We may say that since Lacordaire, Ravignan, and Father Hyacinthe, no orator has appeared of real excellence. Father Félix, of the order of the Jesuits, has preached with a certain success for several Lent seasons at Notre Dame, and just now they are trying to bring into vogue the name of Father Monsabré. But neither of them rises to the height of his task. Their fundamental characteristic is the ultramontane logic, developing inflexibly the principles of the Syllabus, hurling them as a defiance against contemporary society, and saying to it: Submit to Rome, or thou art lost. No profound study of the Scriptures, no psychology, nothing truly interior or persuasive. It is the method of outward authority brought into the pulpit, with the arid procedures of the scholastic demonstration—a thing at once empty and pretentious."

Monsabré, to whom Bersier refers, was a Jesuit of considerable ability, and is regarded as a preacher of the first rank in his time; but by far the ablest Catholic preacher in the last part of the century was Henri Didon (1840-1900.)[15] He was born at Touret, in Dauphiné, amid the beautiful mountains. He received his early education at Grenoble. At eighteen years of age he entered the Dominican order as a novice. His four years of study were completed at his ordination. He then went to Rome and pursued further studies. Returning to France, he received appointments to preach at various places, including Marseilles and Paris, where he was heard in some of the more important churches. Like the liberal Catholics of the earlier time, he was republican in politics and in great sympathy with the modern spirit, both in science and in social problems. In 1879 he made some notable sermons and writings on the subject of divorce. The next year he went still further and spoke in criticism of the attitude of his Church toward modern science. He was accused of preaching contrary to the principles of the Syllabus and was silenced for awhile. He spent, then, a long retreat at a monastery of his order in the island of Corsica. During this time of retirement he traveled and studied some years in Germany. In 1892 he was permitted to return to Paris and preach at the Madeleine. He had not been forgotten, and his return created great interest in the city. Crowds thronged the famous building from all classes of society. Programs of the services were sold on the outside, and tickets for places had to be secured in advance. He did not now put himself in opposition to his Church, but spoke upon the great religious questions. One series of sermons was on *The Divinity of Christ.* His great effort was to reconcile the belief of his Church with the modern spirit, but he was not so great as Lacordaire and his associates. Like them, he was doomed to failure. The career of Didon bears remarkable similarity to that of his great predecessor, Lacordaire. Both were Dominicans, both tried to reconcile Romanism with modern thought and social activity. Both were reproved, both submitted, and both ended their days in educational work after retiring from the pulpit.

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[14] Broadus, *Lectures on the History of Preaching*, p. 185, note.

[15] Cyclopaedia articles, and a good account by Th. Bentzon in *Century Magazine* for Sept., 1900; *Science Without God*, discourses transl. by Rosa Corder, London, 1882.

In personal character Didon was frank, straightforward, and sympathetic. He was a little intoxicated by his own fame, but that perhaps was to be expected. The critics who have heard his preaching and read his books assure us that his published works do not possess the merit of his sermons. His personal magnetism, earnest delivery, and commanding presence gave to his spoken words greater force than his writings show. Bentzon, who both heard and read Didon, has given a fine picture of the preacher in the article here referred to; and among other things, thus speaks of him: "Père Didon did not display a settled opinion against any person, but was moved by a perfect sincerity and limitless desire to transmit to his hearers the ardent faith which held possession of him. The vast torrent of his eloquence sprang from his innermost heart. At times, though, there are to be found in it traces of declamation and slight offenses against good taste. In his predilection for what was modern he freely introduced into the noble and dignified language of the pulpit familiar and discordant words sometimes borrowed from the current slang." The course of sermons on the relation of science to religion shows good qualities of mind and speech. They evince careful preparation, modern sympathies, and a clear and forcible address.

III. Protestant Preachers

The Protestant preachers in the French tongue are found not only in France itself, but in French Switzerland, and to some extent in Holland and Belgium. It will not be necessary, however, to consider these last apart from their French brethren, but it is desirable to distinguish between the Swiss and French groups, though they naturally were closely related to each other in movements of thought and in actual contact. We begin with the Swiss group.

At Geneva and throughout French Switzerland the rationalistic influences of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were in full swing. There was in Geneva a cold and critical spirit under which evangelical opinions and movements had greatly declined. The revived preaching in Switzerland and France was due to a reaction against the rationalistic influence. In this reaction there was a number of able and devoted preachers and leaders, such as Malan, Gaussen, Vinet, and Merle D'Aubigné, of whom brief notices follow.

Cæsar Malan (1787-1864)[16] was born of a French family at Geneva, which traced its origin to Dauphiné. The father of Cæsar was somewhat a free thinker, being a reader of Voltaire and Rousseau, but was outwardly devoted to the cause for which his ancestors had suffered. His wife was a woman of devoted piety, and her influence over her son was blessed and helpful. The boy showed aptitude and thirst for learning, and received the best education of the time in his native city. Here also he began to teach, and was recognized as a capable and

[16] Art. by E. Barde in *RE;* sermon and sketch in Fish, *Pulp. Eloq. of the XIX Cent.,* p. 149 ff.

inspiring instructor of youth. He was happily married, in 1811, to a Swiss-German lady, whose sympathy and piety were strong influences in Malan's subsequent career. Like many others under the State-Church system, Malan entered the ministry and was ordained without having experienced a real conversion. He preached in the various churches of Geneva as occasion or duty required, but he was not satisfied in mind or heart with the cold moralistic conception and presentation of Christian truth which then prevailed in Geneva as elsewhere. Association with some students of more evangelical sentiments, and with other friends, especially a sort of society which remained from a Moravian group of former times in Geneva, together with his own searching for light, led Malan to a true conversion and a clearer acceptance of evangelical truth. At this juncture, about 1816, Robert Haldane, the eminent evangelical layman of Scotland, made a long visit to Geneva. The influence of Haldane confirmed Malan in his tendency toward evangelical sentiments and greatly strengthened and comforted him in his efforts to lead a movement in that direction. On the 5th and 6th of May, 1817, Malan preached in Geneva two notable sermons, in which he proclaimed with earnestness and fervor the need of repentance and the doctrine of justification by faith alone. The sermons gave great offense to the authorities and the rationalistic preachers of Geneva. On retiring from the pulpit he was made to feel their coldness and opposition, and as yet even his wife did not fully share his sentiments. Depressed and grieved, he returned to his home, but there was Haldane to greet him with encouragement. The pious Scotchman grasped his hand and said, "Thank God the gospel has been once more preached in Geneva." The breach between him and the State Church began here, and soon became final. Malan was forbidden to preach in any of the churches of the city. He built, however, a little chapel on his own land, and numbers gathered to hear him. Through all trials and some internal dissensions the movement grew until an independent evangelical church was established. Meantime Malan had been deprived of his office as preacher and was now dependent in large measure for his support upon the voluntary contributions of sympathizers and friends. He traveled extensively in Germany, France, and Switzerland, and even as far as England, preaching to gathered companies of evangelical worshipers. It is an interesting fact connected with his visit to England that he was in close friendship with Henry Elliott, the father of Charlotte Elliott. This gifted and pious lady was a lifelong invalid, and at the time of Malan's visit she was suffering great depression of spirits and unable to see clearly the way of salvation in Christ. In conversation, Malan said to her, "Come just as you are, Charlotte." It was this that led her into peace, and out of that experience she wrote that widely influential hymn, *"Just as I am, without one plea,"* a hymn which has been blessed to the spiritual life of many thousands. Malan's preaching work as a pastor of his congregation in Geneva was greatly blessed. He was a singularly attractive and winsome man, and his speech was warm, persuasive, and moving. After many years of earnest and fruitful labors, he passed to his reward an aged man, in 1864. His preaching was marked by intense devotion to the evangelical theology, earnest exposition of the Scriptures, and simplicity and pointedness. The sermon given by Fish on *The Piety of Young Daniel* is marked by great simplicity of thought, a clear outline, and warm exhortation. There is no soaring eloquence, but impressive and well-reasoned appeal.

Along with Malan should be mentioned S. R. L. Gaussen (1790-1864),[17] who was also a native of Geneva, where his father held public offices. Young Gaussen received his education at Geneva, and was ordained pastor at Satigny, a suburb. He sympathized with the movement toward evangelical sentiments led by Haldane and Malan and, like the latter, incurred the hostility of the civil and church authorities in Geneva. It was against him and Malan that these authorities issued, in 1817, their notorious decree which forbade the preachers to discuss the union of the two natures in the person of Christ, original sin, predestination, and the way in which grace works. But Gaussen and others believed in their cause and persisted in preaching the truth. Sharp controversies continued until finally Gaussen was ejected from his pastorate at Satigny, and was forbidden to preach in any of the churches of the Canton. D'Aubigné had also suffered similar deprivation, and these two, with others, founded the Evangelical Society of Geneva, which established a school for teaching young ministers of their views, and for those preaching the gospel in the country. It was in connection with this school that Gaussen did the principal work of his life, teaching and defending the evangelical faith. As a preacher he has been described as combining in a high degree manly energy with delicacy and fervor of feeling. His style was marked by richness and vivacity. It was sometimes diffuse, but was flowing and often kindled into eloquence. Fish gives from him a striking discourse occasioned by the fall of Charles X, that is, the Revolution of 1830. It affords a fine example of the use of a great event, yet from a Scriptural standpoint, without sensation, but with earnest appeal to the higher motives, as these words will show: "But let us end as Christians should do, by raising our hearts and our prayers to God. Although the catastrophe which has shaken a neighboring empire has been placed before us, it has only been that the subject might fill us with spiritual reflection; but as this event, in whatever manner it may be viewed, has caused much misery, and may be the occasion of much more, let us raise our hands toward the mercy seat with praise and supplications and thanksgiving as ordained by St. Paul."

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[17] Art. by Riggenbach in *RE;* sermon and sketch in Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 139 ff.; Vincent, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 31, 48.

The ablest and most scholarly and accomplished member of this group was the eminent professor and literary critic, Alexandre Vinet (1797-1847).[18] He was born in the canton of Vaud, near Lausanne, of a family descended from Huguenot exiles. His father was a man of high character, but somewhat stern. His discipline was very strict. The mother, however, was full of gentleness and piety, and her influence was strong in developing the character and genius of her gifted son. In early youth his breadth of mind and versatile genius appeared. Literature, philosophy, questions of the day, as well as theology, attracted his keen and thoughtful interest, and in all these subjects he became both a deep student and a wise and kindling preacher. He was educated principally at Lausanne, but already in his twentieth year he was appointed professor in the gymnasium at Basel. Here he lived and taught for twenty years. He was ordained and preached frequently in the French churches at Basel and elsewhere, though he never was a pastor. He experienced a deep spiritual change about the year 1823, partly owing to a serious illness. Henceforth he taught and preached clear evangelical doctrines. In manner he was winsome and attractive. His literary output during his stay in Basel was very large and varied. Essays on public questions, brilliant literary criticisms and studies, as well as sermons and other religious writings bear witness alike to his diligence and to his learning and thoughtfulness. In 1837 he was called to the chair of Practical Theology at Lausanne, where he labored for the ten remaining years of his life. Naturally the change was at first a trial to him and he felt as if he were not successful, but his friends and pupils speak far otherwise. He took part with Malan, D'Aubigné, and other leaders, in opposing the rationalism of the Established Church, but his learning and culture, as well as the breadth of his sympathies, saved him from the narrowness which was characteristic of too many evangelicals. He was an ardent defender of freedom of thought and conscience, and while sincerely believing and defending evangelical orthodoxy, he was tolerant of other views. As a teacher of homiletics he was a great master. Unfortunately his two important works on that subject appeared after his death and without his final revision. The *Treatise on Homiletics* was made up from the notes of his pupils and his own imperfect manuscripts. Notwithstanding these defects, it had great influence in molding the views of many preachers in France and elsewhere. It was translated into English and widely used in America. The other work was his admirable *History of Preaching Among the Reformed During the Seventeenth Century.* Some of

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[18] *The Life and Writings of Alex. Vinet,* by Laura M. Lane, Edinburgh, 1890; *Le Vinet de la légende et celui de l'histoire,* par. J. F. Astie, Paris, 1882. Art. by A. Rüegg in *RE;* sermon and sketch in Fish, *Masterpieces,* II, p. 183; Vincent, pp. 81, and *passim; Christian Philosophy—Select Discourses,* tr. from the French, Lond., (Rel. Tr. Soc., undated); *Gospel Studies,* tr., with Introd. by Robert Baird, D. D., New York, 1849.

Vinet's sermons were published at various times. They indicate all the qualities which have been mentioned and more. Clear conception and warm exposition of Biblical truth are their fundamental notes. Excellent homiletics without the parade of analysis or art, a fine and beautiful style, a mellow and appealing unction were characteristic of Vinet's preaching. Altogether, both as a teacher of preachers and himself a preacher of high rank, though never an active pastor, Vinet is worthy of the highest respect and of careful study. Besides the qualities indicated, he had and used a vigorous imagination, which never ran away with him. His illustrations are apt and forcible, his reasoning acute and candid. The total impression of his manner is that of a rarely gifted, highly cultured mind deeply intent on communicating the truth of God as it was given to him to see it.

J. H. Merle D'Aubigné (1794-1872)[19] was associated with Malan, Vinet, and others in the awakening movement at Geneva. His family name of Merle received the addition of D'Aubigné from his grandmother, who was of high lineage. The father was a citizen of Geneva, but carried on a mercantile business in Marseilles. The youth felt himself drawn toward the work of preaching and became a student at Geneva about the time the religious awakening began. At first he sympathized with the rationalistic side, but was led, under the influence of Malan and Haldane, to both a spiritual and an intellectual acceptance of the evangelical views. Soon after his conversion he went to Germany, and at Berlin attended the lectures of Schleiermacher, Neander, and others. In 1818 he was ordained by the company of pastors in Geneva, and took charge of the Reformed Church at Hamburg. Here he had a successful and earnest ministry of about five years. At that time Holland and Belgium constituted one kingdom. Though Belgium was Catholic, the king was a Hollander and Protestant. He resided part of the time at Brussels, and appointed young Merle D'Aubigné as court preacher there. Here his ministry continued for about seven years. About 1830 he resigned his position at Brussels and returned to Geneva, where he became associated with the evangelical pastors in founding the theological school for the training of young men in those views. Here, with much preaching, both in Geneva and elsewhere, he found his busy and fruitful life-work, varying his double and arduous duties with occasional travel. Besides his activity as preacher and professor, he was a very prolific writer on many theological and other subjects. The great work of his life was his long-popular and interesting *History of the Reformation,* which was translated into other languages and had a wide circulation, both in England and America. As a preacher D'Aubigné held with firmness and intelligence the theology of his school. His learning was felt, but not made obtrusive in his pulpit work. His sermons were pious, earnest, and effective. He had sufficient imagination and feeling to make them popular and impressive. His style was clear, flowing, and attractive.

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[19] Art. by Duchemin in *RE;* sermon and sketch in Fish, *XIX Cent.*, p. 123 ff.; Vincent, *passim; Discourses and Essays,* tr. by C. W. Baird, with introductory sketch by Dr. Robert Baird, New York, 1846.

Other French-Swiss preachers of this period,[20] less important than those mentioned, were Jacques Martin, pastor in Geneva about 1840, who was characterized by great vigor and vehemence of feeling and style. J. E. Couriard, also pastor in Geneva, and historian and critic, without great distinction as a preacher; B. Bouvier, Viguié, and Trottet, who had a style of animation and a flowing eloquence. It does not appear that any of the preachers of the rationalistic group had any special excellence as preachers.

Passing now to the more distinctively French group of preachers, we shall not find it necessary to distinguish between those of France proper and those who preached in nearby regions, as there was frequent interchange. A very famous and beloved family was that of the Monods. The father, Jean Monod, served as pastor in Copenhagen and also in Paris. Four of his sons became active and highly esteemed preachers in the French Reformed Church. These were Frederick, Adolphe, William, and Horace. The best known and greatest of them was the eloquent, spiritual, and beloved Adolphe Monod

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[20] See Vincent, *passim.*

(1802-1856).[21] Adolphe was the fourth of twelve children. The parents of this interesting and striking family were unusually gifted and cultivated, both in mind and character. The mother was a Dane of Copenhagen, where Jean Monod served as pastor of the French Reformed Church for some years, and where Adolphe was born and spent his early childhood. Besides his admirable home training, both in intellect and in character, he attended schools in Paris, and obtained his philosophic and theological education at the University of Geneva. The cold moralistic influences then prevalent in the Faculty there were not favorable to the development of piety or of a genuine Christian faith. Adolphe, always more or less inclined to depression, was chilled by the religious atmosphere, but the evangelical influences which were beginning to be strong under Malan and D'Aubigné, were not without their effect upon the spiritual development of the gifted young man. Thus, about the year 1825, he became truly converted to Christ, and from then on to the end of his life occupied unfalteringly and with great peace of mind a firm position of evangelical belief and of personal union with his Lord. He had had, of course, the inevitable intellectual struggle with skepticism, but here likewise had come forth conqueror and reached a secure vantage ground of well-reasoned theological opinion. Traveling in Italy, he was persuaded to remain at Naples for awhile as pastor of the French Reformed Church in that city. This, however, was only temporary, and in a year or two he was called to the French Reformed Church at Lyons. This was really the beginning of his life-work, which falls into three periods: the pastorate at Lyons, 1827-1836; the professorship at Montauban, 1836-1849; and the pastorate in Paris, 1849 to his death, in 1856.

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[21] Fish, *XIX Cent.*, p. 164 ff.; Vincent, *passim;* art. by Bonnet in *RE;* Paul Stapfer, *La grande prédication chrétienne en France—Bossuet, Adolphe Monod; Saint Paul, cinq discours,* par Adolphe Monod, Paris, 1859 (also Eng. trans.); *Les Adieux d'Adolphe Monod,* Paris, 1857; *The Parting Words of Adolphe Monod* (Eng. trans.), New York, 1875; also some sermons trans. in *Select Discourses from the French and German,* by Fish and Poor, New York, 1858.

At Lyons Monod was associated with other pastors, as was the custom in the French Reformed Churches. These pastors, as well as the majority of the congregation, were rationalistic and worldly. The discipline of the church had grown lax, the preaching was fruitless, and consequently spiritual life at a very low ebb. Monod's preaching struck a new note. He proclaimed Christ as the Saviour from sin. He emphasized the sinful side of man as lost without the grace of God. He urged repentance and consecration with all his heart. Of course such preaching created a great stir. Monod's worldly-minded colleagues would have none of it. They even went so far as to complain to the city authorities with a view to removing Monod from his office. Only one thing was left for the pious and brilliant preacher to do. He could not surrender his views, nor could he forsake the few who had been called to a higher Christian life through his ministry. Forbidden to preach in the Established Church, he set up a separate congregation. The little flock of the faithful ones met first in an upper room. Soon the quarters became too narrow, and a little chapel was erected, where a great work was done for the cause of Christ. The evangelical life of Lyons and of France received from that little pulpit a blessed and gracious impulse, as well as a large and fruitful work whose influence abides even till now.

For some reasons not quite clear Monod accepted an earnest call to a vacant professorship of theology in the Protestant Seminary at Montauban in 1836. It will be remembered that this seminary was permitted to be founded by Napoleon in the early part of the century as a concession to the Protestants. It remained a long time the chief if not the only theological institution of the French Reformed Church. So earnest a worker and eloquent a preacher as Monod could not confine his labors to a theological chair. He often filled the pulpits of Montauban and the surrounding region, and during his vacations traveled and preached to the Reformed congregations, especially in the south of France. He was everywhere greeted by great congregations, and his ministry was blessed with many fruits. It was during this time that his unusual powers as a preacher became manifest and celebrated throughout France.

It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have been called to be one of the pastors at the principal Reformed Church in Paris, whither he went in 1849. He preached at the large Church of the Oratory in the mornings, and his hearers were very numerous. In a small chapel connected with his church it was his custom to give on Sunday evenings talks on the Bible of a simple and practical nature. These more familiar expositions were very highly regarded by those who attended them, many of his friends esteeming them more highly than his more elaborate morning sermons. In this great work Monod labored for seven or eight years. The last several months of his life were full of suffering and pain. He fell ill of a lingering and hopeless disease, under which he gradually faded away. During several months of his decline it was his custom on Sunday afternoons to allow a few friends to gather in his sick room, and from his dying bed he spoke short messages of wonderful beauty and spiritual power. After his death many of these, which had been taken down by friends, were published in a little volume under the title, *The Farewell of Adolphe Monod.* The little book was translated into German and English and was very widely read. These discourses formed a fitting close to a life of singular piety, beauty, and devotion.

It is difficult to speak without exaggeration of the beautiful, almost perfect, character of Adolphe Monod. There was that sweet combination in him of natural gayety and of Christian seriousness which supplemented each other and made him a man of winning, gracious, appealing personality. Stapfer, speaking of his college days, says that "the prime characteristic of Adolphe Monod was a gay humor and great ardor for all sports, and less of natural facility for study than a serious purpose to succeed, animated by a lively self-respect." This tendency to light-heartedness was not only controlled and developed by the serious purposes of his later life, but was offset in his sensitive nature by a corresponding tendency to depression of spirits from which he often suffered. From his conversion on through life Monod was characterized by a simple, unswerving, and beautiful piety. He was never spoiled by his success nor by the almost extravagant appreciation of his friends. Conscious of his own weaknesses and fully depending on the grace of God, he exhibited a constant and beautiful humility. He never repelled even the humblest who sought his sympathy and his aid. Rich and poor alike found him a tender and wise counselor and helper. He loved children and they loved him. He published two volumes of sermons that he had preached to children. The enemies and rivals who distressed him were those who disliked his doctrine and were shamed by his life. He was indeed a saintly, lovable, almost perfect man.

Of his native intellectual gifts it is possible to speak with almost equal enthusiasm. He had that fine combination of intellectual acuteness, power of imagination, and depth of sympathy which goes to make the great orator. His thought may not be very profound or original, but it is very clear, strong, and logical. His imagination was chastened by his piety and subdued by native good taste and admirable culture. He had studied profoundly the theological and philosophical thought of his time and was master of the professional learning of his day, though he made no claim to being a critical scholar. General culture also was at his command. He read appreciatively and widely in the best literature of the world. His sermons show no pedantry or display, but they breathe the very spirit of a cultivated man. In form and style Monod's preaching presents the very highest point of homiletical achievement according to the standards of his time. He was formed in the period midway between the classic stiffness of the eighteenth century and the more familiar manner of the later nineteenth. His style is rather too classic for present taste, but is far more flexible and popular than that which prevailed in the epoch preceding Monod's day. His diction is beautiful French, limpid yet vigorous, combining long and short sentences in good proportion, never involved, never tedious, fresh, sparkling, often sublime. Through all there is a tenderness and sweetness, a beauty and a charm which carries no note of weakness with it, but pleases and moves at the same time. It is no wonder that many critics consider Monod the best of all modern French preachers. Even Lacordaire generously said, on hearing Monod, "We are all children beside him." Professor Paul

Stapfer, in a brilliant treatise on *The Great French Preaching*,[22] takes, as illustrating his theme at its highest point, Bossuet and Monod. Among other things, he says, "Great artist by temperament, Monod was so also by conscience; for he considered it a duty to take all the literary care of which he was capable to convince and persuade men of the truth which saves." Such tributes from men who, occupying very different angles of vision, could not accept Monod's doctrines, pay unconstrained and genuine respect to his great powers as a Christian orator. The only criticism of any real importance is that Monod's sermons are too elaborate and polished; but the simplicity and sincerity of his appeal forbid us, even in the presence of such perfect art, to call it art for art's sake.

The published sermons of Monod appeared at various intervals. As early as 1830 he published discourses which dealt with the essence of evangelical doctrine and were widely read. Again, in 1844, a volume of sermons appeared which discussed *The Arguments for the Christian Faith.* Later there appeared two sermons on *The Calling of a Christian Woman.* In 1852 the little volume containing the *Five Sermons on the Apostle Paul* appeared. This was his masterpiece. These sermons were translated into every language, and have been widely read. After his death the dying messages referred to above were published, and also his collected sermons in three volumes containing, respectively, discourses delivered at Lyons, Montauban, and Paris.

From the sermons to women Vincent quotes several striking paragraphs, one of which is as follows:[23] "Woman of the world, who hast consumed thy fairest years in cares, innocent, I hope, but frivolous and unworthy of thee; intoxicating and intoxicated, or turning aside to the profit of thy pride the empire which God has entrusted to thee for His glory and for the good of His people; behold, instead of that existence, brilliant indeed, but brilliant like a falling star; resounding, but which resounds like an empty vessel; see here a life glorious and full, where thou shalt find at length, in finding thyself, that contentment which thou hast (is it not true?) demanded in vain of the world. Detach thy heart from vanity and give it to charity! Trust me! Forsake that artificial life which supplants and shortens the true one! Keep for thy home the toil of thy days and the repose of thy nights. Count as lost the days wherein thou hast not done some good. Enjoy in fine the happiness of being woman, and thou shalt know that when one has been made to be for man a 'helpmeet for him,' it is worth more to be useful to him than flattered by him, and to serve him rather than to fascinate him."

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[22] *La grande prédication*, etc., p. 178.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 255 ss.

One of the most notable of modern sermons is that given from Monod by Fish in his *Pulpit Eloquence of the Nineteenth Century* on the text, "God is love." The graceful and impressive introduction begins as follows:[24] "In a small town of Italy, which, eighteen hundred years since, an eruption of Mount Vesuvius buried beneath a flood of lava, some ancient manuscripts, so scorched as to resemble cinders more nearly than books, have been discovered, and, by an ingenious process, slowly and with difficulty unrolled. Let us imagine that one of these scrolls of Herculaneum contains a copy, and the only one in the world, of the epistle from which the text is taken; and that, having come to the fourth chapter and eighth verse, they have just deciphered these two words, 'God is,' and were as yet ignorant of what should follow." A paragraph follows in which the answer is held in suspense, and then he goes on: "At length the momentous word love appears! Who could desire a better? What could be conceived comparable to it by the boldest and loftiest imagination? This hidden God, this powerful God, this holy God—He is love! What need we more? God loves us. Do I say He loves us? All in God is love. Love is His very essence. He who speaks of God speaks of love. God is love! O answer, surpassing all our hopes! O blessed revelation, putting an end to all our apprehensions! O glorious pledge of our happiness, present, future, eternal!" The conception of the sermon is striking and original. It is built around the two thoughts: First, what impression would this statement make upon one who had never heard it before;

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[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 167 f.

and second, what impression it ought to make on Christians who have heard it often. In developing the first thought he uses an actual incident reported by the Moravian missionaries in Greenland of a heathen who had listened without emotion to proofs of the existence of God, but was melted and moved by the proclamation of His love. Monod very cleverly and touchingly develops the thought of how this appeal might have affected the heart of this heathen, considering the end that God had in view in the gospel—that is, the salvation of man; and the means whereby that end would be reached—through the sending of His only begotten Son; and the way in which the Son discharged the commission—by the sacrifice of Himself; and lastly, the cause of God's love thus expressing itself, which lies deep in His nature. In making the transition to his application, the preacher thus speaks:[25] "Yes, 'God is love.' This alone would explain the fact that He has so loved—whom? angels? saints? No; but us, His enemies—us individually—me, and you who hear me. 'God is love!' Love is His essence, His substance, His life. 'God is love!' Love sums up all His works and explains all His ways. Love inspired Him to the creation of a holy, and to the redemption of a fallen race. Love prevailed over nothingness to give us existence, and triumphed over sin to give us glory. Love is the object of the admiration of angels, and will be ours in eternity. The thoughts of God are love; His will is love; His dispensations are love! His judgments are love;—all in Him is love. 'God is love!' But the heart of Kajarnak expressed this more fully than all our discourse has done. At the sound of this good news, we see this heathen—if we may still so call him—we see him hanging on the lips of the missionary, his heart is affected, his conscience troubled. He exclaims: 'What did you say? Repeat that again—I, too, would be saved!' And wherefore he rather than you? Why should not this same doctrine which has made a Christian of this heathen upon the shores of Greenland—why should it not make this day in France, in this assembly of more than one nominal Christian, a Christian in spirit and in life? I have asked you, in order to disturb your habitual

[25] *Id.*, p. 179.

apathy, to put yourself in the place of this Greenlander who heard the gospel for the first time in his life; but be on your guard against the supposition that this condition is indispensable in order to be affected by it; as that the gospel has lost its virtue by having been so often announced to you; and that the coldness that we lately deplored in you, is a necessary consequence of your position. It is a necessity of sin, of negligence, of ingratitude, of unbelief, and of nothing else. Your position is a privilege, did you but know how to improve it; and you would have the power as soon as you had the will." From then on to the end he appeals with earnest eloquence to his hearers to make a suitable response to the greatness of God's love to them.

The little volume containing Monod's *Five Discourses on St. Paul* gives us the cream of his thinking and preaching. He was then at the height of his power and influence in Paris. His object in giving the series of five discourses, as he states in the preface, was not to present a study of the life and writings of the apostle, but to present the example of Paul as the type of Christian life most desirable, then as always, to be cultivated. In thus presenting the example of the apostle Monod takes five points of commanding importance in Paul's life, viz.: (1) His work; (2) his Christianity, or his tears; (3) his conversion; (4) his personality, or his weakness; (5) his example. The first discourse is on the text, 1 Cor. 15:10, "I have labored more abundantly than they all." A striking and rapid account of the apostle's great labors enables the preacher to press upon his hearers the need of such diligence on the part of Christians in modern times. The second discourse is based on Paul's address at Miletus, to the Ephesian elders, as reported in the twentieth chapter of Acts. This enables Monod to explain what he calls the Christianity of Paul, or his tears. Three times tears are mentioned in the passage, and it is around these notices that the thought of the sermon revolves. He introduces it thus:[26] "The doctrine of Paul, his faith, his charity, his zeal, his activity, his devotion, his patience, his watchfulness, all is in this discourse, so short, yet so substantial, which may be

[26] *Cinq discours*, etc., p. 47.

regarded as a sort of funeral oration anticipatory of all his apostolic work. Amid so many different traits from which is formed the Christianity of St. Paul as painted by himself, I seek one salient trait which dominates the rest and which makes the unity of the portrait. I find it in the tears of the apostle. The more that the indomitable energy of the greatest of the apostles seems to contrast with this moving symptom of human infirmity, tears, the more am I struck with the place which they occupied in the scene at Miletus." He then notes the three places where tears are mentioned in the passage, viz., where Paul says that he served the Lord with tears, and a little further on reminds his hearers that he had warned them during three years with tears, and at last that he mingles his tears with those of his hearers when at parting they "all wept sore." He goes on to show how these tears revealed and expressed the Christian character of the apostle; how they are compatible both with his courage and with his Christian joy; how towards God they were tears of grief because of men's sins and neglect of God and His grace; how toward men they were tears of deep concern, of interest, of charity; and finally, how they were tears of tenderness and sympathy, revealing the character of the apostle in its love for his brethren. The conclusion of the discourse is as follows:[27] "The tears of the holy apostle have explained him to us. The power of his apostolate was in his personal Christianity, and his Christianity was a weeping Christianity. Weeping from grief, he has conquered by respect. Weeping from charity, he has won by love. Weeping from tenderness, he has attracted by the human simplicity of his gospel. This concerns us, O Christians! Paul, is it necessary to repeat? is for me in this discourse only a means, the end is yourselves; let us rather say, it is Jesus Christ in you. Far from my thought be it to glorify a man. Let the Lord alone be glorified; and Paul would not be Paul unless he said, with John the Baptist, 'He must increase while I must decrease.' No, I do not come to glorify Paul, but I come to humble you and altogether to stir you by that which has made a man, to whom the infinite distance which separates him from his Divine Master has nevertheless permitted so great advance over us. It is needed that a true people of God should be formed who may be at once the generous people of the cross, the devoted people of love, and the simple people of nature, but of nature restored to itself through grace. Let those remain far from our holy enterprise who prefer prosperity to the cross, selfishness to love, appearance to reality. But thou, already a people of tears, awake! sow with tears in order to harvest with a song of triumph. Paul who wept so much, does he now regret his tears? . . . To-day like him! to-morrow with him!"

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[27] *Id.*, p. 81 s.

The third sermon, on Paul's conversion, presents that subject as an example of a true Christian conversion, and enforces it with clearness and eloquence, but without great originality. The fourth discourse presents, from the remarkable passage in 2 Cor. 12th chapter, the personality or weakness of the apostle. This also is a beautiful discourse presenting the apostle's weakness of bringing up, including his intellectual and moral fallibility; his bodily weakness, which interfered with his ministry; and his weakness of speech, to which the apostle himself several times refers. The last of the five discourses sets forth the example of the apostle, as outlined in the third chapter of Philippians, especially the words, "Be ye therefore followers of me." This great theme is likewise unfolded and presented with beauty of language and power of spiritual appeal. Certainly the careful and sympathetic student of Monod can not fail to recognize his easy eminence in the pulpit of his time. He was one of those gracious and winsome men who combined tenderness of heart with strength and splendor of intellect, and consecrated, with beautiful humility and devotion, all his talents and his time to the service of man, and of God.

The immediate successor of Monod in the Church of the Oratory at Paris was J. H. Grandpierre,[28] who was a man of eloquence and thorough evangelical piety. The sermon found in Fish's collection indicates these characters. He, of course, was not so great as his predecessor, but was not unworthy to follow him. There were also others of this group who were well worthy of mention, such as Bastie, A. Bouvier, and others.

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[28] Fish, *XIX Cent.*, p. 186 ff.; Vincent, *passim.*

The liberal group, with a tendency to the critical rationalism of the nineteenth century, had a number of strong and vigorous men. The earliest of them was Colani,[29] pastor for a short time of the French Church of St. Nicholas at Strassburg, and later professor in the university there. He published a number of sermons, both during his pastorate and while professor. According to Vincent he was distinguished by "suppleness and facility, a lively sentiment of actuality, novelty of ideas." He had great influence in the liberal wing of French Protestantism. Along with him should be mentioned A. Viguié, pastor at Nismes, who had the southern vivacity of feeling and liveliness of imagination. Unquestionably the greatest of this group was Athanase Coquerel, Sr. (1795-1868).[30] He was born in Paris, and studied theology at Montauban. In 1818 he became pastor of the French Church in Amsterdam, where he labored for twelve years. He was an acceptable pastor and a preacher of decided merit. He early began to publish sermons, and continued it at intervals through life. In 1830 he removed to Paris as pastor of one of the Reformed Churches there, and remained to the end of his life the leading preacher of the liberal wing of his church. His eloquence presented a fine combination of penetration of thought, clearness of style, and rapidity of movement. He had not the tenderness and spirituality of Monod, but in clearness of thought and felicity of style he ranks well along with the great evangelical preacher. Besides his sermons and other writings, Coquerel published a very clever, sensible, and suggestive treatise on homiletics under the title, *Practical Observations on Preaching.*

Athanase Coquerel, Jr., also pastor of the Reformed Church in Paris, had much of the ability and characteristics of his father, with perhaps a greater degree of force and persuasiveness in delivery. Of this group also were Fontanés, Réville, Pelissier, and others. These liberal preachers presented rather the moral and practical aspects of the Christian life, being sparing of doctrines and more or less in sympathy with the radical criticism of their age; but they were men in touch with the times and spoke, as Vincent says, to the man of the nineteenth century in the language of the nineteenth century. In the cities of Holland[31] there were French pastors of more or less distinction who leaned rather to the liberal school. Among them are mentioned Secrétan (d. 1875) at The Hague, a preacher of depth, and D. T. Huet (d. 1874), for thirty years preacher at Rotterdam, and held in high esteem.

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[29] Vincent, p. 71, etc.

[30] Fish, p. 194 ff.; Vincent, p. 66, *et passim; Observations pratiques sur la prédication,* par Athanase Coquerel, Paris, 1860.

It is fitting to conclude this brief study of nineteenth century Protestant preachers in France with a sketch of one of the noblest representatives of the modern liberal evangelical school of thought, Eugène Bersier (1831-1892).[32] Though most of his life was spent in Paris, he was a native of Switzerland, where he was born in 1831. His father died while he was quite young. He was blessed with an intelligent and pious mother. His boyhood education was received at Geneva, but for some reason his mother brought him to Paris at the age of sixteen, where he pursued further studies. About 1850 he made a long visit to the United States, and while in this country fell under the wholesome influence of a well-known American divine, who took a deep interest in the spiritual development of the attractive and promising French youth. It was under this influence that he felt his call and made up his mind to preach the gospel of Christ. On reaching this decision he went back to Geneva for further study, and was a pupil of D'Aubigné and others. Later he carried on his theological studies in Germany under such great teachers as Tholuck, Julius Müller, and Dorner. Bersier was thus both spiritually and technically well equipped for his work when, in 1855, he took charge of a church in the famous Faubourg St. Antoine, in Paris. Later he became assistant to Edmond de Pressensé in the Free Reformed Church. He immediately took high rank, both as an enlightened, publicspirited pastor and as a pulpit orator of the first rank. He used his influence in every way against the war with Prussia in 1870. During the siege of Paris and the fearful days of the Commune, in 1871, Bersier was active, philanthropic, and helpful, speaking words of comfort, leading his people to trust and hope. He shared the sufferings of his fellow-citizens during that time of horror. He once said to Dr. W. C. Wilkinson: "During the siege of Paris our straits were extreme, both from danger and from lack of food. It was a red letter day at my house, during the time of the worst with the city, when we could get a rat for our table. Bombs from the enemy's guns fell everywhere about us. One fell into my own study. But all this terror and famine were as nothing compared with the shame and horror of the Commune." After the war Bersier led his congregation in the building of a noble edifice near the Arc de Triomphe, called from its situation, Église de l'Étoile. Here for the remaining years of his life he preached with great power and effect, and built up an intelligent and highly cultivated congregation. Besides his own people, strangers frequented the church, and his preaching was widely blessed. A simple but elegant mural tablet near the pulpit briefly tells the story of his eminent service as pastor and preacher.

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[31] See Van Oosterzee, *Prac. Theol.*, p. 154; Vincent, *passim.*

[32] See the *Gospel in Paris* (sermons and sketch), London (Nisbet), about 1875; *St. Paul's Vision and Other Sermons*, tr., and biographical sketch by Marie Stewart, New York, 1881; Wilkinson's *Modern Masters of Pulpit Discourse*, p. 253 ff.

Bersier published some seven or more volumes of sermons. A number of these have been translated into English and published in New York and London. One with the title, *The Gospel in Paris,* gives a number of the sermons and a slight account of the preacher. An admirable critical account is that of Dr. W. C. Wilkinson, in his *Modern Masters of Pulpit Discourse.* In the introductory note to his discussion, Professor Wilkinson says: "During that whole winter (1861-62) I often, indeed almost regularly, heard M. Bersier preach. I also saw and heard him again and again in the weekly prayer-meetings of his church. He was a noble looking young man, with a sweet, rich voice, that added full weight to the impression of his personal presence. There was a dignity mingled with a simplicity in his bearing, a fervor in kindling, a sobriety in his thought, a force always admirable within measure in his utterance, that gave promise of the eminence as preacher in due time to be his." On hearing him some years later, when he was in middle life, Dr. Wilkinson found the impressions of those early days amply confirmed, and in speaking of a volume of his published sermons, says: "I am testifying without reserve that purer gold of thought better beaten into perfect expression I should not know where to look for in any volume of sermons. It has been in my way to make some study of Bossuet, of Massillon, of Bourdaloue, and of Saurin, and I can truly say that in summary of merit the average sermon of Bersier need not fear a comparison with the average sermon of any one of those masters of pulpit eloquence." Professor Wilkinson proceeds to justify this high, perhaps somewhat extravagant, opinion by a keen criticism, accompanied by citations from some of the sermons. We may not be able to go so far as Professor Wilkinson, but certainly Bersier in his published discourses occupies a very high rank among the best preachers of France. He had an admirable presence and delivery; as we have seen, his preparation, both in technical learning and of general culture, was adequate. He had penetration of mind, great logical skill, simplicity yet suggestiveness of analysis, and a free and swinging style, depth of conviction, and a touch with his times both large-minded and large-hearted. Decidedly evangelical in his earlier sermons, he became later in his life more tolerant of departures from traditional orthodoxy. Yet on the whole his grasp of the gospel of Christ was personal, well-reasoned, and fervent. His presentation of truth had the ring of conviction and the persuasiveness of true eloquence.

CHAPTER XV

The British Pulpit of the Nineteenth Century

In no nation of the world did the nineteenth century stand for more than in England and the connected lands. Notwithstanding all her former glories, it is true that in the nineteenth century England came to her highest point of greatness. Military and naval prowess, commercial and industrial progress, social and political achievement, literary, scientific, and artistic work all constitute a crown of glory for this great and widely spread people in this age that no detraction can tarnish, nor even real and confessed fault can spoil.

The wonderful vigor of the English national life in this age appears with full power in the religious sphere as well as in others. Great men, great ideas, great movements, with the stress and clash of progress and debate, were fully manifest. And all parts of the religious life of a live and mighty people were concerned. Questions of ecclesiastical polity and practice, affairs of ritual and forms of worship, profound problems of theology, and practical questions of immense importance concerning works of benevolence and missions stirred the minds of the English people. It goes without saying that all these interests were closely connected with preaching. The British intellect and character in both their strength and weaknesses appear in the pulpit of the century; but it is simple truth to say that at no time and among no people does the Christian pulpit appear to greater advantage on the whole than in Great Britain during the nineteenth century. And this is true from every point of view. Judged by intellectual power and depth of thought, compared with other modes of spiritual activity, tested by practical fruits, and studied in the pure light of literary criticism, the nineteenth century English pulpit occupies an exalted rank in the annals of Christian preaching.

For the purposes of this study of British preaching and its relation to the events and movements of the age, it will be convenient and appropriate to divide the century into three periods of nearly equal length, as follows: (1) From the opening of the century to the rise of the Oxford movement, 1801-1833; (2) Thence to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1833-1868; (3) Thence to the end of the century, 1868-1900.

I. THE FIRST THIRD OF THE CENTURY, 1801-1833

This early period was filled with events of great importance in the after history of England and the world.[1]

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[1] See Knight's and other Histories of England; the *Historians' History;* McKenzie's *Nineteenth Century* (brief survey), etc.

The century found Great Britain engaged in her colossal duel with Napoleon, which was terminated on the field of Waterloo, in 1815. The short and to both contestants rather inglorious war with the United States ended with Jackson's victory at New Orleans, in January, 1815, though as a matter of fact peace had been concluded at Ghent several weeks before the battle was fought. Before taking up his famous Peninsular campaign and winning his victory at Waterloo, Wellington had gained important victories in India and secured the British supremacy there. Australia also had been more fully brought under direct home influences and contributed to the commerce and widespread power of the great British empire. In domestic affairs the period was one of immense importance, and rich in results for later times. The sovereigns did not count for much. Poor George III was often ill, and finally lost his reason in 1810. The Prince of Wales was made prince-regent and exercised the royal power till he actually succeeded, in 1820, and reigned ten years more as George IV. Among the incapable and morally worthless kings who have burdened the English throne, the fourth George has a chief place. He lived without respect and died without lament. His brother succeeded as William IV in 1830, and reigned seven years. It is not at all to her sovereigns, but rather in spite of them, that England owes her glory in this period. It was her people that made her truly great.

In 1801 the Act of Union with Ireland led to the discontinuance of the Irish Parliament and to the tremendous agitations which have characterized the political relations of the two islands ever since. In 1832, after long and bitter agitation, the famous Reform Bill was passed which extended the franchise and corrected some of the more glaring abuses of representation in Parliament. Some of the most oppressive laws against Catholics were repealed, and O'Connell was seated in the British Parliament in 1829. The slave trade had already been put down, and the abolition of slavery throughout the British empire was accomplished in 1833. In many other paths of civilized progress great advances were made. Old laws of a cruel nature were repealed, prisons were reformed, child labor repressed, philanthropy and education were pushed forward. In sciences and arts great progress was made. Industrial improvements were inaugurated, but not without great suffering among hand-workers, whose means of support were taken away by the introduction of machinery. The first railway was successfully put into operation by George Stephenson in 1830. Perhaps the most astonishing progress was apparent in manufacturing and commerce. Though the long struggle with Napoleon laid an enormous debt upon the country, the commercial interests of England were vastly extended by the results of the war.

In the sphere of literature England's greatness is no less apparent.[2] This was an age of wonderful intellectual activity and literary achievement. We have only to recall some of the leading names in English literature to remind ourselves how large a place is filled in that sphere by the first three decades of the nineteenth century. In poetry Burns and Cowper came over from the last period and illuminated the opening of the new century. It was the active period of Crabbe, Campbell, Southey, Scott, and Moore among the lesser poets; and of Byron, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, and Wordsworth among the greater ones. In fiction the near approaching era of its classic power was heralded by the admirable works of Jane Austen and the unparalleled romances of Walter Scott. In essay writing some of the masters were brilliantly exemplifying that style of literary expression, such as Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, Wilson (Christopher North), Talfourd, Lamb, DeQuincey, and the young Macaulay. In the field of oratory, though Burke was no more, and Pitt and Fox had passed away early in the century, they had stimulated a set of younger men whose fame is secure in the history of political and forensic eloquence. Erskine and Grattan were still active after the century opened. Brougham made his greatest effort at the trial of Queen Caroline, in 1820. The accomplished George Canning was at the height of his power and popularity, and the Irish patriot and orator, Daniel O'Connell, was in the full tide of his influence and renown.

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[2] See the *Warner Library*, and any of the numerous Histories of English literature, for the period.

Great activity and movement also characterized the religious life of the English nation during this time.[3] The evangelical and missionary impulses and forces of the last century came over with force into the new. Missionary organization went on, and the young societies founded during the last decade of the eighteenth century were gathering experience and strength for the larger developments that awaited them. One of the most important organizations was that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1804. Humane and charitable work accompanied this missionary movement, and the thought and activity of Christian workers were directed with telling effect against abuses and evils at home. Theological opinion and the rise and growth of parties and schools of thought were sufficiently in evidence. The evangelical party was in the ascendant, but its day of greatest influence was ready to decline just toward the close of this era. It had wrought a great work, and was destined to remain one of the greatest forces of English Christian life through the whole century. But its critics were also strong, and seizing on some of its more vulnerable points, were not slow in making their attacks felt. Cant and one-sidedness were undoubtedly apparent in much of the current evangelicalism. But its eminent piety and admirable services to religion and humanity can not be gainsaid when we recall the names and work of such men as Wilberforce, Carey, Simeon, and others. In the Established Church the three parties—Low, High, and Broad—came now to be clearly contrasted and to follow their divergent lines of work and influence. Evangelicalism was identified with the Low Church party. The Broad Church party began to gain power under the lead of men like Coleridge, Whately, and Thomas Arnold. The High Church group had never been wholly without influence, but this tendency was just on the eve of taking on its most significant phase of the century in the rise of the Oxford movement under Keble, Pusey, and Newman, in 1833. Its full development belongs to the next period. Among Dissenters the evangelical wing was strongest, but the liberalistic trend was not wholly wanting, especially with the Unitarian element in the English Presbyterian Church. On the whole, while the other parties were not wholly inactive, the dominant force in the religious life and thought of England in this period was Christianity of the evangelical type.

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[3] See the general and Church histories, and more especially J. Stoughton, *History of Religion in England* from 1800 to 1850, with Supplement to 1880; J. H. Overton, *The English Church of the XIXth Century*, 1800-1833; Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the XIXth Century* (Harper's ed., N. Y., 1886).

It would have been passing strange and contrary to all historic precedent if an age such as this had produced no great results in the pulpit.[4] As we have seen, immense energy characterized the English people. War, commerce, and manufactures stimulated the mind; literature glowed and throbbed with intense and productive life; liberty and reform shook the state with power; religion found expression in far-reaching activities at home and abroad, in wide and growing intellectual research, and in a sincerity and reality of Christian living not confined to sects and parties, but more or less pervading them all. These varied influences were felt already in this earlier period, but not in full force till later. It was hard in this opening era of the new century to shake off the coolness and blight of the Latitudinarian and Moderate schools of the eighteenth century. The evangelical pulpit was strongest, but only a comparatively few preachers were of unusual merit. Overton says:[5] "Regarded purely as a spiritual force, the Evangelicals were undoubtedly the strongest party in the Church during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. So much was this the case that spiritual earnestness was in itself a presumption that a man was an evangelical." But, as he[6] further points out, evangelical preaching made its appeal chiefly to the feelings, and was most commonly delivered without manuscript, so that the printed sermons as we have them hardly give the measure of the effect of even the best preaching of the time. Men like Southey, Sydney Smith, and others sharply criticised the preaching of the age; and even Heber,[7] writing to a young clergyman, cautions him to "avoid singularities," and instances "the High Churchman who shuffles in a pompous tone through his nose, and the Evangelical minister who preaches extempore." It is a noteworthy fact that the three greatest preachers of this time were outside the Anglican body: Robert Hall, Edward Irving, Thomas Chalmers.

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[4] There is, unhappily, no general history of British preaching for this or any other period. Notices are to be found in the works previously mentioned; sketch in Pattison's *Hist. of Christian Preaching,* chap. XII; Hoppin's *Hom.,* p. 212 ff.; remarks in *Our Bishops and Deans,* F. Arnold, 2 vols., London, 1875 (referred to as *OBD*); and there is a thoughtful study in *The Modern Pulpit,* by L. O. Brastow, New York, 1906, pp. 174-316; but our chief sources must be collections of sermons and biographical sketches, cyclopaedia articles, and the lives and works of individual preachers, as referred to in subsequent notes.

[5] *Op. cit.,* p. 51.

[6] *Op. cit.,* p. 137 ff.

The contents and style of the early nineteenth century sermons claim brief notice. The doctrine was not as yet greatly varied from the accepted evangelical standards. Of course, the High Churchmen gave great emphasis to the sacraments and decried the "excitement" of their Evangelical brethren. But the oratorical triumphs of Irving, before he fell into his later vagaries, the splendid pulpit work of Hall, and, toward the last of the period, of Chalmers, showed that evangelical sentiments could be preached in the very best way. Some one said of Robert Hall that "he redeemed Dissent from vulgarity." The praise was little and grudging, but it was a straw which showed the course of the wind. The Broad Churchmen adopted a critical attitude toward all others (as their manner ever is) which strongly implied their exclusive possession of wisdom and moderation, but their polemic was not often bitter (excepting always the redoubtable Sydney Smith!), and their views, while somewhat vague and shifting, would not now be regarded as very seriously departing from orthodox opinion. Both High and Broad Churchmen opposed the Calvinism of the Evangelicals. As to style, it is hard to put down any general characteristic as widely prevalent amid so great variety of individual method. But, broadly speaking, it may be said that the eighteenth century vogue was still too common—there was too much stateliness, precision, carefully worked out elegance, or the attempt at it. There was want of flexibility, familiarity, humanness. The discourse was too aloof from life, however high it might soar in

[7] Quoted by Overton, *l. c.*

thought and feeling. The method was English; topical rather than expository. The interpretation of Scripture was not yet scientific and painstaking, being rather traditional and superficial. Analysis tended to minuteness and formality in many of the sermons, though the stronger men of the time were no slaves to scholastic division of their matter. On the whole, the sermons of the leading preachers of this age show strong thinking, high intellectual worth, profound earnestness, with a certain consciousness of power. But so much allowance has to be made in these general statements for the differing qualities of groups and individuals that it will be better to try to bring out the features of the preaching by a study of the leading preachers themselves, rather than to attempt further broad characterization.

Taking up first the evangelical group,[8] a word should be said concerning the so-called "Clapham Sect." John Venn, William Dealtry, Henry Blunt, and some others, along with several pious laymen and Miss Hannah More, were leaders in this group, who resided principally at or near Clapham, where Venn and others preached. They exercised great influence throughout the country. Along with them should be named Isaac Milner, Thomas Gisborne, Claudius Buchanan, Edward Bickersteth, and a few more. John Newton, in his old age, was still preaching at St. Mary Woolnoth. The eminent bishop of Calcutta, Daniel Wilson (1778-1858),[9] received his appointment to India in 1832, but was at this time active in the ministry chiefly in London, where he held several pastorates. His long useful series of sermons, or lectures, on *The Evidences of Christianity* were given in the Church of St. Mary, Islington. The line of argument in these discourses has long been out of date, but they were thorough and able for their time. They deal with their subjects in a topical manner with some formality of outline, but in a clear and easy style and with thinking adapted to the average intelligence.

The most important member of the evangelical group

[8] Overton, chap. III; Stoughton, Vol. I, Chap. IV.

[9] Art. in *DNB*, etc.; notices in Overton and Stoughton; *The Evidences of Christianity*, by Daniel Wilson, 2 vols. (*Lib. of Christian Knowledge*), Boston, 1833.

was the pious and beloved Charles Simeon (1759-1836),[10] for fifty years pastor in Cambridge. While a student at King's College, Cambridge, in 1779, he was required as an undergraduate to attend the Lord's Supper. This led him seriously to inquire into his fitness. He read Venn's *Whole Duty of Man,* joined the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and in other ways sought to develop his spiritual life. In reading a sermon or treatise of Bishop Wilson on *The Lord's Supper* he was led to put his whole trust in Christ, and grew clearer in his evangelical convictions. He was ordained in 1782, and not very long after was appointed to Trinity Church, Cambridge, at a merely nominal salary. At first he met with opposition on account of his views, but by patience and self-sacrifice lived to overcome it. The opening of the nineteenth century found him strongly entrenched at Cambridge, drawing large congregations and exercising a very helpful influence upon the student body, as well as in the parish. He had his faults, being somewhat proud and irritable, but he mellowed with age, and was at all times a sincere and deeply pious man. Pure in life and unselfish in purpose, he was greatly beloved by all who knew him. It is said that a casual company of fifty or more students being assembled, the question was raised as to whom they would seek for counsel in trouble, and on a ballot nearly all were found to have named Simeon. He was an indefatigable student of the Bible. Besides his sermons, he published many volumes of homiletical outlines covering the whole Scripture. These sketches and skeletons of sermons were very widely circulated, and while they doubtless did some good, they might easily have been a snare to preachers who were not very diligent. Sometimes the analysis is forced and fanciful, and nearly always too formal. The thought is not profound, though spiritual, and the aim is always practical and edifying.

The High Church party were at this time called the "Orthodox" in the English Church.[11] Those who became leaders in the Oxford movement will receive notice later. In this earlier period Bishop Lloyd of Oxford, the celebrated Christopher Wordsworth—Master of Trinity College, Cambridge—Bishop Middleton, and a few others, were leaders. But the best representative of this school in the pulpit was Hugh James Rose (1795-1838).[12] His father was a clergyman of Scottish lineage. Hugh was born at Little Horsted, Sussex, and was educated at Wickfield School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was graduated in 1817. Ordained the next year, he soon became vicar of Horsham, where he worked with success for two years, published some writings which attracted notice, and then spent a year studying in Germany. He preached and published a good deal and held various places, especially at Hadleigh, in Suffolk. Then he became "perpetual curate" at Southwark to the end of his life. The promoters of the Oxford movement received some encouragement, but also a good deal of cautioning, from Rose, but he could not restrain them. He was highly esteemed by his party, both for the matter and manner of his discourses. He was cautious, clear, and thoroughly devout in the presentation of his views. He was considered by those who heard him often a very impressive preacher.

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[10] Art. in *DNB,* and account in Overton, Chap. III; *Works* (esp. *Horae Homileticae,* and Appendix), 21 vols., ed. T. H. Horne, Lond., 1833.

[11] Overton, *op. cit.,* Chap. II.

The liberalistic party, later called Broad Church,[13] were rather in this period the beginners of a tendency than the leaders of a well-defined movement. They were largely influenced by the thinking of Coleridge, Whately, and others. Richard Whately (1787-1863) was not specially distinguished as a preacher, but was made archbishop of Dublin in 1831. As a logician and apologetic writer and philosophic thinker he filled a large place in his time, and influenced both contemporaneous and subsequent thought. F. D. Maurice was beginning his work in this time, but he more properly belongs in the next period. The most important name among the preachers of the Broad Church tendency is that of the eminent teacher and man, Thomas Arnold (1796-1842).[14] Arnold's fame rests chiefly upon his great work as the Master of Rugby High School. His powerful personality, his honesty and high-mindedness made him one of the greatest of English educators. Born in the Isle of Wight, he received his preliminary education in various places, but got his university training at Oxford, where he became a fellow of Oriel College about 1815. His life has been beautifully written by one of his famous pupils, A. P. Stanley, and his influence among his students is delightfully described in Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays at Rugby.* Arnold wrote various essays and treatises, and left a valuable fragment in his *History of Rome.* A volume of his sermons, preached to the boys at Rugby, revealed his qualities as a preacher. He discarded homiletical analysis, used a plain and straightforward style, and spoke with large-hearted feeling and earnest moral purpose to his youthful auditory. While the sermons show a great moral enthusiasm and admiration of Christ, they are not distinguished by evangelical sentiments or warmth of personal conviction.

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[12] Art. in *DNB,* and Overton, *l. c.*

[13] Overton, Ch. III; Stoughton, Vol. I, Ch. IV; Tulloch, *op. cit., Lects.,* I, II.

[14] *Life and Correspondence,* by A. P. Stanley, New York, 1846; art. in *DNB,* and notices in Overton, Stoughton, and Tulloch; sermon in *World's Great Sermons,* Vol. IV, p. 133 ff.; *The Christian Life, Sermons Preached Mostly in Rugby Chapel,* London, 1841.

Among the dissenters of the period there were a good many of very high rank and a few who are to be reckoned among the most important preachers of history. Already we have noticed the work of the eccentric but highly eloquent and useful Rowland Hill,[15] whose work lay chiefly in the end of the eighteenth century, but he was still preaching at the Surrey chapel, and lived until 1833. Among the Baptists Andrew Fuller[16] was in the evening of his days, but still active at Kettering for the first fifteen years of the new century. In Wales John Elias followed Rowlands and others as an evangelistic preacher of great eloquence and success.

But, leaving these preachers of the transition, we come to William Jay (1769-1853).[17] He was born at Tisbury, of humble parentage. He received only a slight rudimentary education, and up to the age of sixteen had only a few religious books. He was apprenticed to a brick mason. On returning from his work one Saturday evening, in 1783, he stopped at a cottage where religious services were being conducted, and was awakened and soon accepted Christ. In 1785 he was received by Cornelius Winter into his house at Marlborough to be trained for the ministry in the Congregational body. He made good progress with his studies, preaching his first sermon at the age of sixteen. At the end of his study period, in the spring of 1788, he was sent by Mr. Winter to supply Rowland Hill's place at the Surrey Chapel. The people were surprised at first, but heard the youth with interest and satisfaction. Soon he accepted the care of a small church near Chippenham, but was discouraged and did not remain long. In January, 1791, he was called to Argyle Chapel, at Bath. He held this charge for nearly sixty-two years, resigning about a year before his death on account of age and infirmities. Jay was a much beloved and respected man, and useful to the end of his ministry.

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[15] *Ante,* p. 327 ff.

[16] *Ante,* p. 332 f.

[17] *Autobiography and Reminiscences,* New York, 1856; *Works,* 3 vols., New York, 1849; and the *Evening and Morning Exercises* in many edd.; also sketch and sermon in the valuable *Pulpit Memorials,* by Evans and Hurndall (being sketches and sermons of twenty Congregational Ministers), London, 1878, with an introd. by Dr. John Stoughton. Very helpful; hereafter referred to as E. & H. See also a sketch and sermon of Jay in Fish, *Mast.,* I, p. 397.

Some of Jay's characteristics as a preacher may be noted. Something was due to his natural gifts. He was not fluent nor eloquent in the usual sense. He was very simple and straightforward in style and address, eschewing the stilted manner then too much in vogue. Sheridan said he had a "manly oratory." His preaching was simple, evangelical, and eminently Biblical, both in thought and style. The specimen sermon given in *Pulpit Memorials* illustrates these characteristics. It is an ordination sermon for the Rev. H. F. Burder, and is based on the apostle's request for the prayers of his brethren in 1 Thessalonians 5:25. The outline is simple and suggestive, urging the ground of necessity and of equity as a reason for the request. It discusses in a wise, though not particularly original or striking, way the work and responsibilities of the ministry. Besides his many sermons, Jay published a series of prayers and meditations called *Evening and Morning Exercises,* which held a high place among the devotional books of former generations, and fed the piety of many believers throughout the English-speaking world.

Another Independent preacher of the period was the Scotchman, Ralph Wardlaw (1779-1853).[18] He was born at Dalkeith, but his father moved to Glasgow, where Ralph was educated, both at the grammar schools and at the university. At first attached to the Secession Church, he became Congregationalist in opinion by studying the Scriptures. A congregation was gathered about him and a church built for him in Glasgow, where he performed his life-work. He labored diligently as pastor, student, and author. He was involved in a number of controversies, which he conducted in good spirit and with great ability. As a preacher he was not distinguished by any marked single characteristic, but exhibited in his preaching a combination of mental power with spiritual strength and a good carrying style. Judging from the specimen given, his preaching was rather discursive and theological, but was analytical, orderly, and neat. He was a moderate Calvinist in theology. His best known work was long a classic on its subject—*Independency.*

Among the Methodists Jabez Bunting was coming into influence and fame, but his principal activity belongs to the next period. The most important Methodist preacher of this epoch was the eminent theologian and missionary secretary, Richard Watson (1781-1833).[19] He was born of humble parents, but had some early schooling, and was apprenticed to a carpenter; but on his conversion he joined the Methodists and was released from his engagement so as to enter the ministry. Ordained in 1800, he for a time left the regular Methodists, but later returned to them. His chief work was his *Theological Institutes,* which long remained the leading authority on theology among the Methodists. But he was also an eloquent preacher, naturally a strong theologian; and being much interested in missionary work, he presented that great cause with fervor and power.

Among the Presbyterians in England Unitarianism had come in and the strongest preacher of this school was the famous Thomas Belsham (d. 1829),[20] who did very much to advance the Unitarian views. While he was chiefly noted as a writer, he was also recognized as a preacher of considerable force.

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[18] Sketch and sermon in E. & H.

[19] Sermon in Fish, *Mast.,* I. p. 423 ff.; *Sermons and Sketches,* 2 vols., New York, 1848; *Institutes,* various edd.

[20] See Stoughton, I, ch. VIII, and art. in *DNB.*

In Scotland the Moderate party had a few preachers of note, but there were also some men of strong evangelical views. Among these high place belongs to Andrew Thomson (1779-1831),[21] whose work lay chiefly in Edinburgh. He was of strong evangelical sentiments, but believed in using literary art. He was considered a great preacher in his time, as well as a powerful platform orator. He was highly influential among the leaders of the Scottish Church in his party, but by far the two most notable Scotch preachers of the age were Irving and Chalmers.

Edward Irving (1792-1834)[22] was born at Annan, Scotland, on the same day as the poet Shelley. He was a native of the same country as Thomas Carlyle. Irving's father was a tanner, his mother the daughter of a small farmer, but though in humble life, they were respectable people of sturdy character and vigorous intelligence. The boy gained prizes at school, and was fond of attending church services. He heard the Seceders preach at Ecclefechan, the little village made famous in *The Memoirs of Carlyle.* At the age of thirteen Irving went to Edinburgh University, where he graduated in 1809. He was schoolmaster for a while, and among his pupils was the bright and attractive Jane Baillie Welch, to whom Irving became sincerely attached, but who later became the wife of Carlyle. It has been supposed that there was some regret on both Irving's and Miss Welch's part that their early attachment did not result in marriage; but at the same time Irving won the affection of another of his pulpils, Isabella Martin, the daughter of a neighboring preacher, whom, after an engagement of eleven years, he married, and who was the faithful companion of his years of eminence and also of suffering and disappointment. Certainly the friendship of Irving and the Carlyles was strong, and seems never to have been disturbed, though Carlyle has been criticised for alleged ingratitude towards his older and gifted friend. During his life as a schoolmaster Irving occasionally preached as assistant to Mr. Martin, but left his school in 1818 and went to Edinburgh to study for some profession. The yearning to preach, however, was strong within him. It is said that he burned his old sermons and made a fresh start. Chalmers was now at the height of his success at St. John's Church, Glasgow. He heard Irving preach, and invited him to become his assistant. This arrangement continued for awhile, but Irving naturally felt overshadowed by his great associate, and was too ambitious and conscious of his own powers to be long contented in a subordinate position; so he welcomed an invitation to preach for a weak and declining Presbyterian Church at Hatton Garden, London. He accepted the care of this Church, and was ordained at Annan, Scotland, and belonged to that Presbytery, though preaching in London. He entered on his London work in July, 1822, having preached a farewell sermon on leaving Glasgow—a sermon marked by great cordiality and humility of feeling. His success in London the first several years was simply wonderful. One of his biographers says, "In the first quarter, it is recorded, the seat holders at the Caledonian Asylum Chapel had an increase from 50 to 1500." He at first preached in Gaelic, at least at one service, to the Scotch members of his flock, and his support was very small, but the Duke of York, afterwards King William IV, heard him preach, befriended him, got the condition of his preaching in Gaelic removed; and some friends pledged his salary. Of his beginning in London Dr. Stoughton remarks:[23] "A singular phenomenon appeared within the religious world when the first quarter of this century ran near its close; a Presbyterian minister, then unknown to fame, came to an obscure place of worship in the metropolis, and took all ranks of society by storm. . . . He produced an excitement which, from the extent to which it prevailed, the class of persons it affected, and the prophetic fervor which it displayed, rose to the importance of a national event. . . . He spoke to men at large, to people of fashion in particular. Never since George Whitefield had any one so arrested attention; and Irving went far beyond Whitefield in attracting the respectful, even the admiring, notice of lords, ladies, and commons. His name was on every lip. Newspapers, magazines, and reviews discussed his merits, a caricature in shop windows hit off his eccentricities." Other accounts are to the same effect. The carriages of the great and rich thronged the street in front of his chapel. Men and women of the highest social rank, and great leaders in politics as well as business crowded his chapel. Lord Brougham took Mackintosh to hear Irving, and Mackintosh repeated at the dinner-table a beautiful sentence which he had heard from Irving in prayer. This drew the great orator, George Canning, to go to hear Irving. Afterwards, in a speech in the House of Commons, Canning alluded to Irving and said that he had heard a Scotch clergyman preach the most eloquent sermon he had ever listened to. Though pleased and surprised at his wonderful popularity, Irving remained humble in his mind, certainly at first. His marriage to Isabella Martin proved to be very happy, though she was scarcely a strong enough character to counterbalance his tendency to extremes. The best side of his work was of short duration. He soon began to take up opinions on prophecy and other things which tended to fanaticism. His church disapproved of his extreme views, so he led off a large number, and a new church was built for him in Regent Square. Here for a short time the crowds continued, but soon they began to fall off. His long and violent sermons repelled. He also came to adopt sacramentarian views of the ordinances and was somewhat unsound as to the sinlessness of our Lord's humanity. He was deposed by his Presbytery of Annan for his alleged heresies in 1832. He now instituted the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church, aiming to conform it to the Scriptural model with angels, apostles, evangelists, and with the gifts of healing and speaking with tongues. Several churches were formed on this model, some of which still exist, the sect being known as Irvingites. In 1834 Irving went to Scotland to draw members to his views, but he had fallen ill and his health gave way. He died in that year and lies buried in the crypt of the cathedral at Glasgow.

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[21] See Blaikie, *Preachers of Scotland,* p. 272 ff.; Taylor, *The Scottish Pulpit,* p. 180 ff.

[22] See Stoughton, I, chap. XVI (p. 374 ff.); art. in *DNB* (rather depreciatory); W. Wilks, *Edward Irving, an Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography,* London, 1854; Mrs. Oliphant, *Life of Edward Irving,* London, about 1865; *Sermons, Lectures, and Occasional Discourses,* by Edward Irving, London, about 1835; Blaikie, p. 290; sermon in Fish, *Mast.,* II, p. 336 ff.; and in *World's Great Sermons,* Vol. IV, p. 103 ff.

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[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

The estimates of Irving varied widely during his life and also after his death. But even his critics acknowledge his purity of character and opinion, and his devoted and conscientious service. He was led away by his enthusiasm and was perhaps not well balanced in mind. One of the best estimates of him is that of William Arnot, in his *Life of James Hamilton,*[24] who says: "Impelled by the fire of his own spirit within and drawn by the plaudits of an admiring multitude without, Mr. Irving's momentum became too great; he could not stop—he could not even slow. From expounding prophecy he allowed himself to be drawn on almost to the bound of prophesying on his own account." And Dr. Hamilton himself is quoted as thus describing him:[25] "The dupe of his own imagination, still more the victim of his misplaced affection—for all along much of his creed had been absorbed into the system through the fancy and through his cordial admiring tendencies—the idealist had become the simple visionary." Irving's preaching was very unequal. At times he was wonderfully eloquent and persuasive. Dr. Stoughton does not hesitate to say that occasionally Irving's work was worthy of Chrysostom. His biographer, Wilks, also praises highly his sermons and the earnestness and fire with which they were delivered. He quotes from one of Irving's earlier discourses the following beautiful words on prayer:[26] "Prayer is the spirit's discourse with the Father of spirits, whereby she taketh high privilege to unburden her obligations, to unbosom her affections, to express her loyal fealty to her God and King; whereby she conveyeth up to heaven the finer senses of the soul which hath no entertainment on the brute earth, but seeketh its home in the purified sphere of heaven on high. Prayer is the heart's offering towards God, the soul's sacrifice, the only effectual death of pride and selfishness, the source of humility, the breath of piety, and the life of religion."

Among Irving's sermons is a series on *The Parable*

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[24] Pp. 177 ff. [25] Wilks, p. 183. [26] *Id.*, p. 49.

of the Sower.[27] A reading of these leads to the following judgment. In Scriptural content they are not closely expository nor filled very much with Biblical thought or quotations. In thought, while the range is large and ample, there is tendency to discursiveness, even occasional rambling. The discourse is not closely argued, nor is the thinking profound. It is striking without being original or deep, yet often it soars in speculation and becomes vigorous in argument. While there is sweep and majesty in the presentation, there is much of fervid declamation which shows that the preacher had not thought all around his subject or fully mastered and co-ordinated his ideas. Yet there is knowledge of human nature, insight and sympathy, along with occasional invective. The attack is now fiery, now solemn. The pleading is often tender, sometimes nobly eloquent. The style is diffuse, elaborate, with long sentences and masses of words, considerable repetition, and elaboration of thought in varying language. The arrangement is not made prominent, yet is usually clear, though lost sight of in the elaboration. The spirit of these sermons is solemn, faithful, sincere, sympathetic, and humble; yet with the personal humility there is firmness of conviction and consciousness of power which both wins and surprises. Some of the critics express surprise that Irving's theological and long discussions should have been listened to with so much interest, but there was evident power in the man as well as in the message, his own earnestness and enthusiasm swept his hearers along. Irving's is one of those pathetic cases where marvelous gifts and powers have been marred and almost wasted by lack of balance, of sobriety, of consistent purpose. No finer tribute to the man has been paid than that of his lifelong friend and supposed rival, Thomas Carlye:[28] "His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with; I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever found in this world, or hope to find."

The greatest Presbyterian preacher of the age was the famed and eloquent Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847).[29]

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[27] *Sermons*, etc., Vol. II.

[28] Quoted by Stoughton, *l. c.*

[29] *Works* of Dr. Chalmers, 25 vols., Edinburgh, various dates; an old ed. of the "Astronomical Discourses," with this title: *A series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation Viewed in*

Though his life and some of his most important work extended into the next period, he was at the height of his powers and fame as a preacher at this time, so that he may properly be studied at this point of our survey. Scotland has had a distinguished and mighty line of preachers. Next to Knox stands Chalmers, and, like Knox, he was especially great in the pulpit; but his easy pre-eminence there was upheld by abilities which would have commanded success in other fields, and by actual achievements in various associated lines of effort. For he was also a great teacher, first of mathematics, then of moral philosophy, and lastly of theology. And besides these, he was one of the most eminent practical pastors of his age or of any age. His work among the poor during his pastorate in Glasgow, his admirable organization of charity work in his parish, was not only highly successful then, but is well worthy of study in these days of institutional and social work. And still further, as a church leader and founder he was equally distinguished; for it fell to him to lead in the great Disruption of 1843. and to give a successful start to the grand work of the Free Church of Scotland. These things are mentioned here so that after a brief survey of his life we may leave them aside and study Chalmers distinctively as a preacher. But it must be remembered that, like John Chrysostom, like Bernard, like Knox, like Wesley, like Spurgeon, he made his great abilities of leadership subservient to his pulpit work.

Thomas Chalmers was born at E. Anstruther, a village on the coast of Fifeshire, northeast from Edinburgh. He was the sixth of fourteen children. His parents

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Connexion With the Modern Astronomy, by Thos. Chalmers, D. D., Minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow. N. Y., 1817; *Sermons and Discourses*, 3d complete Am. ed., 2 vols., New York, 1848; sermon and sketch in Fish, *Mast.*, II, 320 ff.; *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Chalmers*, by his son-in-law, Rev. Wm. Hanna, LL. D., 4 vols., Edinb. and N. Y., 1849-52; also *Correspondence*, ed. by Dr. Hanna; and abridgment of Hanna's *Memoir* by Dr. Moffat; brief *Life*, by D. Fraser (*Heroes of Christian History*); notices by Blaikie, in *Preachers of Scotland*, p. 276, etc., and by Taylor, in *The Scottish Pulpit*, p. 194 ff. Pattison, *Hist. Christian Preaching*, ch. XI; Hoppin, *Hom.*, 216 ff. All follow Hanna for facts, but give useful and interesting accounts.

were commonplace, honest, hard-headed, shrewd, God-fearing Scottish people. His mother, very busy with the care of her large family, left him much to his nurse, who was an incompetent and cruel person. He afterwards said her unkindness and deceitfulness haunted his memory through life. He was sent early to school, and was not brilliant. At St. Andrews' University, while still quite young, too young for a college career, he was not diligent at first; but in the third year of his course his dormant faculties awoke and he began to apply himself with earnestness. Mathematics was his favorite study, but philosophy also attracted him. He read Edwards *On the Will* at the age of fourteen, and said the reading of it put him into "an elysium of delight." He began to study for the ministry at about fifteen years of age, and took a four years' course. This was in accordance with the wishes of his family and friends. He was not yet converted, though piously brought up. Already his gift of expression began to appear. It is said that when it became his turn to lead the chapel exercises, people from the outside came in to listen to his eloquent prayers. At nineteen he was licensed to preach, one of the members of the Presbytery remarking that he was "a lad o' pregnant pairts." He preached a little here and there, but was chiefly intent on studying mathematics. He also pursued some studies at Edinburgh. He was then called to the little parish of Kilmany, and at the same time was assistant professor of mathematics at St. Andrews. He served as pastor at Kilmany for twelve years, from 1803-1815. His early ministry was not marked by deep piety or devotion, though he was conscientious in the outward discharge of duty. For some reason he did not retain his place at St. Andrews, but set up a private school, where he taught for awhile. Now came the great spiritual crisis in his life which resulted in his true conversion to God. There were several lines of influence which were used by the Holy Spirit to produce this great change. He was invited to write an article on Christianity for an encyclopedia, and in studying for his subject he became detached from his mathematical ambitions and seriously engaged on the foundations of Christian truth. About the same time he had a serious illness, which sobered his thoughts, and then there came a sad affliction in the death of one of his sisters. He earnestly read Wilberforce's *Practical View of Christianity*. Under these varied lines of influence he was thoroughly converted in 1811. His new spiritual life led to new views of his work. His ministry had hitherto been without much fruit, but now his parishioners noted the wonderful change in their brilliant young pastor, and many conversions among them were the results of his change. He was happily married in 1812.

A new period of Chalmers' life and ministry begins with his removal to Glasgow, in 1815, where he served as pastor, first of the Tron Church, and then of St. John's, to 1823. This was the period of his great work as a pastor and preacher. His famous series of *Astronomical Discourses* was given in the Tron Church, and his equally remarkable parish work was done at St. John's. It will be remembered that for a part of the time he had associated with him the brilliant and unhappy Edward Irving. From such successful work as preacher and pastor he was called, in 1823, to be professor of moral philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. His accepting this position was rather surprising, and so remains. He occupied this professorship for five years, preaching occasionally, but not as pastor. He had great personal influence over his students, both in an intellectual and spiritual way. His lectures on *Moral Philosophy* were published in book form, but, while sound and able, they were not distinctively great. From 1828-1843 Chalmers was professor of theology in the University of Edinburgh. This suited him much better than either mathematics or ethics. His masterly powers in thought and expression not only charmed his students, but drew crowds of eager listeners to his lecture room. He paid visits to England in 1830 and again in 1837, where, notwithstanding his ungainly appearance and his broad Scotch brogue, he was heard with admiration.

This is not the place to write the history of the famous Disruption in the Scottish Church, in 1843. Many of the most pious and evangelical of the ministers in the Established Church were dissatisfied both as to questions of discipline and moral tone in the Establishment, and also as to the methods by which ministers were put into office. The movement was not unlike the Secession under the Erskines in the eighteenth century. Chalmers was head and front to the movement, and in the famous Assembly of 1843 it was he who led the procession of ministers who departed from the Established Church and set up the Free Kirk of Scotland. As was natural and fitting, Chalmers became professor in the Free Church College in Edinburgh, and held the place to the end of his life, in 1847. He still had great success as a lecturer, but also was much interested in the general work of the church, and preached to a congregation of Free Church people in Westport. In the last year of his life he paid another visit to England, where he preached with great success and effect. Soon after his return from this visit he fell quietly asleep, literally passing away in his sleep, on Sunday night, after preaching, May 30, 1847.

In character Dr. Chalmers possessed and nobly illustrated the virtues of his race: balance of judgment, caution combined with vehemence when aroused, sturdy honesty, strength of will and high moral aims. He had some consciousness of his powers and inclined to imperiousness, but there was also a genuine humility of soul before God. One of his biographers quotes from his journal this characteristic prayer: "Extinguish my love of praise, O God; and now that my name is afloat on the public, let me cultivate an indifference to human applause." In the family circle, among friends, and in society Chalmers was a genial and lovable man, notwithstanding his strength and decisiveness. His force of character eminently fitted him for a public man and leader. Few of the weaknesses which have marred the work of great men attach to him. He was terribly in earnest but not self-seeking, impetuous but thoughtful, strong, wise, trustworthy, and pure.

The work of Chalmers has already been briefly outlined as a professor, moral reformer, and religious leader. We are here concerned with him as preacher. In method he was remarkable; for he read his sermons and yet contrived to put into his delivery all the fire and fervor which usually go with extemporaneous speaking. His style, with its long sentences, hardly lent itself to free delivery, but if he had accustomed himself to this method it probably would have better suited his temperament. There is a story to the effect that some one criticised Chalmers for reading his sermons in the pulpit, when an ardent female admirer promptly answered, "But it was fell reading, though!" And this was the truth. There was wonderful power and mastery in the man, in the thought, in the style itself, that a manuscript could not chain, nor reading reduce to tameness. Besides this defect, if it can be so called, Chalmers did not have a prepossessing appearance, and his voice and manner lacked smoothness and grace.

Another peculiarity, and perhaps the most marked one in Chalmers' preaching, was his method of repeating the same idea with great variety of expression. He would take some one great thought and hold it up from every point of view, exhibiting all its sides, changing the phraseology and the illustration, but keeping that one thought ever before the hearer. The famous criticism of Robert Hall upon Chalmers perhaps exaggerated this characteristic. In a conversation with a friend, Hall said:[30] "Did you ever know any man who had that singular faculty of repetition possessed by Dr. Chalmers? Why, sir, he often reiterates the same thing ten or twelve times in the course of a few pages. Even Burke himself had not so much of that peculiarity. His mind resembles . . . a kaleidoscope. Every turn presents the object in a new and beautiful form, but the object presented is still the same. . . . His mind seems to move on hinges, not on wheels. There is incessant motion, but no progress." This interesting description presents the truth with singular force, but perhaps overstates the point. There is more progress in thought than Hall would seem to have allowed, but he had probably heard only one and read only a few of Chalmers' sermons. The series of expository lectures or sermons on Romans shows the great power of Chalmers' thought, his lucidity of exposition, and thoroughness of thinking. The famous series of *Astronomical Discourses* preached at the Tron Church, Glasgow, during his ministry there exhibit many of the best excellencies of Chalmers' preaching. The sermons, as explained in the preface, were called forth by the use which some opponents of Christianity were making of recent discoveries in astronomy. The main point of the infidel objection was that the science of astronomy, by revealing the greatness of the universe, had discredited the Biblical conception of man's importance as the crown of God's creation and the object of His providential care and redeeming love. The objection was amply met for the time at which these discourses were given. Great progress in science since then and the shifting of emphasis in theological thought also make the point of view now somewhat out of date, but at the time when they were spoken these great sermons were both timely and profound. They showed a mastery of the science at its then stage of development, honesty and sobriety of judgment, along with unshaken conviction of Christian truth. The style of the discourses is also now left behind. It partakes of the grandiose manner of the eighteenth century, but it is sweepingly eloquent, in many places truly magnificent. This set of discourses ranks high among the best specimens of British oratory.

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[30] *Works* of Robert Hall, Vol. III, p. 79 f.

In the second discourse,[31] on *The Modesty of True Science,* Chalmers takes the text, 1 Cor. 8:2, "If any man think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know." In the course of the sermon he pays a beautiful tribute to the mind of Isaac Newton, to his method of research, and to the modesty of his spirit. He then proceeds to state and refute the infidel objection, which he does in this way: "In the astronomical objection which infidelity has proposed against the truth of the Christian revelation, there is first an assertion, and then an argument. The assertion is, that Christianity is set up for the exclusive benefit of our minute and solitary world. The argument is, that God would not lavish such a quantity of attention on so insignificant a field. Even though the assertion were admitted, I should have to quarrel with the argument. But the futility of this objection is not laid open in all its extent, unless we expose the utter want of all essential evidence even for the truth of the assertion." He then goes on to show that the objection is not well founded, but based

[31] *Astronomical Discourses,* p. 76 ff.

on speculation, and in the unfolding of this thought occurs this splendid passage: "The man who could embark in an enterprise so foolish and so fanciful, as to theorize it on the details of the botany of another world, or to theorize it on the natural and moral history of its people, is just making as outrageous a departure from all sense, and all science, and all sobriety, when he presumes to speculate or to assert on the details or the methods of God's administration among its rational and accountable inhabitants. He wings his fancy to as hazardous a region, and vainly strives a penetrating vision through the mantle of as deep an obscurity. All the elements of such a speculation are hidden from him. For anything he can tell, sin has found its way into these other worlds. For anything he can tell, their people have banished themselves from communion with God. For anything he can tell, many a visit has been made to each of them, on the subject of our common Christianity, by commissioned messengers from the throne of the Eternal. For anything he can tell, the redemption proclaimed to us is not one solitary instance, or not the whole of that redemption which is by the Son of God—but only our part in the plan of mercy, equal in magnificence to all that astronomy has brought within the range of human contemplation. . . . For anything he can tell, the Eternal Son, of whom it is said, that by Him the worlds were created, may have had the government of many sinful worlds laid upon His shoulders; and by the power of His mysterious word, have awoke them all from that spiritual death to which they had sunk in lethargy as profound as the slumbers of non-existence. For anything he can tell, the one Spirit who moved on the face of the waters, and whose presiding influence it was that hushed the wild war of nature's elements, and made a beauteous system emerge out of its disjointed materials, may now be working with the fragments of another chaos; and educing order and obedience and harmony out of the wrecks of a moral rebellion, which reaches through all these spheres and spreads disorder to the uttermost limits of our astronomy."

Perhaps the best known of Chalmers' sermons is that on *The Expulsive Power of a New Affection.*[32] Dr. W.

[32] Fish, *Mast.*, II, p. 320 ff.

G. Blaikie says that this sermon was suggested by Dr. Chalmers seeing a stage-coach driver whip one of his horses without apparent reason, and on inquiry the man said the horse had a habit of bolting at that place and he desired to give the animal something else to occupy his mind. In meditating on this incident, Chalmers began to think how the love of God taking possession of the heart of man would drive out the evil, and that this was the true method of spiritual and moral advancement. The only thought of the sermon which, after Chalmers' peculiar manner, is restated and variously illustrated, is thus presented in the opening paragraph of the discourse: "There are two ways in which a practical moralist may attempt to displace from the human heart its love of the world—either by a demonstration of the world's vanity, so as that the heart shall be prevailed upon simply to withdraw its regards from an object that is not worthy of it; or, by setting forth another object, even God, as more worthy of its attachment; so as that the heart shall be prevailed upon, not to resign an old affection which shall have nothing to succeed it, but to exchange an old affection for a new one. My purpose is to show, that from the constitution of our nature, the former method is altogether incompetent and ineffectual—and that the latter method will alone suffice for the rescue and recovery of the heart from the wrong affection that domineers over it. After having accomplished this purpose, I shall attempt a few practical observations."

But quotations even more extended than these can not present at all adequately a great preacher like Chalmers. The strength and penetration of his mind, the splendor of his imagination, the depth and enthusiasm of his convictions, the magnificence of his language can only be fully appreciated by one who reads more at length in these great sermons. Such a reader will bring away with him not only impressions like those just given, but the large and more telling one of a great soul striving to interpret and impress great thoughts through the medium of adequate speech.

The Baptists of the period were well represented in its early years by Andrew Fuller, who died at the height of his powers, in 1815, and whose work has already been presented. Here also belongs the noted essayist, John

Foster (1770-1843).[83] He was born of intelligent and pious parents in Yorkshire, was converted in boyhood, and baptized by Dr. Fawcett. Feeling called to preach, he was prepared by Dr. Fawcett, and in the Bristol Baptist School. He held several pastorates, but a throat trouble prevented his success as a public speaker, though his sermons were admirably thought out and well written in the style which made his essays deservedly famous. These are not so much read now, but for two or three generations held a high place among the classics of English essay writing. Perhaps the two most famous of these essays were those on *A Man's Writing Memoirs of Himself* and on *Decision of Character.*

In Wales there flourished at this time that wonderful preacher, Christmas Evans (1766-1838).[84] A rude and rather wild youth, he had the misfortune to lose one eye in a fight; but on his conversion, giving himself wholly to the service of Christ, he became a preacher possessed with all the imagination and fiery eloquence of his race. Robert Hall said of him that he was "the tallest, the stoutest, and the greatest man he ever saw; that he had but one eye, if it could be called an eye; it was more properly a brilliant star, it shone like Venus." Though he had but little education, he used well what he had acquired. His imagination was his strong point, and with it that magnetic quality which thrills and moves an audience. In these two elements of oratory he reached a consummate success. His sermons were preached in his native Welsh, but translations of them and extracts are accessible in English. They exhibit that marvelous faculty of description which appeals to warm-hearted people with peculiar power. It is true that the fancy runs riot and was not disciplined by sufficient education or sobriety of judgment; but for successful popular eloquence among his own people, Christmas Evans ranks among the most remarkable preachers of his age.

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[83] *Life and Correspondence of John Foster,* by J. E. Ryland, 2 vols., 1846; *Essays* in various edd.; sketch and sermon in Fish, *Mast.,* I, p. 411 ff.

[84] *Memoirs of the Rev. Christmas Evans,* by J. Davis, 1840; *Life of Christmas Evans,* by E. P. Hood; also a sketch by Hood in *Vocation of the Preacher;* and by Owen Jones in *Some Great Preachers of Wales,* p. 159 ff.; *Sermons on Various Subjects,* by the Rev. Christmas Evans, translated (from the Welsh) by J. Davis, 1837; sketch and sermon in Fish, *Mast.,* II, p. 595 ff.

Easily the leading figure in the Baptist pulpit of this period, and indeed one of the best of all English preachers, was the eminent pastor, essayist, and preacher, Robert Hall (1764-1831).[35] His life story is a simple one so far as outward events are concerned, yet it was in some respects a remarkable life and worthy of careful study. Hall was born at Arnsby, a little village in Leicestershire, where his father, Robert Hall, Sr., was pastor of the little Baptist Church, and himself a preacher of high character and excellent talent. The younger Robert was the fourteenth child, very feeble in constitution from his birth. In fact, he was an invalid and sufferer from birth to death. He was more fortunate than Chalmers in having an excellent nurse, whose loving care of him throughout his feeble childhood was almost like that of a mother. His own mother was so occupied with the cares of a numerous family that it was impossible for her to give all the attention which so feeble a child required. Robert early displayed a most remarkable intellect. The stories of his precocity are well founded and are sufficiently wonderful. His education began by his nurse teaching him to read by learning the letters and inscriptions on the tombstones of the churchyard, where she often took her little charge for the air. It does not appear that this unusual schoolroom left any gloomy or funereal traits in the mind of the boy. The child was a reader and thinker almost from his cradle. At nine years of age he had read Edwards *On the Will* and Butler's *Analogy*, with appreciation of their arguments. There was a tailor in the village, a member of the elder Hall's Church, who was much given to metaphysical thinking and talk, and in his shop the little Robert was often found discussing profound questions of philosophy. At eleven years of age he was so far advanced in his studies that the teacher, a Mr. Simmons, told his father that he could take the boy no further. Robert was then sent to school to the Rev. John Ryland, at Northampton—a strong but rather peculiar man. Robert remained only some eighteen months under his instruction, but made excellent progress, especially in Latin and Greek. After an interval occasioned by ill-health, he was sent to the Bristol Academy, where he remained three or four years.

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[35] *Works of Robert Hall*, ed. Dr. Olinthus Gregory, 3 vols., N. Y., 1833; Vol. III contains a *Memoir* by Dr. Gregory, a fine critique upon Hall as a preacher by John Foster, and other valuable material; *Life* by E. P. Hood in *Heroes of Christian History*, London and New York; sermon and sketch in Fish, *Mast.*, I. p. 363 ff.; Pattison, ch. XI; Hoppin, p. 212 ff.

Hall was serious from his childhood. His good old nurse declared that he was converted at seven years of age, and throughout his life his character was free from spot and his pious devotion to his Lord was unbroken. When fourteen years of age he was baptized by his father, and received distinct impressions of duty in regard to the ministry. But before this he had written several religious essays, and preached to his brothers and sisters while yet a little boy. He completed his studies at Bristol. The English universities not being at that time open to Dissenters, Robert Hall went to the University of Aberdeen, in Scotland, for his collegiate education. Here he became greatly distinguished as a student. He formed strong friendships, among them one with the afterwards notable Sir James Mackintosh. After several years Hall was graduated Master of Arts and with distinction, having pronounced a Greek oration, which was received with great applause.

During his schooldays at Bristol, having been licensed by his father's church, he made a beginning at preaching. But his first efforts were not successful. He was overcome with diffidence. But during his course at Aberdeen, in 1783, he became assistant pastor to the Rev. Caleb Evans, at Broadmead, Bristol, at first during the vacations; but on completing his course, in August, 1785, he was appointed classical tutor in the Bristol Academy, along with his work as associate pastor of the Church. A very interesting entry in the journal of Andrew Fuller, under date of May 7, 1784, reads as follows: "Heard Mr. Robert Hall, Jr., from 'He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.' Felt very solemn in hearing some parts. The Lord keep that young man." A similar passage is also found in the journal of Dr. Ryland. These two notices, as well as other things, show that Hall's character and intellect made a profound impression upon his older brethren, but they seem to have had a not unnatural fear that his intellect might lead him into unchristian speculations and that his success might lead him to pride. Their prayers were answered; Mr. Hall grew in grace and knowledge, as in experience. During his five years' association with Mr. Evans at Bristol the younger man was much the superior of the two, and under such circumstances some friction was inevitable. It must be said to the credit of Mr. Hall that his behavior under these trying circumstances was admirable.

In 1791 he was called to succeed the famous Robert Robinson as pastor of the Baptist Church at Cambridge. He met some peculiar difficulties there, and was not much pleased with Cambridge; but his preaching drew large and intelligent audiences, both from the town and the university. His ill-health and acute sufferings, together with the burdens of his pastorate, broke him down. His mind became unbalanced for a time, but he recovered. A second and later attack was more serious. He was placed under the care of Dr. Cox, near Bristol. On being taken to this sanitarium, as we should now call it, one of the inmates, who was an acquaintance of Hall's, expressed great surprise and asked with sympathy, "Whatever brought you here, Mr. Hall, whatever?" Mr. Hall, tapping his head, replied, "What never brought you here, sir; too much up here." On his recovery, Dr. Cox gave him three prescriptions; (1) leave Cambridge, (2) smoke, (3) get married. He did all three, and never lost his mind any more. Much to his regret and that of the congregation, he resigned at Cambridge; and the smoking was probably somewhat soothing to his nerves; he married a woman of excellent sense and character, though by no means his equal in intellect or culture. To her loving care and constant devotion he owed much of that mitigation of suffering and relief from care which enabled him to do the great work of his remainder of life.

Hall removed from Cambridge to Leicester in 1806, where he served as pastor of a Baptist church to the year 1825. This was the principal scene of his labors. Notwithstanding his continued sufferings and the severe attacks of that distressing pain in his back which pursued him all his life and finally ended it, he was a very successful pastor and a preacher of marvelous gifts and power. His congregations, while not so cultivated as those at Cambridge had been, yet contained a number of thoughtful people who could appreciate Hall's style of work; but he was also active and beloved among the middle and lower classes of hearers. A noble statue in the principal park at Leicester still commemorates his life and labors in that city. After nineteen years of successful labors in Leicester, Mr. Hall felt the need of a less exacting work, and accepted the invitation of his old church at Bristol to return to them. This he did, and served there from 1826 to his death, in 1831. He thus returned to the scenes of his boyhood and of his early ministry, being now about sixty-two years old, to end his days where he had begun his work. His pastorate here has been well described as "brief and bright." He was much beloved, and the work of the pulpit was not so burdensome as it had been. But his lifelong malady gained upon him, his bodily sufferings were frequent and intense. He bore his pain with exemplary fortitude and beautiful resignation. The closing struggle was itself a triumph of spirit over clay, of the soul through sufferings. On one occasion, after a paroxysm of pain, he said to his physician: "Did I complain, sir? I did not mean to." And so he passed away in great bodily distress, but in perfect peace of soul.

The character of Robert Hall was suitable to his genius. He was honest, sincere, outspoken, with a tendency to severity. He had a keen wit, and could be very sarcastic when he chose. Speaking of a certain bishop who had been spoiled by office, he said: "Poor man, I pity him. He married public virtue in his early days, but seemed forever afterwards to be quarreling with his wife." He was no great admirer of Dr. Gill. In a talk with Christmas Evans, who did admire that author and expressed his wish that Dr. Gill's works had been written in Welsh, Mr. Hall said: "I wish they had, sir; I wish they had with all my heart, for then I should never have read them. They are a continent of mud." We have already noticed his opinion of Chalmers. Of Wesley he said: "The most extraordinary thing about him was, that while he set all in motion, he was himself perfectly calm and phlegmatic. He was the quiescence of turbulence." Of Whitefield he spoke as presenting the contrast of mediocrity in writing with wonderful power in speaking, which could not be expressed in writing, for "it is impossible to paint eloquence." In his pastoral work and relations with others Mr. Hall was kind, affectionate, and sincere.

A study of Robert Hall as a preacher can not fail to be of deep interest and profit. The themes of his discourse were varied, usually along the lines of gospel truth, but with occasional excursions into topics for the times. His purpose always was to glorify his Master and to preach, as it was given to him to see it, the truth of God. Most of his published sermons are topical, but while at Cambridge it was his custom at one of the services to give an expository lecture. The matter of his sermons presents a fine combination of philosophic thought with Biblical truth. He held firmly the essential doctrines of Christianity as understood by evangelicals. But the philosophic bent of his mind led him often to treat these topics from that point of view rather than that of feeling and exhortation. Along with his deep thinking there is wealth of learning and of reflection and observation. All the elements of successful speech are found in his work: thought, accuracy of information, logical analysis, imagination purified and controlled by culture, depth of feeling with no excess of vehemence, and a splendid style. The best criticism upon Hall's style is its "too uniform stateliness." It lacks variety, flexibility, ease; and this is all the more remarkable because it is pre-eminently a style of speech rather than of writing. Hall did not write out his sermons before delivery. He carefully prepared them by thought and prayer, and spoke from an outline. Afterwards he reproduced them by dictation, sometimes while lying upon his back on the floor of his study to gain some ease of his pain. Hall's delivery and voice lacked something of grace and power. His action was not studied or lively. His voice was rather feeble, and on that account he adopted and used with excellent effect great rapidity of utterance. He said of himself that "slowness of speech in his case would have been fatal to effect, that he must make up in rapidity what he lacked in strength and fullness of tone." His theory and practice were doubtless correct. This method of delivery required both for himself and the audience occasional pauses which were all the more effective because they were natural.

Two of the most famous of Hall's sermons dealt with topics of the day. The great discourse on *Modern Infidelity*[36] had its suggestion in the horrors of the French Revolution, then fresh in the minds of men. It was preached first at Bristol, in October, and then at Cambridge, in November, 1800, and was published by request, being reproduced in the manner already mentioned. This great discourse is well worthy of careful and frequent reading. Its admirable thinking, ample culture, easy mastery of theme, and splendid style give it a place indeed among the "masterpieces of pulpit eloquence." No outline or extracts could convey an adequate notion of its power, but the following paragraph has been so much and justly admired that it may well find a place here. Speaking of the results of the teachings of infidels, he goes on to say:[37] "More than all, their infatuated eagerness, their parricidal zeal to extinguish a sense of Deity must excite astonishment and horror. Is the idea of an Almighty and perfect Ruler unfriendly to any passion which is consistent with innocence, or an obstruction of any design which it is not shameful to avow? Eternal God, on what are thine enemies intent! What are those enterprises of guilt and horror, that, for the safety of their performers, require to be enveloped in a darkness which the eye of Heaven must not pierce! Miserable men! Proud of being the offspring of chance; in love with universal disorder; whose happiness is involved in the belief of there being no witness to their designs, and who are at ease only because they suppose themselves inhabitants of a forsaken and fatherless world!" More appealing in its pathos and almost perfect beauty is the famous sermon on *The Death of Princess Charlotte*[38] from the words of Jeremiah 15:9, "She hath given up the ghost; her sun has gone down while it is yet day." This tender and beautiful discourse takes place alongside of the memorable funeral orations of Bossuet. Some of its passages and descriptions have been quoted by English historians, and it remains one of the choice examples of its kind.

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[36] *Works,* I, p. 23; Fish, *l. c.*

[37] *Id.*, p. 48; Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

[38] *Works,* I, p. 177.

II. The Middle Period of the Century, 1833-1868

The second division of the nineteenth century presents a wonderfully great and fruitful period in the life and thought of the British people.[39] The death of the old and inefficient King William IV, in 1837, introduced the long and brilliant reign of Queen Victoria—a reign that will be ever memorable alike for the character and influence of the sovereign and for the great events and movements which marked its course. The first half of that reign will occupy us in this section.

There were no very important wars during this time; the progress was chiefly that of inner development through Parliamentary struggle and the debates of opinion. Yet the inglorious war with China, in 1842, opened the treaty ports of that great empire to Western commerce and Christian missions; the short and yet too long war with Russia in the Crimea, in 1854-55, was marked by great sufferings in the camps of the allies before Sebastopol, and illuminated by the beautiful service of Florence Nightingale and her corps of nurses; the terrible Sepoy mutiny in India, in 1857, brought forth deeds of suffering, endurance, and valor that live in English history.

Political affairs were characterized by great struggles of parties and statesmen. The passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 was followed by a large extension of the suffrage and the introduction of new men and measures into the constitutional progress of the nation. Further extensions followed in 1857, and again in 1868, so that practically universal manhood suffrage came at last to prevail. Debates on the removal of the import duty on grain (the Corn Laws), on various measures in the interest of freedom and social ameliorations, on the enlargement of religious liberty and the general progress of education, and other improvements occupied the minds of the nation and exercised the powers of thought and oratory of some of the greatest statesmen of modern times. It was the age which heard and echoed the thoughts of such men as Macaulay, Canning, Peel, Cobden, Bright, Palmerston, Russell, Derby, and toward its turn and at the height of their earlier struggles, of Disraeli and Gladstone.

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[39] Much the same general authorities as before on national, social, literary, and religious affairs; McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times;* Stedman's *Victorian Poets,* etc.

Some of the greatest of English writers adorned this epoch. Powerful thought in all the spheres of intellectual effort found noble expression in a literature distinguished for variety, amplitude, beauty, strength, and fruitfulness. Some of the leading orators have already been named. Of poets there were Landor, Hood, the Procters, Clough, Fitzgerald, Mrs. Browning, and the greater names of Tennyson, Robert Browning, Matthew Arnold, and Swinburne, whose labors went on into the last period of the century, but who were doing some of their most distinctive work during this time. Fiction was represented by the masterly work of Dickens and Thackeray at their best, and of George Eliot at her beginnings. Besides these of the first rank, there were Charlotte Brontë and her sisters, with Dinah Maria Mulock, among the women, and among the men Kingsley, Bulwer, Reade, Collins, and others of less fame. The field of history is splendidly represented in the work of such men in various lines of research as Macaulay, Hallam, Grote, Thirlwall, Milman, Knight, Buckle, the Rawlinsons, and others whose principal contributions came in the next period, but who were at work already in this time. Essayists and biographers of various talents and subjects were found in Macaulay, Carlyle, Harriet Martineau, Lockhart, Helps, and Ruskin. Science and philosophy found illuminating, even revolutionary, expression in the writings of men like Sir William Hamilton, Faraday, Brewster, Hugh Miller, Sir Charles Lyell, Herschel, the Mills, Whewell, Darwin, and Spencer, who, with Tyndall, Huxley, and others, passed over into the later period. Religion and theology, in all their different forms and schools, were illustrated by the productions of Whately, Maurice, Newman, Neale, Keble, the Hares, Alford, William Smith, Stanley, Bickersteth, Martineau, and a host of others, some of whom were also among the leading preachers of the time.

Religious events and movements within this epoch were of general interest and profound importance. Enlargement of the political privileges extended to Catholics and Dissenters began with the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829, but went on in various directions, so that throughout this whole period and on into the next there was growth of toleration and of the dissenting bodies of Christians. Sentiment in favor of the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland was growing, and came, as we shall see, to its fruition at the turn into the next period. Within the Anglican body the three tendencies which have ever to some extent divided opinion became more distinct, and fell into groups or parties to which the names of Low, High, and Broad Church were now more clearly and appropriately applied. The Low Church party carried on with ability and maintained with power the evangelical principles, which more and more escaped the reproach of cant and narrowness. The High Church party had a remarkable development in the Oxford or Tractarian movement, which will receive more detailed notice later. The Broad Church party also received great impetus, partly as reaction from Evangelicalism, partly as renewal of strength in a force which had never died out though held in check by the evangelical revival, and partly as result of that general growth of liberalism in religious thought which has been characteristic of modern times. Criticism—historical and philosophical—of traditional Christianity became rife, and there emerged a decided and painful hostility on the part of many scientific investigators and thinkers toward the long-accepted facts and doctrines of the Christian faith. The effort on the part of many churchmen to follow the trend of scientific thought and yet retain what was regarded as essential in the Christian tradition was the informing principle of the Broad Church group.

Along with this must also be reckoned the growth of humanitarian and social improvement, in which, however, all three parties shared in their different ways. There was on the part of Christians generally a more intelligent and active participation in movements and efforts for social good; particularly in the improvement of the condition of the poor and the laboring classes. The introduction of machinery had reduced many hand-workers to want and to a savage hostility toward the capitalistic classes. The abolition of slavery and the beginning of missionary effort in foreign lands were credited chiefly to Evangelicalism. But members of the Broad Church group, especially Kingsley, Maurice, Robertson, and others, championed the cause of the poor. In this novelists and poets joined, and statesmen and leaders of public opinion were not silent. The revolutionary movements on the Continent of Europe, about 1848, had their English counterpart in the Chartist agitation. Thousands of people signed a petition or demand of rights which was intended to be a new Charter of popular liberties. Many of the demands of the Chartists were one by one granted and enacted into legislation. Many individual Christians of all parties sympathized more or less with the movement, but it was not identified with any particular party.

Among Dissenters there was naturally no High Church party; but in the various denominations the line of cleavage between groups which corresponded to the Anglican Low and Broad Church groups was to be found. The Presbyterians in England had become infected to such a degree with Unitarianism as virtually to have lost their distinctive character as a denomination; though men like Irving and his successor, Hamilton, served the more orthodox Scottish Churches. Among Baptists and Independents men here and there leaned to Arian or Socinian views, but, on the whole, Evangelical principles maintained their hold upon the Nonconformist churches and preachers.

In Scotland the Secession and later the Relief Presbytery movement had withdrawn some of the Evangelicals from the Established Church, but a considerable number remained, and the revival of Evangelicalism in the early years of the century had increased the numbers of that party and given them a strong opposition to Moderatism. In 1847 the Seceders and Relief Presbyterians came together to form the United Presbyterian Church, a body of decidedly evangelical sentiments and earnest missionary work. The remnants of Moderatism and the evils of lay patronage gave to the evangelical part of the Established Church considerable trouble as the century advanced. Finally, in 1843, under the courageous leadership of Chalmers and others, more than four hundred ministers withdrew from the Established Church and organized the Free Church of Scotland. This was known as the Disruption, and, though apparently evil, resulted in much good. The lay members of the Church rallied to the support of the withdrawing ministers, churches and manses were built, salaries provided, colleges founded, missions established, and other good works undertaken and successfully carried out. This splendid self-sacrifice and generosity on behalf of the principle of freedom for the churches to choose their own pastors, as well as in the interest of a more evangelical type of doctrine, were not without fruit both in the withdrawing church itself and in the older Establishment. This also stimulated men to larger efforts for the common cause, and so a greater amount of work was done for the whole church than would have been done if the two parties had remained in the same body, disputing with one another.

Recurring now to the High Church movement within the Anglican Church, it will be necessary to go somewhat into detail in order to estimate aright the influence of this movement upon ecclesiastical thought and more directly upon preaching.[40] The passage of the Reform Bill, in 1832, alarmed some of the most devoted adherents of the English Church. They feared the church would fall too much under political influences and control. Voicing this alarm, John Keble, the famous author of *The Christian Year*, preached, in 1833, a notable sermon on "National Apostasy," in which he sounded the note of warning. Keble was a High Churchman and an Oxford-man. His views were shared by a group of others at Oxford. John Henry Newman was absent from England at the time, but on returning joined in with Keble and the others. Soon the group received the efficient sympathy and active help of E. B. Pusey, a great scholar and a man of high social standing and wide influence. The group began to issue *Tracts for the Times* in defense of the historic Anglican Church and presenting decided High Church views of the ordinances and related matters. These writings created a great discussion. Low and Broad Church people both attacked them, and the controversy waxed warmer and warmer till, the Roman Catholic drift becoming more and more apparent, there grew up a genuine alarm lest the movement were a deep-seated scheme to deliver the English Church back into the fold of Rome. The appearance of the famous *Tract XC,* in which the Romanizing tendency became quite apparent, led the bishop of Oxford to exert his authority and suppress further publications of the sort. But this neither ended the controversy nor the movement. Some of the Tractarians, including Newman, went over at last to the Roman Catholic Church, but others, like Pusey, remained within the Anglican body. Following soon after Newman's defection came the famous Gorham case, in 1847. Mr. Gorham was a Low Churchman, who at his ordination failed to give his High Church bishop satisfaction as to the matter of baptismal regeneration, and was refused induction into his charge. The case was carried before various courts, and finally decided by the Privy Council in Mr. Gorham's favor. But the High Church party, notwithstanding this check, were still strong and aggressive. The whole movement lent great interest to theological thought at the time and had a profound influence, beyond the immediate occasion, both upon the progress of religious thinking in England and upon the pulpit; for some of the notable preachers of the age were of this party.

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[40] See *The Oxford Movement*, by R. W. Church; *Five Great Oxford Leaders*, by A. B. Donaldson; Newman's *Apologia;* Stoughton, Vol. II, Chap. II, especially p. 45; Tulloch, *Lect.*, III, p. 58 ff.; histories and articles.

In all the sects and parties we find a vigorous ministry throughout this period. There is a goodly number of men of exceptional weight and power in the pulpit, and generally a high average of culture and efficiency. The breath of progress, the stir of alert industry, the excitement of conscious advance, which characterize the national life of the age are all felt and manifest in its pulpit. It responds to the demand for practical results.

It is less formal and traditional, less elaborate and stilted than in the past, without being less thoughtful or effective. But the many varieties of opinion and practice in religious and ecclesiastical affairs, the controversies of every kind and range—sectarian, critical, scientific, apologetic, social, political—all bearing upon the attitude of the pulpit upon vital current issues, caused a bewildering variety of pulpit expression.

The Roman Catholic Church has naturally not had many exceptionally notable preachers in the British Islands; for the church has had little opportunity to develop a great ministry in the strongly Protestant England, Scotland, and Wales; and in Ireland, though numerically in the ascendant, the Catholics have not had the best conditions for training that native eloquence for which the Irish are justly celebrated. Of course, the Romanist theology has been the main basis of Catholic preaching in English as in other tongues, and the modern statements and ultramontane views have found expression in sermons. The polemic presentation of Romanism has been necessarily somewhat cautious, but has shown vigor and power. Besides these customary elements, British Catholic preaching has paid great attention to moral and social questions, and its style has not wanted the strength and elegance of nineteenth century English.

A few of the more notable men among the Catholics of the period deserve more than mere mention. The famous and widely useful temperance orator, Theobald Mathew (1790-1856),[41] was born in county Tipperary, Ireland, and educated at Kilkenny and Maynooth. After his ordination he had charge of a chapel at Cork, where his earnest eloquence and kind manners, joined with his active work in behalf of the poor, gained him many friends and an ever-widening influence. About 1830 (it is said, at the suggestion of a pious Quaker) he began his extraordinary work in behalf of the temperance cause. Beginning at Cork, he pleaded for abstinence from intoxicating liquors, induced hundreds to sign the pledge, and formed total abstinence societies. The work grew on his hands, and his services were called for in all parts of Ireland. Thousands were rescued from drunkenness by his persuasions. His labors extended to England and the United States, and great enthusiasm and success followed his moving addresses. He was well called "the apostle of temperance" in his time. Another leading Irish Catholic preacher of the age was Father Thomas N. Burke (1830-1883),[42] who was born in Galway, and educated in Italy, but, returning to his native country, was active chiefly in Dublin as a priest and preacher of the Dominican order. He came on a visit to the United States in 1871, where he preached and lectured to large and enthusiastic audiences. His *Lectures and Sermons* were collected and published in this country in 1873. During this tour Burke became involved in a controversy with the English historian, J. A. Froude, who was traveling and lecturing in the United States at the same time. Burke had the eloquence of his race, the courage of his convictions, and the ardor of a sincere Catholic. He was most highly esteemed among his fellow Catholics as a preacher of rare powers. Mention at least should be made of Father Thomas J. Potter, of Dublin, whose two books on preaching—*The Spoken Word,* and *Sacred Eloquence* —give him a place among modern teachers of homiletics, and whose own work in the pulpit was recognized by his contemporaries. Archbishop Walsh, better known later as a prelate interested in political and ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland, was also in this period acknowledged to be a preacher of power and influence.

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[41] Cyclop. articles.

The best known English Catholic prelate and preacher of the period was Nicholas Wiseman (1802-1865),[43] the celebrated cardinal of Westminster, who was born of English parentage, at Seville, in Spain, but was educated in England and at the English College at Rome, where he served as professor for a short time. Coming to England in 1835, he soon became known as a preacher and writer of decided gifts. In 1850 he was made a cardinal and archbishop of Westminster. His appointment gave great umbrage to English Protestants, who looked upon this movement to restore the Roman hierarchy in England as a first step toward the deliver-ing of England back into the Roman Catholic fold. But the storm subsided after awhile. Among the numerous writings of Cardinal Wiseman (chiefly theological and polemical) there are several volumes of sermons. These discuss with force the usual Catholic topics of discourse, but also include a volume of *Sermons on Moral Subjects.*

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[42] Art. by Hogan in *Cath. Encycl.*

[43] *Lectures on Science and Religion,* 3 vols., Baltimore, 1852. Stoughton, II, Chap. XIII.

The Tractarian Movement in the Anglican Church resulted in the accession to the Catholics of several prominent preachers from the High Church party, of whom the two best known are Manning and Newman. The latter will more appropriately be noticed under the preachers of the English Church—in which his best pulpit work was done—but a word should here be said of Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892).[44] Born in Hertfordshire, Manning received his excellent education, first at Harrow, and then at Balliol College, Oxford, whence he was graduated in 1830. After filling some unimportant places as a preacher, he was made archdeacon of Chichester in 1840. Being a strong High Churchman and Tractarian, he was naturally dissatisfied with the action taken against the movement by the authorities, and finally, after the Gorham decision, left the English Church and became a Catholic, in 1851, some years later than Newman. On the death of Cardinal Wiseman, in 1865, Manning was made archbishop of Westminster, and later a cardinal. Like his predecessor, he also was a prolific writer on ecclesiastical and polemical subjects. His numerous published works contain a variety of sermons on devotional and social topics, as well as on the accepted Catholic doctrines and practices. The style is that of an educated Englishman of the time, but does not show unusual excellence. The reasoning is clear and vigorous, but always proceeding first from High Church, and later from Romanist premises. The tone is lofty, sympathetic, and spiritual where not too polemic; the appeal positive and hortatory.

In the Church of England during this period there were in all three of its groups a number of noted and useful preachers. Of the Low Church party the leading name is that of Henry Melvill (1798-1871).[45] He was the son of an army officer, and born in Cornwall. He was thoroughly educated, taking his university course at Cambridge. Both by conviction and experience he was well grounded in evangelical sentiments. After ordination he preached for a time at Camden Chapel in London, then became chaplain to the queen, and finally canon of St. Paul's. Melvill was a very sound and popular preacher. Large crowds attended his ministry, and he was heard with great pleasure. He was thorough in preparing his discourses. He paid little attention to social or political matters or to general learning. He wrote out his discourses very carefully, but with a view to their popular delivery. They were written for the pulpit, not for the fireside. As read now the sermons appear too polished, artificial, rhetorical; but they breathe a deep piety and high moral aim, and are clothed in a lofty and impressive style. The sermon given in Fish's collection is a very fair specimen of Melvill's best work. It is full of thought, well argued, and carefully elaborated.

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[44] *Cardinal Manning,* by A. W. Hutton, Boston, 1892; *Sermons,* London, 1847; a sermon on *The Triumph of the Church* in *World's Great Sermons,* V, p. 61.

Hugh MacNeile (1795-1879)[46] was another Low Church preacher of great renown and widespread influence. He was born in County Antrim, Ireland, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He intended being a lawyer, but during an illness, while traveling in Switzerland, his mind was turned to serious things, he was converted and entered the ministry. He began his work in Ireland, but later came to England, where he filled several minor places, and in 1834 was appointed to a position in St. John's Church, at Liverpool. Later he was transferred to another church in the same city, and it was here that his principal work was done, though he held some other offices, including the deanery of Ripon. MacNeile published a number of sermons and

[45] *Sermons*, 2 vols., ed. by Bp. McIlvaine, N. Y., 1853; Stoughton, II, p. 76; Fish, *XIX Cent.*, p. 503, a fine sermon on Gal. 6:7.

[46] Art. in *DNB;* Stoughton, II, Ch. IV; Fish, *XIX Cent.*, p. 568 ff.; *Miscellaneous Sermons* (selected from *The Pulpit*), 2 vols., London, undated.

addresses which are well worth reading, though they do not reveal the peculiar qualities of his ardent and appealing nature. He had the Irish temperament and was at his best in moving personal appeal and flights of extemporized eloquence. He was personal, magnetic, and lovable, won many friends, and turned the hearts of hundreds to the service of his Lord.

The High Church party during this time produced some of its most distinguished representatives. One of the most engaging personalities among them was that of Walter Farquhar Hook (1798-1875),[47] whose life has been most interestingly written by his son-in-law, W. R. W. Stephens. He was born in London, the son of a clergyman, and nephew of the famous literary wit, Theodore Hook. He had a fine mother, and good early training. He was bright, impulsive, irritable, humorsome, but with good feeling and principles, and was early inclined to religion. He was fond of literature, though an irregular reader. He once knocked a boy down for calling Shakespeare a fool. Hook studied at Christ Church College, Oxford, and got his degree, though he studied by spurts. In 1821 he determined to enter the ministry, was ordained, and took up his work as a curate at Whippingham. He took much interest in his parish work and also in his studies. His promotion naturally followed. His great work was done at Coventry, where he was rector from 1829-1837. On settling there he made a fortunate marriage. His wife was a great help to him. In 1837 he moved to Leeds, where he also did excellent work, serving till 1859, when he became dean of Chichester. Hook was a very remarkable man. As a preacher his personal qualities and earnest pastoral labors helped to draw and hold his congregations. Though not pleasing in personal appearance, there was a certain magnetism in his manner, and he had a rich tenor voice which he used with good effect. The matter of his sermons was not specially remarkable. On his favorite theme of the Church he was logical, learned, able. In general, his sermons are plain, earnest, simple in style, warm in appeal, and strong in thought, with no special excellence of arrangement or style. Though a pronounced High Churchman in his view of the church and its ordinances, Hook did not join the Tractarian movement, though he often advised with and sometimes criticised its leaders.

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[47] Art. *DNB; Life and Letters of Dean Hook,* by W. R. W. Stephens; *Sermons on Various Subjects,* London, 1841.

Of these, three of the most important fall within the period we are now studying, viz., Keble, Pusey, and Newman. As preachers the first two require only brief notice. John Keble (1792-1866)[48] was well born and educated, a man of many graces of character and of thought. He was long rector of Hursley, and best known as the author of a famous series of religious short poems, *The Christian Year.* Associated with Hurrell Froude and Newman at Oriel College, Oxford, he took an active part in the Tractarian movement. After the passage of the Reform Bill, in 1832, much fear was felt concerning the attitude of the government toward the Established Church—its control by secular and unfriendly influences. This led Keble to preach, in 1833, his famous sermon on *National Apostasy,* in which he dealt with the question of the Church and State. This is justly regarded as the beginning of the Oxford Movement. Edward B. Pusey (1800-1882)[49] was a typical Englishman of the highly cultivated, highly born, and wealthy class. Thoroughly trained at Eton and Oxford, he became a great scholar, especially in Biblical learning. He was a weighty preacher and a man of very high tone. His adherence to the Oxford Movement gave great weight to it; after him, it was often called by his opponents Puseyism. Pusey's sermons present very sacramental views of the church and ordinances, but he never went over to the Catholics.

The most important person and preacher in the High Church movement was John Henry Newman (1801-1890),[50] who was one of the most remarkable men of the century. The son of a London banker and of a mother of Huguenot descent, Newman was carefully trained and educated in his childhood. He was early sent to Oxford, but on account of his father's reverses in business he rather hurriedly took his degree at the age of nineteen. In 1823, however, he was elected a Fellow of Oriel College, and soon afterwards was ordained, and began to preach at a small place near Oxford. His residence in Oriel College brought him into contact with the other leaders of the High Church movement, especially under the influence of R. H. Froude and of Keble. In 1828 he was appointed vicar of St. Mary's Church in Oxford, and held the place till his resignation, in 1843. It was in this famous pulpit that he did the most and the best of his preaching. During the years 1826-1831 he was a tutor at Oxford, but his personal influence was so strong in disseminating High Church views among the students that the authorities remonstrated, and he resigned. Unconsciously to himself, and as yet unnoticeably to others, his drift toward Rome was already developing, though it was twenty years before he finally became a Catholic. At this time he had no thought of leaving the English Church. He went abroad in 1833 in great distress of mind. It was after an illness, and on board ship in the Mediterranean, in 1833, that he wrote his world-famous hymn, *Lead, Kindly Light.* Returning to England, he found that Keble's sermon on *National Apostasy* had made a great commotion. The High Church party, led by himself and Keble, and in the next year by Pusey, began to issue the famous series of *Tracts for the Times,* in which extreme High Church views were advocated. A number of these tracts were written by Newman, until finally, in 1841, his famous *Tract XC* appeared and created a storm. It was now plain to others, and must have been plain to Newman himself, that his true place was in the Roman and not the Anglican Church, for *Tract XC* interpreted the Thirty-nine Articles in a thoroughly Romish sense and subtly argued that one might with a good conscience hold Catholic doctrines and still remain in the Anglican communion. At this point the bishop of Oxford interfered and forbade the issuance of any further tracts. The

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[48] See art. in *DNB,* and references at note 40.

[49] Same as for Keble.

[50] Authorities previously quoted; also *Cardinal Newman,* by R. H. Hutton, London and New York, 1890; *Apologia Pro Vita Sua,* London, 1865 (new ed. 1873); *Parochial and Plain Sermons,* 8 vols., complete ed., London, 1868; *Oxford University Sermons,* Lond., 1871. Wilkinson, *Modern Masters,* p. 145; Brastow, *Representative Modern Preachers,* Chap. VI.

Tractarians submitted to authority and the publication ceased. The work, however, had been done, and henceforth there remains in the English Church an extreme ritualistic and sacramentarian group. For Newman himself there were but two more steps. In 1843 he resigned the incumbency of St. Mary's and went into retirement. After two years of further reflection, he formally entered the Roman Catholic Church, in 1845. He was now settled and happy, and put himself with vigor into his new work, being ordained a Catholic priest in 1846.

As a Catholic, Newman continued his work and exerted a wide influence, but it was long before he came to occupy his former commanding position among his countrymen, who were keenly disappointed and grieved at his transfer of church allegiance. He established a community of priests at Edgbaston, near Birmingham, and this was long his home and the scene of his work. He was sent to reorganize the University of Dublin in 1854, and spent several years there. In 1864 he had a painful controversy with Charles Kingsley, who accused him of falsehood. This led to the publication of his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua,* in which he explained how he had step by step been led to become a Catholic, and affirmed the sincerity and earnestness of his convictions. The book produced a very favorable reaction toward Newman personally, restoring him in large measure to the affection and confidence of his countrymen. Of course, some looked upon it as a shrewd and insincere piece of work, but the general judgment accepts it as the final statement of Newman's own view of himself. The book is beautifully written and in excellent spirit. In 1879 Newman was made a cardinal, and in his old age, after a brief illness, he passed peacefully away, August 11, 1890.

As a man Newman was a great personality and influential character. On the moral side, he was without reproach, from youth up a warm friend, refined and gentle, genial, magnetic, spiritual. He had not the qualities of a great leader, but was thoroughly courageous and firm in maintaining his own opinions and infusing them into others. On the intellectual side, he was thoughtful and studious, especially fond of history and theology, presenting a fine combination of the logical and yet speculative, of the firm yet progressive quality of mind. His logical theories of "certitude" and "assent" contain an element of fallacy which easily led to self-deception and enabled him to persuade himself of what he wanted to believe without violence to his conscience. His learning was ample, and his thought deep and intense, colored largely by sentiment. His imagination was strong and rich, chastened by culture and spiritualized by religion. On the religious side, Newman was serious from a child. One who reads his *Apologia* can not fail to believe that he experienced a genuine conversion about the age of fifteen, and in his earlier years he held evangelical views. How his associates at Oriel led him into High Church opinions, and these finally carried him to Rome, is brought out in the story of his life; but through all these changes he was intense, high-minded, and devout.

Newman was a voluminous author. His works include historical and theological works and essays, a logical treatise ill-named *The Grammar of Assent,* several stories, and a very striking poem, *The Dream of Gerontius,* and his immortal hymn already mentioned. We are more concerned, however, with his numerous sermons, of which several series have been published, including *Parochial and Plain Sermons,* given chiefly at St. Mary's, and *Sermons to Mixed Congregations,* which were delivered after he became a Catholic. Newman's personality had much to do with his impressiveness as a preacher. His strong intellect, ample culture; deep-toned, earnest, vivid imagination; winsome manner; soft, persuasive voice, and subdued intensity of delivery are all testified to by those who heard him preach. In his printed sermons the characteristics of the man inevitably appear, and the main qualities of his work are easily traced. As for matter, there is a good deal of Scripture, though not profound exegesis. There is sufficient, but not elaborate, illustration. Argument predominates, and yet it is not formal or obtrusive. Doctrine all along is prominent, showing intense thought, deep experience, and conviction, and some speculation. As to method in preaching, Newman is informal and easy, with no clearly marked divisions or care for symmetry of that kind. He usually gets his thought from the text, and keeps that one thought prominent to the end. There is unity and progress, but he seems to follow the logical process natural to his awakened mind without careful planning beforehand or rigid adherence to arrangement. As to style, Newman's is admirable nineteenth century English. It is clear, vigorous, often beautiful, sweet without sentimentality, and strong without coarseness. It is serenely and simply what it is, without trying to be remarkable; and so it is without artificiality or labored effort. The critics are almost unanimous in their praise. Dr. W. C. Wilkinson is one of the few competent judges who has taken the pains to point out many defects and faults in a manner of expression which has perhaps too easily been taken as a model of all the good qualities. His brilliant critique certainly goes to show that what is universally conceded to be excellent is not necessarily perfect.

The Broad Church party also presents in this period a number of men distinguished by their opposition both to Evangelicalism in its narrower forms and to High Churchism. They were influenced chiefly by Coleridge in England, and by Schleiermacher and others of the liberal school in Germany. Among the earlier preachers of this group chief place belongs to the brothers Augustus William Hare (1793-1834) and Julius Charles Hare (1796-1855), whose lives have been beautifully set forth in the *Memorials of a Quiet Life*.[51] They were sons of an English clergyman of high character and culture. They were both well trained and educated, and Julius, the younger, became especially learned in German theology and literature. They were the joint authors of *Guesses at Truth*, a book of detached thoughts which had a wide reading in its day. The pulpit work of Augustus Hare is represented in a volume of *Sermons to a Country Congregation* which show no very remarkable powers, but are plain, earnest, pastoral discourses. Julius Hare's pulpit work has found permanent expression in a once widely read and very useful series of discourses on the *Mission of the Comforter*, being expository lectures on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as taught in John 14-17. Hare's spirit was elevated and earnest, his learning ample, his mind broad and tolerant, but his style is too diffuse and prolix. He was a good, but never a great, preacher.

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[51] Besides works mentioned in the text see artt. in *DNB;* Stoughton, II, p. 218; Tulloch, p. 27 ff.; Brastow, *Modern Pulpit*, p. 216.

One of the three greatest names in the Broad Church group is that of Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872).[52] The son of a Unitarian minister and brought up in that way of thinking, Maurice, however, left the Unitarians and joined the English Church. He was educated at Cambridge, but, settling in London, he fell under the influence of Coleridge and others, who led him to become a clergyman. In 1836 he was appointed to a chaplaincy at Guy's Hospital. He became professor of English literature, and later of theology, at King's College, London, but in 1853 retired on account of his liberalistic views. He taught moral philosophy at Cambridge from 1866 until his death. Maurice's lectures on *The Kingdom of God* and numerous volumes of sermons, besides other writings, were the output of his literary activity. Maurice was largely influenced by Coleridge and by Schleiermacher, between whom and himself there was considerable similarity. His vague theology and indefiniteness of thought hindered his usefulness as a preacher, but won him the sympathy of many men of like minds with himself. His high character and noble purposes were generally recognized. He took great interest in social questions, and along with Kingsley and Robertson, did much to help the poor and the laboring classes. His personal influence as well as his preaching was widely felt in a large circle of those who sympathized with his opinions and aims, but he can not rank among the greatest preachers, either in theological literature or in the pulpit.

Charles Kingsley (1819-1875),[53] also of this group, was one whose name bulks largely in English literature and thought. The son of a clergyman of Devonshire, he received his education at Cambridge, and became rector at Eversley, in Hampshire. This was the principal scene of his labors. He at once took a deep interest in the poor and in the working classes. His sermons to the villagers were short and striking, and won the confidence of his people. He sympathized with Maurice and others in their efforts to do something for workmen and the poor of London. His famous novel, *Alton Locke* (1850), was one of the first to deal with the social and industrial questions of the day, and put the author distinctly in the group of so-called "Christian Socialists." He published other novels, including the famous *Hypatia* (1853), and some poems. There are also a number of volumes of sermons preached at various dates. Kingsley's sermons were brief and pointed, careless of homiletical arrangement, and not rigorously logical. The style of his sermons is better than that of his novels, where it is rather prolix. Kingsley was a strong personality, and in preaching spoke with vehemence and force.

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[52] Art. in *DNB,* based on biography by his son; *Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament,* a series of sermons, London and Boston, 1853; Stoughton, II, p. 220; Tulloch, *Lect.* VII; striking sermon in *World's Great Sermons,* V, p. 25.

[53] Art. in *DNB,* etc.; *The Good News of God,* sermons, New York, 1859; *Sermons for the Times,* New York, 1856; *The Gospel of the Pentateuch,* and *David* (Vol. XXX of the *Works*), London, 1885. Tulloch, *Lect.* VII, *WGS,* VI, p. 149.

One of the most pathetic and yet powerful figures in all the history of English preaching is that of Frederick William Robertson (1816-1853).[54] The man was more than his life, which can be briefly sketched. He was born in London, of a family remarkable for military talents and prepossession. Frederick himself was strongly inclined that way, but his rather delicate constitution, his intellectual bent, and his serious religious inclinations led his father and other friends to wish him to become a clergyman. The boy was fond of reading, and carefully trained by his parents in childhood. He got his principal academic education at Edinburgh, both in high school and university, because his father was stationed there for a considerable length of time. Frederick was so anxious to be a soldier that his father permitted him to apply for a commission, but he failed to secure the appointment, and then yielded his own wishes and decided to take clerical orders. Five days after this decision he was offered a commission in the army. He was sorely disappointed, but kept his word to his father, and so at twenty-one years of age he entered Oxford University to prepare for the ministry. Here he devoted himself with ardor and great success to his studies, laying deep and broad the foundations of that general and technical culture and learning which his sermons and other writings so amply display. While at Oxford he earnestly opposed the Tractarian movement, though in regard to the ordinances he was already more in sympathy with High Church views than with those of the Low Church party. On the other hand, he had been brought up in evangelical sentiments, but became greatly dissastisfied with what he conceived to be their narrow views. Thus he entered his ministerial life a strange compound of opinions, vigorously opposed both to the High and Low Church parties as such, and yet having some affinities with both. Ordained in 1840, Robertson took up his work with a tone of regret and sadness, as if he had missed his calling, and with a mind unsettled as to his exact theological affiliations; but he was sincerely devoted to Christ and conscientious in the performance of his clerical duties. He began as curate at Winchester, but felt that he was a failure, was dissatisfied with himself and his work, soon gave up the place, and traveled abroad. At Geneva, while despondent and unsatisfied, he met an English family, and, as it seems, rather hurriedly married one of the daughters. Little is said in his biography about his married life, but such hints as have come down at least suggest that it was not altogether a suitable and happy one. Returning to England, Robertson accepted a curacy at Cheltenham, where he spent five arduous and faithful years. His ministry here was despondent though earnest. Always dissatisfied with himself, he was much loved and respected by the people. He began to show the high traits which later distinguished him, and there was marked growth both in Christian character and in mental power. His subordinate position galled him much, and this, with his morbid sensitiveness, led to his resignation. He again traveled in Europe, and on return took work for a little while at Oxford. Finally, in 1847, he was appointed incumbent of Trinity Chapel, at Brighton, and with this pulpit his brilliant but sad ministry is memorably connected. He was very diligent in parish work, took active part in the social and intellectual life of the town, gave lectures to the workingmen, sympathized with the poor, and put his very heart's blood into his preaching. But his health was feeble, his life sad, his disposition somewhat embittered, and in various ways he was made to feel the brunt of opposition and discouragement. His vicar disliked him and desired his place for a favorite of his own. Robertson's liberal views led him into conflict with the evangelical wing of his church, and he was out of harmony also with the High Church group. He was one of the loneliest of men; proud, sensitive, disappointed; defiant, and yet sad. He closed his strangely pathetic life in August, 1853, at the early age of thirty-seven years.

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[54] *Life and Letters of Fred. W. Robertson,* by Stopford A. Brooke, Harper's ed., 1 vol., N. Y., undated; *Sermons of Fred. W. Robertson* (do.); E. P. Hood, *Vocation of the Preacher,* p. 133 ff.; Tulloch, *Lect.* VIII; notices in Pattison, and Hoppin, *opp. citt.;* fine study by Brastow, *Rep. Mod. Pr.,* Chap. II; various other studies and notices.

The annals of English preaching do not contain a more interesting story than that of Frederick Robertson. In character, as we have seen, he was high-minded, pure, courageous, yet sensitive to morbidness, tender-hearted and yet proud, lonely and reserved, yet widely tolerant and tenderly sympathetic with those who were in trouble. In his pride he seemed to court opposition, and yet when it came it wounded and crushed his almost feminine nature. His very face, as shown in his portraits and in that beautiful bust in the Bodleian at Oxford, shows the character of the man. Feminine delicacy and masculine intellect combine with a winning expression of spiritual force. In theology, as we have seen, Robertson occupied a position of his own. While not in sympathy with either High or Low Church, he was not so rationalistic as many of the Broad Church school.

Robertson's preaching also presents a remarkable story. It appears that only one of his sermons, that on *The Israelite's Grave in a Foreign Land,* was published before his death. This was preached on the first day of public mourning for the queen dowager (widow of William IV) in December, 1849. It is based upon Joseph's request that his bones should be carried up by the Israelites when they went up from Egypt. The publication of this sermon sheds an interesting light upon those that were published after Robertson's death. In the preface to it he says:

"The sermon is published as nearly as possible as it was spoken. It was written out concisely for a friend on the day of its delivery, with no intention of publication. Afterwards it seemed better to leave it in that state, with only a few corrections and the addition of a few sentences, than to attempt to rewrite it after an interval too great to recall what had been said. This will account for the abruptness and want of finish which pervades the composition." He goes on to disown certain publications purporting to be sermons of his, so that this remains the only authorized publication during Robertson's life. After his death his sermons were collected and published. They are in the same form as that of the sermon just mentioned. It thus appears that Robertson wrote out after delivery in condensed form the sermons by which he is known. In the delivery they were undoubtedly much elaborated. As we have them, they are compact and brief. Robertson's method of preaching was this: He made a careful expository study of the Scripture, usually taking full notes. The division is nearly always twofold. He was fond of thinking in pairs and antithesis. He thought carefully over his notes, but it is not certain whether he used them in delivery or not. There was not much action. He was self-restrained, though intense, in feeling. His voice was good and well controlled. There was nothing artificial in his manner. He had a very expressive mouth and a flashing blue eye which well interpreted his feelings and thoughts. The published sermons had extraordinary success. They have appealed, not only to preachers the world over, but have had wide reading in many circles, religious and literary. They show great intellectual power and resource, quick perception, retentive memory, and usually a discriminating insight where intense feeling did not hinder. Imagination and illustration with sufficient culture are everywhere manifest. In spite of their condensed and imperfect form, the sermons have great literary charm. The style is pure, glowing, clear, attractive. The homiletical excellence of these sermons is beyond dispute. Careful interpretation of Scripture, simple twofold division, and clearly marked subdivisions give a unity of structure and a completeness of treatment notwithstanding the condensed form. Along with these qualities, the higher elements of great preaching are here. There is keenness and depth of spiritual insight, quickness of sympathy with those who are in doubt and trouble, courage and sincerity with occasional note of defiance, and yet withal a deep and tender earnestness and evident piety and devotion to the person of the Saviour, and a longing to help the hearer. These make up a sum of qualities which give to these discourses their unique and commanding place in the literature of the pulpit. Altogether, Robertson comes as nearly as any one to fulfilling those striking words of Sidney Lanier, a kindred spirit:

> " . . . . . The catholic man who has mightily won
> God out of knowledge, and good out of infinite pain,
> And sight out of blindness, and purity out of a stain."

In the various bodies of Dissenters during this period there were many strong and well-known preachers. Selection is difficult, and condensed treatment is necessary. While a few important men stand out above the rest and must be noticed, it would be possible to construct a fair sketch of Nonconformist preaching from among names that are not even mentioned here. Among the Independents the first name which occurs is that of John Angel James (1785-1859),[55] who was born in Dorsetshire, the son of a merchant, and was apprenticed at the age of thirteen to a linen draper. He was converted in youth, and began to teach in the Sunday school. His talent for speaking and teaching, his earnestness of religious life, attracted notice, and he was urged to enter the ministry. He read much, and finally, by the assistance of friends, took a two years' course of study under the celebrated Dr. Bogue, at Gosport. He was then called to be pastor at Carr's Lane Church, Birmingham. This was his only pastorate, which he held for more than fifty years, and it was here that his life's work was done. He was happily and helpfully married, active and useful as a pastor, and a prolific writer on practical religious subjects. Many of his devotional books were widely read and very useful in their day. Two are especially noteworthy, *The Church*

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[55] Sketch (by R. W. Dale) and sermon in Evans and Hurndall, *op. cit.;* also in Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 518 ff.

in Earnest, and *An Earnest Ministry,* in which his aims and experiences as a preacher found expression. No doubt most of the chapters of his many devotional treatises served first as sermons, and from them a good idea of his preaching may be had. James was not profound in thought, nor technically learned, though widely read. His sermons are characterized by thorough evangelical piety and thought, a clear and pleasing though somewhat flowing style, and a high spiritual aim.

Another highly esteemed preacher of the time was James Parsons (1799-1877),[56] who was the son of a Congregationalist preacher at Leeds, and educated for a lawyer. He was fond of the political orators. On his conversion he entered the ministry and took a theological course. He took charge of a dissenting chapel at York, where he spent his life, hence his nickname, "Parsons of York." Besides his effective local work, he was often called on for public services in other places, and was very popular in London. Despite a weak and peculiar voice, and some other drawbacks, he was a man of rare powers in the pulpit, who had the art of compelling attention by the clearness of his thought and the intensity of his convictions. A specimen sermon shows good grasp of his theme, logical arrangement, and earnest application, with good illustrations and a moving style.

Unquestionably the greatest Congregational preacher of the period was Thomas Binney (1798-1874).[57] Born at Newcastle, he enjoyed only moderate advantages in his childhood. At seven years of age he was apprenticed to a bookseller and was kept busy, but he found time to read in the bookshop, and especially from his fourteenth to his twentieth year he read widely and studied hard, taking Latin and Greek at evenings with a Presbyterian minister. His father was a Presbyterian elder, and the boy early took an interest in church and religious affairs. Why he became a Congregationalist is not clear. He attended a Congregational theological school in Hertfordshire, where he remained three years. On graduation he was pastor for a short time in Bedford, then in the Isle of Wight, and finally (1829) at the King's Weigh House Chapel, London, which was the principal scene of his labors to the end of his life. Binney was a pronounced Nonconformist, and attacked the Established Church with vehemence and power. In many other ways he took part in ecclesiastical and political controversies. In 1857 he visited Australia, where he preached with great power and acceptance. He became the leading figure in his denomination, and received many honors. In 1869, after forty years of service, he resigned his pastorate, though he continued to write and preach occasionally to the end of his life.

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[56] Sketch and sermon in E. & H.

[57] Art. (by G. B. S.) in *DNB;* sketch in *Great Modern Preachers* (anon., Lond., 1875—slight but clever sketches of a dozen preachers, some of them eminent—hereafter referred to as *GMP*); study (with sermon) by Edw. White in E and H; *Thos. Binney, His Life, Mind, and Opinions,* by E. P. Hood, London, 1874; *Sermons Preached in the King's Weigh House Chapel,* 2d series, 1829, with an introductory sketch by Dr. Henry Allon; sketch and sermon in Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 580 ff.

Binney was a strong though an unequal preacher. Perhaps his own view and practice are indicated in a saying of his. A young preacher asked him the best way to preach, and he answered, "Gather your materials and set fire to them in the pulpit." He had good personal advantages, a large frame, noble brow, splendid eyes, a manly and yet unaffected deportment. His manner in the pulpit was devout, impressive, sincere. His thinking showed a fine combination of caution and boldness. His style was vigorous and strong. He was odd and yet free from sensation and studied effects. His sermons are marked by careful mastery of the text and of other Scriptures bearing on it, by judicious and balanced thought, by excellent feeling, reverence, sympathy, by manly strength both of style and manner, and by tenderness in appeal. In the second series of *Sermons Preached in King's Weigh House Chapel* occurs a fine biographical and critical sketch, from the pen of Dr. Henry Allon, which well presents Binney in the following terms: "Mr. Binney's eminence as a minister of Christ rested upon bases which could scarcely be demonstrated. His name is not connected with any monumental achievement, either in philanthropy, oratory, or literature. For reasons which may appear in the course of these remarks, he has left behind him no work which can be regarded as an adequate expression of his indisputable power. His reputation, like that of many great men, was won by the impression made by great faculties and noble character in their normal exercise, in his case in the common fellowship and counsel of ministers, and in such preachings and writings as the ordinary course of a minister's work gives occasion for. Able as are some of his sermons and pamphlets, to those otherwise unacquainted with him or his work they will not seem to justify the reputation and reverence which were accorded to him. These were evoked by the stable qualities of the man—a great intellectual, social, and religious presence—rather than by any specific achievement." This judicious statement is in general true of so many great preachers, as well as of its immediate subject, as to justify its quotation at length.

The Methodists had a number of strong and influential preachers during this epoch, of whom two are of special prominence. Jabez Bunting (1779-1858),[58] was born and brought up in Manchester. His parents were poor, but his mother a woman of decided character and an ardent Methodist. By various means the boy managed to get some education, and began to preach when nineteen years of age. He studied and grew in the actual work of an itinerant Wesleyan preacher. He occupied many pastorates, both important and unimportant, and filled various church offices with distinction. He had a reverential and impressive manner in the pulpit, and was heard with great attention. His sermons show profound and well convinced spiritual experience, intense practical aim, without speculation and with little of formal argument, taking fundamental Christian truth for granted. There is large acquaintance with Scripture, but apparently not much with literature, or even theology in a scholarly way; but there is marked ability in handling the truths in the preacher's range with good, robust language without affectation or straining. The treatment is mostly textual, the analysis clear, even if at times too formal and elaborate. Above all, the sermons exhibit great spiritual power with occasional flashes of a true eloquence born of noble qualities.

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[58] *Life,* by his son, T. P. Bunting, continued by G. S. Rowe, in 2 vols., London (?); *Sermons,* 2 vols., ed. by W. L. Thornton, Lond., 1861; sketch and sermon in Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 580 ff.

The other leading Methodist preacher of the time was William Morley Punshon (1824-1881).[59] He, too, was born of poor but pious Methodist parents, at Doncaster, and was early left an orphan. He received some education, but entered the counting house of his grandfather to prepare for a business career. He was a great reader, and began preaching at the age of seventeen. Pursuing his studies, he formally joined the Conference in 1845. His gifts and fidelity won him esteem, and he filled various charges with success and respect. He sprang at one bound into fame as a religious orator by a great lecture on *The Prophet Elijah,* delivered at Exeter Hall, London, in 1854. After this he was much in demand for occasional sermons and lectures. In 1867 he was sent to Canada, where he did much for Methodism, both by his preaching and his administrative work. On returning to England, in 1873, he served various Churches, was president of the Conference, and finally Missionary Secretary. He led an active and useful life up to the end. His health declined and he passed away in 1881. Among his last utterances were the words, "Christ is to me a bright reality." And this was significant also of his preaching. He was sound in the faith, unshaken by the rising tide of critical skepticism, anchored on the eternal verities. He had distinguished and notable oratorical powers in voice, manner, and language. His addresses and sermons were somewhat artificial in style, like those of Melvill and others, and would be out of date in the present age. But to their hearers they were impressive, highly wrought, and sometimes sweeping deliverances of a strong mind and an impassioned spirit.

The Presbyterians had to their credit in this epoch two distinguished preachers in London, one in Ireland, and a large number in Scotland. In London, at the National Scottish Church in Covent Garden there ministered the popular and somewhat sensational John Cumming (1807-1881).[60] He was born near Aberdeen, and educated at the University there. He received his license at the end of his course, and acted for awhile as private tutor. In 1832 he was called to the church in London which he occupied to the end of his life. His preaching soon attracted great congregations, and his church was rebuilt and enlarged. The income from pew rents reached 1,500 pounds, but Cumming refused more than 900, devoting the rest to religious and charitable purposes. He was active in philanthropy, was something of a controversialist, and very popular as a preacher. His lectures and sermons on prophecy were tinged with sensation, but the body of his preaching was evangelical, effective, and strong.

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[59] Sketch in *GMP;* art. in *DNB; Life* by F. W. Macdonald, Lond., 1887; critique by Wilkinson, *Mod. Mast.,* p. 415 ff.; *Sermons* (Introd. by W. H. Milburn), New York, 1860; *Lectures and Sermons,* Boston, 1873.

James Hamilton (1810-1867)[61] was born at Strathaven, Scotland, the son of a clergyman, and educated at the University of Glasgow. In 1841 he was called to the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, London, of which the famous Edward Irving had been pastor some years previously. The church, which had suffered by the withdrawal of Irving, was built up again under the ministry of Hamilton, who was a preacher of decided merits. He and his church went out with Chalmers at the Disruption, in 1843. Hamilton was an excellent preacher, pastor, and friend, a steady, all-round worker. Besides his sermons, he wrote a good many books which had quite a circulation in their day. His work both in the pulpit and with the pen was fortified by his devoted Christian life. In his preaching he showed a fine imagination, almost a poetic instinct, richness of illustration, with some exuberance of style. His thought was founded in the evangelical theology.

In Ireland there was the celebrated Henry Cooke (d. 1881),[62] pastor and professor at Belfast, a strong theologian, vigorous polemic, capable church leader, and a preacher of popular and effective power. The sermon given in Fish shows sufficient learning and strong, active intellect, firm belief in the gospel, and an animated though not particularly engaging or highly rhetorical style.

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[60] Art. *DNB;* sketch and sermon in Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 691 ff.; *Twelve Urgent Questions* (essays on texts), Phila., 1855; *Voices of the Dead* (do. on Heb. 11), Boston, 1854.

[61] *Life of James Hamilton,* by Wm. Arnot; sketch and sermon in Fish, *op. cit.,* p. 725 ff.; *The Royal Preacher* (Lectures on *Ecclesiastes*), New York, 1851.

[62] Sketch and sermon in Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 739 ff.

It is, of course, to Scotland that we must look for the great Presbyterian preachers, and here there was such a number that only a few of the best known may be noted. Prominent among them was the delightful Dr. Thomas Guthrie (1803-1873),[63] who was born at Brechin, Forfarshire, received his education at Edinburgh, was pastor at Arbroath, and later at the Old Grey Friars Church in Edinburgh. Dr. Guthrie, like Chalmers, was not only a great preacher, but an active pastor and social philanthropist. He went out with the Free Church in 1843, and was one of the most effective preachers in that body, being for a long time pastor of St. John's Free Church, Edinburgh. There was a vast humanness in Guthrie. He had no great learning, but an intense practical aim for results. His personal touch was sympathetic, kindly, moving. In the pulpit he was one of the greatest masters of illustration in his time or in any time. He knew how to use a good story, and move the feelings of his hearers. He is a strong type of the successful evangelistic pastor. One of his most effective series of sermons has the title, *The Gospel in Ezekiel,* containing twenty discourses based on texts taken from that prophet. One of these, *The New Heart,* on Ezekiel 36:26, is an excellent specimen of Guthrie's manner. The analysis is somewhat loose, and the thought is by no means profound, but the warm glow of feeling is lit up by imagination, and the evangelical earnestness is unquestioned.

Robert Smith Candlish (1807-1873)[64] was born at Edinburgh, and educated at Glasgow. He was one of the younger followers of Chalmers in establishing the Free Church. He was for a long time pastor of the famous

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[63] *Autobiography and Memoir* (by his Sons), New York, 1877. *Man and the Gospel* (sermons), London, 1867; *The Gospel in Ezekiel* (series of sermons, New York, undated); study by Brastow, *Rep. Mod. Pr.,* p. 350 ff.; sermon and sketch in Fish, *op. cit.,* p. 623 ff.; and in *WGS,* V. p. 1; Taylor, *Scot. Pul.,* p. 268 ff.

[64] *Scripture Characters* (sermons), Edinburgh, 1872; *The Book of Genesis Expounded in a Series of Discourses,* 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1868; Blaikie, p. 293; Taylor, p. 265 ff.; sermon and sketch in Fish, *op. cit.,* p. 714 ff.

Free St. George's, in Edinburgh. He then followed Chalmers as professor in the Free Church College at Edinburgh. He was a powerful expository preacher without the graces of oratory. He moved by the power of his thought and the vigor of his style. He read his sermons, but, like Chalmers, he delivered them with such vehemence as to make them strongly impressive. He was felicitous in the selection of his texts, which were correctly interpreted and well handled. His thought showed sound doctrine, vivid imagination, frequent and usually good illustration, often experimental. There is no striking originality or depth, little of formal argument, but earnest application. The arrangement is generally simple, natural, and forcible. The style is clear and strong, with no special eloquence, and yet not too commonplace. It is vivid and fresh, but a trifle exuberant, profuse in adjectives, and inclined to verbiage.

In the Established Church of Scotland two specially notable preachers, besides others, adorn this epoch. Norman McLeod (1813-1872)[65] was one of the most eminent of modern Scotch preachers. He was born in Argyllshire, where his father was a clergyman. He was of good Gaelic stock, and loved the Highlands with all his big heart. He was brought up in his native country, but studied at both Edinburgh and Glasgow. He also pursued some theological studies in Germany. On completing his preparation he was pastor at Dalkeith, then at Edinburgh, and lastly at the Barony Church, in Glasgow. It was here that he performed his principal labors. It is hard in brief compass to put a worthy estimate upon this lovable, large-hearted, and many-sided man. His genial nature bubbled over in fun and pleasantry, but his loyal heart beat true to the profounder things in human nature and life; and while he was a liberal in theological thought, his soul was centered upon the person of his Lord and Saviour. It is a beautiful tribute to the man that he was both a favorite and an adviser of Queen Victoria during her sojourns in Scotland, and that he was equally loved and trusted among the poor of his flock in Glasgow. The late Dr. John Watson is authority for the story that, on one occasion, a peasant woman in Glasgow being ill with a malignant fever, sent not for McLeod but another pastor. On his asking why she had not sent for her own pastor, the old woman said, "Na, did ye think I wad send for Norman in a case of typhus?" "Norman," as he was affectionately called, was too valuable to subject to such a risk. There is a noble statue of him near the Barony Church which the visitor to Glasgow still looks upon with interest. Norman McLeod has a good place in Scottish literature by reason of his genial and admirable stories of Highland life. Among his poems, one excellent hymn survives and is often sung:

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[65] *Life of Norman McLeod,* by his brother, Donald McLeod, 2 vols. in one, New York, 1877; *Simple Truths for Working Men,* by Norman McLeod; sketch and sermon in *WGS,* V, p. 177 ff.

"Courage, brother! do not stumble,
Tho' thy path be dark as night;
There's a star to guide the humble,
Trust in God, and do the right.
Tho' the road be long and dreary,
And the end be out of sight,
Tread it bravely, strong or weary,
Trust in God, and do the right."

Of his published sermons there is a little volume with the title, *Simple Truths Addressed to Workingmen.* These are only what they profess to be, plain Scriptural talks for plain people, full of gospel and good sense, easy to read, yet mingling good, fresh thinking with the beloved old commonplaces, and charged with the big-hearted feeling characteristic of the man.

The other great Scotch preacher of the time was John Caird (1820-1898),[66] born at Greenock, and educated at Glasgow. He was pastor successively at Edinburgh, Errol, and Glasgow. In later years he was professor, and then principal, at Glasgow University. He was a powerful thinker, perhaps too much influenced by Hegel's philosophy, especially in his later years, but in his earlier ministry he was a powerful gospel preacher. A volume of these earlier sermons shows him at his best.

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[66] The lectures by Caird on *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity,* Ednb., 1899, contain *Memoir* by Edward Caird; *Sermons* by Rev. John Caird, D. D., Ednb., 1866; sermon and sketch in Fish, *op. cit.,* p. 654 ff, (reprinted in *WGS,* VI, p. 167); Blaikie, p. 317.

They are strong and clear, both in thought and language, full of apt illustration and powerful yet tactful application to life. The most famous of Caird's sermons, and one of the most famous of modern times, was that on *Religion in the Common Life,* which has been frequently republished. Read in the light of present thinking, it does not strike with the novelty of view which it had when first published. It owed its extraordinary circulation and influence largely to the circumstances under which it was preached and published, yet also, it must in justice be said, to its admirable treatment of a great and practical theme. It was preached before Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, on her invitation, at Balmoral Castle, in 1855. After hearing it, both the queen and her husband asked for the manuscript and read it with great pleasure. By the queen's "command," it was published and sent forth with this royal endorsement. It attained a remarkable circulation and established the fame of its author. The text is Romans 12:11, "Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord." It is based on a current but natural error in interpretation, as the "business" referred to in the text is not our ordinary daily occupation, but properly diligence in religious work. But the theme, *Religion in Common Life,* is in itself one of great importance. In argument and illustration the discourse is forcible; in thought, clear and Scriptural; in arrangement, simple and progressive; in style, admirable, almost faultless, yet without artifice; in tone and spirit, earnest and faithful. The tact with which the preacher appeals to the queen to discharge her high office in a Christian spirit is perfect. There is neither flattery nor unseemly assumption. The tone is dignified, manly, respectful, but firm.

Coming back to England, we find among the Baptists of the period several preachers of influence and distinction. Among them was Dr. F. A. Cox (1785-1853),[67] who was born at Leighton, and possessed of some wealth. He received his education at Edinburgh, and after filling some smaller pastorates, served for forty-two years at Hackney, in London. He was prominent in denominational and Nonconformist affairs, and respected by the

[67] Art. in *DNB;* vol. on *Scripture Female Biography.*

great men of the time. While a sound scholar and a judicious leader, he was also useful and highly esteemed as pastor and preacher. Among his writings, and probably based on sermons, is a volume with the title, *Scripture Female Biography,* which is well written, but not of any commanding importance.

Baptist W. Noel (1798-1873)[68] came of noble Scottish lineage, and was educated at Cambridge. Becoming a clergyman in the English Church, he was pastor at St. John's Chapel, in London. In theological opinion he was decidedly Low Church and evangelical. With these tendencies, earnest study of the Bible led him to become a Baptist in 1847, at the sacrifice of his place and under the censure and disappointment of his family and friends. True to his convictions, he was baptized and ordained, and became pastor of John Street Chapel, near his former parish. Here he worked as pastor till 1868, when he resigned on account of old age. He was a man of pleasing appearance, fine cultured face, with a clear voice and good delivery, and a fine command of language. His preaching was marked by evangelical sentiments, and showed in its style and general manner the mind of a cultivated, refined man.

William Brock (1807-1875)[69] was a native of Devonshire, and had a very interesting early life and training, which it would be pleasant to dwell upon did space permit. With difficulties he obtained some education and entered the Baptist ministry, serving for awhile as pastor in Norwich, and afterwards, from 1848 onward, of the famous Bloomsbury Chapel, in London. Brock was an admirable pastor and a strong though not brilliant preacher. He published a number of sermons, especially a volume called *Midsummer Morning Sermons,* an excellent series to young people. He also wrote a life of General Havelock, which had a wide circulation in its day.

The greatest Baptist preacher of the age was the already famous though still young Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892).[70] The Spurgeon family is of Huguenot name and origin. Its ancestors left France under the persecutions, and one branch settled in the county of Essex, near London. The grandfather of Charles, the Rev. James Spurgeon, was pastor of the Independent Church at Stambourne, Essex, for fifty-four years. The father, John, likewise became a Congregational preacher, but was also engaged in business at Kelvedon, where Charles Haddon was born, June 19, 1834. His mother, *née* Jarvis, was an excellent and pious woman, and gave her children good training. But for some reason Charles became his "grandfather's boy," and spent most of his early childhood in the parsonage at Stambourne, under the care of his grandparents and his maiden aunt, Miss Ann Spurgeon. A bright and thoughtful child, he was carefully brought up, and early showed a great fondness for reading his grandfather's books. He was also sent to school, but was not remarkable. Later he returned to his parents, now removed to Colchester, where, through their sacrifices, he enjoyed good schooling for several years. His moral and religious training had been excellent, but he had his boyish doubts and struggles, and did not have his personal experience of grace till December 15, 1850, when he was converted under a sermon on Isaiah 45:22, preached by an unknown preacher in a humble Primitive Methodist chapel in Colchester. Becoming convinced of Baptist views of the act and subjects of baptism, he joined the Baptist church at Isleham, and was baptized by its pastor, Rev. Mr. Cantlow, May 3, 1851. Soon afterwards he transferred his membership to Cambridge, joining the church there of which Robert Hall had been pastor, and a "lay preachers' association" connected with it. Thus he began preaching, and soon was called to be pastor of a little Baptist church at Waterbeach, not very far from Cambridge. Meantime he had been teaching as usher, or assistant, in various schools, and pursuing his studies. It was thus he was employed at Cambridge. By a singular mistake he missed an appointment to confer with Dr. Angus in regard to being educated at Stepney College, in London. His early preaching at Waterbeach was crude, but wonderful in one so young.

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[68] Art. in *DNB; Sermons,* 3 vols. (from the *Pulpit*), about 1833; sketch and sermon in Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 541 ff.

[69] *Life,* by C. M. Birrell (father of the famous essayist); *Midsummer Morning Sermons.*

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[70] Various accounts and *Lives,* as those of Needham, Cook, Conwell, Pike, Shindler, and others; but the great source is the *Autobiography* in four large volumes, London and New York, 1898, compiled from Spurgeon's writings and papers under the supervision of his widow. Studies by Wilkinson, *Modern Masters,* p. 181 ff., and by Brastow, *Rep. Mod. Preachers,* p. 383 ff., are valuable among the newer appreciations. Among Spurgeon's numerous writings his *Lectures to My Students,* and *Art of Illustrating* have special homiletic interest. The various series of the *Sermons* have appeared in many editions; latterly the *Spurgeon Memorial Library,* New York, Funk & Wagnalls Co.

The famous old Baptist church in London of Keach, Gill, Rippon, and Angus had run down. Somehow they heard of this promising and wonderful youth, and gave him an invitation to visit them. It resulted—much to the surprise of all—in his call to the pastorate. He felt as led of God and accepted, beginning work in April, 1854. He was a success from the first. Congregations soon overflowed the old house, and removal became necessary. Many were added to the membership, and the church was greatly strengthened and encouraged. The usual difficulties as to enlargement or moving were encountered; it was decided to enlarge, and meantime worship in Exeter Hall; on return, with the great crowds the chapel was found disappointingly small still. So it was finally decided to move and build a great tabernacle. Meantime the church worshiped in Music Hall, Surrey Gardens, where a panic and disaster occurred, and only emphasized the necessity of a better building. Finally the Metropolitan Tabernacle, on the Surrey side, was built and finished, with a seating capacity of about 6,000. Work began in it May, 1861. Here crowds gathered twice every Sunday to hear the great preacher, hundreds were added to the church, great benevolent and religious enterprises were undertaken—as the Pastors' College and the Stockwell Orphanage—and great work done. Spurgeon was happily and suitably married in January, 1856, to Miss Susannah Thompson; and she proved a true helper, though she became an invalid. He likewise owed much to the efficient help of his brother James, who became co-pastor in January, 1868, and worked with him to the end. In 1884 Spurgeon celebrated his fiftieth birthday, in the full tide of his wonderful career as preacher, builder, author, and leader.

But his health had been undermined by his long and arduous labors, and though the work went on he gradually declined, and he often went to Mentone, France, for rest, where he died January 31, 1892.

The preaching of Spurgeon was wonderful in power and popularity, which continued undiminished to the end of his life. Professor L. O. Brastow, in his *Representative Modern Preachers,* gives a fairly good critical estimate of Spurgeon, but his study is, on the whole, somewhat reluctant and depreciatory. All the more emphatic, therefore, is the statement, "He was doubtless the most impressive and permanently successful evangelistic preacher of his age." In a much more just, even if partial, study, Dr. W. C. Wilkinson thus describes this aspect of Spurgeon's wonderful evangelistic ministry: "The spiritual fruitfulness was, from the first, no less remarkable than the intellectual triumph of Mr. Spurgeon's ministry. Within ten years from the commencement of his London pastorate, 3,569 persons had been baptized into the fellowship of the church. I have before me, as I write, an authorized statistical table of figures for the years 1861-1877. This exhibits a steady annual increase of numbers, an increase not once interrupted, in the membership of the church, up to 5,152 in 1877." The statement is not perfectly clear, but means apparently the total addition was that for the period included—an average of over 300 a year, by steady growth. Besides these baptisms into his own church, there were hundreds of others led to Christ by his preaching, and many more were converted by the ministry of his printed sermons, of which nearly 2,500 have been published, with an average sale of 25,000 copies of each. In the study of so marvelous an activity and fruitfulness, we must consider his characteristics.

In speaking of Spurgeon's limitations, it is only just to remind ourselves that no one man ever has had or can have all the excellencies actually exhibited in one and another of the great preachers of history, nor all that are conceivable in the imaginary perfect preacher. So even Spurgeon had his deficiencies, and some of them are instructive. His thought was not particularly original or profound, moving chiefly amid the accepted commonplaces of religion and the evangelical theology. Indeed, this was one element of his power with the common people. His culture showed the lack of a full academic education; and though he read much, there were large sections of modern thought and literature which he never entered. The structure of his sermons was often homiletically faulty and careless. More serious was his frequently inaccurate exegesis; and sometimes he did not seem greatly to care. Like Beecher, he was sometimes hasty in preparation. He too often allowed other things to crowd his sermon. And so there was not much variety; but it is a wonder there was not more sameness.

What, then, were the elements of his power? The natural man was well endowed. While he had a homely face and a stocky figure, he had a fine expression, and was gifted with a voice of great sweetness, smoothness, compass, and sympathy. In intellect he was alert, clever, sound, and strong, with fine imagination, large and shrewd observation, and wide reading, with retentive memory. In temperament he was genial, winsome, sympathetic, hearty. Candor and sincerity were evident traits, with simplicity and strength of character. The Christian showed in all his work. To his pious upbringing was added the deep experience of a definite and decisive conversion, and the joy of his salvation by grace resounded in no uncertain tones throughout his whole ministry. He was a mighty man in prayer, and his devoted loyalty and consecration to Christ were manifest in all that he did. Faithfulness and courage were not wanting in the rounding out of his manhood in Christ. The pastor's heart was his, and though he could not visit much, he kept in personal touch with his great flock in many telling ways; and his leadership was wise, loving, progressive, masterful. The preacher, however, was ever pre-eminent. In doctrine he was an old-fashioned evangelical Calvinist from beginning to end. In use of Scripture he was rich, devout, effective, though sometimes at fault in interpretation. His style was rich, racy, homely, powerful Saxon—sometimes undignified, but ever clear and strong, and often sweet and eloquent. His delivery was free, easy, and natural; and he spoke without notes, his sermons being reported and revised, not written beforehand. In spirit—faith, hope, and love breathed in his preaching. The glory of God in saving men was his ruling motive. Great was his work and great his reward.

Wilkinson well says: "Mr. Spurgeon is a great preacher, rather than a preacher of great sermons. If this is not praise, it certainly is not dispraise. To preach great sermons is, no doubt, the prouder intellectual triumph; but the more useful service, and the rarer moral attainment, is to be a great preacher." Hence it is peculiarly difficult to judge Spurgeon by any one sermon, and still more by brief quotations. But, as specimens of his manner, the two following extracts are given. The first is from one of his youthful discourses (1856), on *Songs in the Night*:[71]

"Man, too, like the great world in which he lives, must have his night. For it is true that man is like the world around him; he is a little world; he resembles the world in almost everything; and if the world hath its night, so hath man. And many a night do we have—nights of sorrow, nights of persecution, nights of doubt, nights of bewilderment, nights of anxiety, nights of oppression, nights of ignorance—nights of all kinds, which press upon our spirits and terrify our souls. But, blessed be God, the Christian man can say, 'My God giveth me songs in the night.'

"It is not necessary, I take it, to prove to you that Christian men have nights; for if you are Christians, you will find that you have them, and you will not want any proof, for nights will come quite often enough. I will, therefore, proceed at once to the subject; and I will speak this evening upon songs in the night, their source—God giveth them; songs in the night, their matter—what do we sing about in the night? songs in the night, their excellence—they are hearty songs, and they are sweet ones; songs in the night, their uses—their benefits to ourselves and others. . . .

"Any fool can sing in the day. When the cup is full, man draws inspiration from it; when wealth rolls in abundance around him, any man can sing to the praise of a God who gives a plenteous harvest, or sends home

[71] *Sermons,* 2d Series, p. 167 ff.; Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 606 ff.

a loaded argosy. It is easy enough for an Æolian harp to whisper music when the winds blow; the difficulty is for music to come when no wind bloweth. It is easy to sing when we can read the notes by daylight; but the skillful singer is he who can sing them when there is not a ray of light to read by—who sings from his heart, and not from a book that he can see, because he has no means of reading save from that inward book of his own living spirit, whence notes of gratitude pour out in songs of praise."

The other extract is from a much later sermon (1888), on *The Blood of the Lamb, the Conquering Weapon*:[72] "Brethren, if we are to win great victories we must have greater courage. Some of you hardly dare speak about the blood of Christ in any but the most godly company; and scarcely there. You are very retiring. You love yourselves too much to get into trouble through your religion. Surely you can not be of that noble band that love not their own lives unto the death! Many dare not hold the old doctrine nowadays because they would be thought narrow and bigoted, and this would be too galling. They call us old fools. It is very likely we are; but we are not ashamed to be fools for Christ's sake, and the truth's sake. We believe in the blood of the Lamb, despite the discoveries of science. We shall never give up the doctrine of atoning sacrifice to please modern culture. What little reputation we have is as dear to us as another man's character is to him; but we will cheerfully let it go in this struggle for the central truth of revelation. It will be sweet to be forgotten and lost sight of, or to be vilified and abused, if the old faith in the substitutionary sacrifice can be kept alive. This much we are resolved on, we will be true to our convictions concerning the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus; for if we give up this, what is there left? God will not do anything by us if we are false to the cross. He uses the men who spare not their reputations when these are called for in the defense of truth. O to be at a white heat! O to flame with zeal for Jesus! O my brethren, hold you to the old faith, and say, 'As for the respect of men, I can readily forfeit it; but as for the truth of

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[72] *Memorial Lib.*, Vol. XIX, p. 320.

God, that I can never give up.' This is the day for men to be men; for, alas! the most are soft, molluscous creatures. Now we need backbones as well as heads. To believe the truth concerning the Lamb of God, and truly to believe it, this is the essential of an overcoming life. O for courage, constancy, fixedness, self-denial, willingness to be made nothing for Christ! God give us to be faithful witnesses to the blood of the Lamb in the midst of this ungodly world!"

III. The Closing Years of the Century: 1868-1900

The last third of the nineteenth century, including the second half of Queen Victoria's reign, was crowded with affairs of the deepest interest and significance, affecting not only the widely extended empire over which she reigned, but the larger world. Every sort of intense and active life was felt, both at home and abroad. Only a slight touch upon the most important events is needed to recall rapidly the history of the era, recent as it is in the memory of most readers.[73] This was the age of Gladstone and Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, whose leadership of their respective parties, the Liberal and Conservative, and their alternations in office, as the tide of popular approval of their measures ebbed and flowed, make up a brilliant political history. Reforms in the suffrage, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, educational policies, Home Rule for Ireland, colonial and foreign interests, especially in the East and in Africa, kept political and party interest on keen edge most of the time. After the aged and beloved queen had, with great pomp and glory, celebrated her jubilee, the painful Boer War in South Africa cast a gloom over her closing years. Internal affairs showed continued progress in humane and liberal movements. More and more the claims of the poor and laboring classes were recognized, and many abuses were redressed. Education made advances, the universities were (1871) thrown open to Dissenters, and the problems of general education were engaging much attention when the century closed. Commerce and manu-

[73] Much the same authorities as before, as far as they bear on this period.

factures continued to flourish, and the industrial arts were furthered in many ways.

Literature increased, both in volume and variety, and, on the whole, maintained its power. Every phase of literary expression could show a group of able and brilliant representatives. Both in the severer and in the lighter forms of thought and writing there was enormous production. Scientific and philosophic thought was especially great and influential. Darwin's *Origin of Species* had appeared in 1859, but his *Descent of Man* (1871) belongs to this period. Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, and others of that influential school were as active in literary expression as in research and thought, and a host of other thinkers were as eager as the leaders to find reading for their opinions. In historical, biographical, and critical writing the age is highly distinguished. What an array of talent, both for inquiry and for expression, is found in such writers as Lecky, Froude, Freeman, Green, Stubbs, Fyffe, Gardiner, and other historians; in Trevelyan, Masson, Forster, Stanley, Mrs. Oliphant, Morley, and other biographers; in Carlyle, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, Symonds, Hutton, Stephen, Gosse, Pater, Birrell, and still other essayists and critics well known to fame. In poetry, Tennyson and Browning were still at work, while Morris, Swinburne, Matthew Arnold, the Rossettis, Lang, Henley, Watson, and others were heard in their different ways. In the rich and wide field of fiction the growth was luxuriant, tangled, infinitely various in aim, style, appeal, effect. Enumeration is impossible, judgment almost as varied as the product itself. But it can not be forgotten that this was the age of George Eliot, Wilkie Collins, Charles Reade, Trollope, Black, Blackmore, Hardy, Mrs. Ward, Meredith, Kipling, Stevenson, Doyle, and hundreds of lesser writers of novels and stories which have taken hold of their generation with a vigor and charm both astonishing and mighty. The literature of religion and theology likewise found in every branch abundant and able expression. In Biblical scholarship—exegesis, criticism, archaeology; in historical research, ancient, mediæval, modern; in apologetics and theology; in devotional and poetical writings, and in sermons, the output of books has been in keeping with that in other departments, both in respect of quantity and quality. A few of the leading names readily occur to mind, when we recall such men as Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, Sayce, Driver, Cheyne, Liddon, Mozley, Dale, Fairbairn, Orr, Rainy, Ramsay, Neale, Keble, Bickersteth, Ryle, Whyte, Matheson, Nicoll, Meyer, Moule, MacGregor, Morgan, and a host of others in the various branches of Christian literature. Sermons will, of course, receive fuller notice later.

Humanitarian effort and social questions occupied much attention on all sides. Novel writers and poets, statesmen and clergymen, in their several ways, took hold of the many-sided social problem at all its angles. Slum work in the cities, improvement in the habitations of the poor, both on the farms and in the cities; various measures of poor relief, attention to moral problems and rescue work, social settlements for the suggestion of higher ideals and for some forms of benevolent effort on behalf of the lower classes—all were pushed on in various ways. The churches took up the work, and many preachers and other workers did great service in this way. The Salvation Army carried on its benevolent work from many centers of its vast organization. Along with some radicalism and some impracticable schemes, much real service was done for the improvement of social conditions. In general, this effort to comprehend and solve the accumulated problems of modern life was one of the most impressive features of the last three decades of the nineteenth century in England.

In the more distinctively religious and ecclesiastical sphere conditions noted in the immediately preceding time remained substantially the same, but the note of progress was distinctly heard. Parties in the churches, both the Establishment and the Nonconformist bodies, were much the same, and yet with such variations as the new era naturally brought on. There was some shifting of emphasis, some change of view on old questions, some progress on lines of tendency already set up. In the Anglican body the groups of High, Low, and Broad Church could not be so easily separated as formerly. Two or three causes contributed to this confusion. One was the great common work of social amelioration, which appealed to all parties and found able advocates in all. Another was the fight against materialism, and the reaction toward mysticism in all or most of the denominations. And still another lay in the progress of tolerance and mutual respect between all sects and parties. Yet for convenience of study and grouping, and because the fundamental distinctions still were operative, it is best to retain the old nomenclature. The Low Church party was more conservative of the evangelical traditions and type of doctrine; the High Churchmen mingled with a strong bent to extreme ritualism and their traditional sacramentarianism a large interest in social betterment and a good degree of mystical piety; while the Broad Church element, sharing these later tendencies of the religious life, were more sympathetic as well with liberalism in thought on the scientific side as with the theories of the modern German critical school of Biblical interpretation.

Among Dissenters also the distinction of conservative or evangelical, and liberal or rationalistic, remains. The Free Churches in England of all the sects were more or less divided on this line of cleavage; and in Scotland, both in the Established and Free Churches, the same phenomenon appears. It was characteristic of the age, and appears in all lands and in all parties to a greater or less extent. Modern Christianity shows everywhere the struggle to adjust itself to scientific and critical attack upon traditional beliefs and practices, to participate without loss of distinctive Christian aims and motives in social progress, and to find refuge, both from the weakening of faith in confessional statements of Christian truth and from the terrible encroachments of worldliness on the life of piety, in new emphasis on personal communion with God, which finds expression in many ways. In England the Keswick school of religious leaders and writers is the protagonist of the newer mysticism, and in its ranks many able and forceful preachers and authors are found. Along with these forces, mention must be made of the progress of evangelistic measures and efforts at home and of missionary labors abroad. All the great societies were greatly strengthened; contributions were never so large, and administration was wise and businesslike, while extensive work on the foreign fields was pushed with great vigor and success. At home the great evangelistic campaign of the American evangelists, Moody and Sankey, in the seventies, followed by others, encouraged and promoted revival efforts of great variety in character and results. Outdoor preaching was much practiced, and the personal hand-to-hand method of appeal was also much used. Altogether, in the English countries at the close of the nineteenth century there is in the sphere of religious life and thought a variety, activity, and power which are the outcome of previously working forces now come to their highest stage.

Again we have to remark how powerfully the forces and influences which have been thus hastily sketched acted upon the pulpit of the age. It was part and parcel of those mighty influences—intellectual, moral, spiritual—which at once expressed and molded the religious life and thought of this great epoch in English history. It was neither silent nor inactive on the most important questions and measures of the time. Never more alive and vigorous, never more enlightened and cultured, never more thoughtful and trained for service, never more courageous and resolute, never more intensely devoted to its task, the British pulpit showed itself strong, earnest, capable, practical. Its almost infinite variety still impresses the student of its literature, as it must have done the observers and participants of its manifold activity. This great variety, shown in every aspect of preaching—content, form, quality, effect—makes general characterization both difficult and to some extent misleading, but a few salient general features may be remarked.

The apologetic and polemic element of preaching is well to the fore in the English sermons of the end of the nineteenth century. Yet there is a difference of tone and temper. So far as attack and defense toward hostile forces are concerned, there is a fine combination of caution and strength in most of the sermons of this character. Some denunciation and exuberant rhetoric may occasionally be found, and some unfitness of preparation and spirit for suitable encounter with the foe may show itself here and there, but, on the whole, there is marked candor and ability in dealing with the opponents of Christianity. Inside the Christian circle, too, there is less of sectarianism and bitterness in the warfare of parties and denominations. Preachers of the various divisions of Christianity came to deplore those divisions and to moderate the sharp tone in which they expressed their sentiments toward their brethren of different creeds from their own. As regards the Biblical content of sermons the modern English discourse is more exegetical and expository, less topical and discursive, than in former times. Yet this remark is subject to some qualification for individual preachers, though true on the whole. As has already been noticed, the sermons are very practical in aim and more popular in style than in the earlier and even the middle periods of the century. Robert Hall and Henry Melvill would not have appealed to audiences in the last third of the century as they did to the people of their own times. While the address of the pulpit is thus more familiar, direct, short, simple, and practical, its diction is not on the whole undignified or slovenly. There is a strain of fine culture in it which appeals to literary taste as well as to modern habits of thought and expression. Yet by no means may these general words of approval be taken as denying faults of spirit, content style and taste, or weaknesses such as must be allowed for as corresponding to many of the virtues noted.

But it is time to pass on to the study of the various groups and individual representatives of the British preaching of the epoch under review. And in such study we have again to remark that, leaving out a few commanding figures who appear in any survey of the leading preachers of the age, the bewildering number of men of the second and lower ranks makes it possible to select only a few representatives. Others equally worthy must be left out; and the fair-minded reader will not need to be asked to make still further allowances for the opportunities and likings of the student who can only describe and pass judgment on those who have in various ways come under his notice, without pretense of exhaustive research in a field practically boundless.

Among Roman Catholics, Walsh, Manning, and Newman, mentioned in the last section, were still at work as preachers; and to these we may add Father Harper, who preached a series of rather philosophical discourses endeavoring to adjust Catholic theology to modern conditions of thought; and Father Bernard Vaughan (a kinsman of the archbishop), who, a little after our period (1906-07), preached in London a series of rather scathing and sensational sermons on current social sins,[74] which attracted great crowds and were the talk of the town for a season. The sermons are not deep in thought, and are rather wordy and rhetorical in style, but they show considerable knowledge of the subject (one wonders how obtained), good imaginative and invective powers, with wholesome warnings and appeals.

In the Church of England, as we have seen, the former distinctions remain, but it is not always easy to classify individual preachers; but in a general way, some more clearly, some less, they may be grouped as before. Beginning with the Low Church group, we find one of the chief among them to be John Charles Ryle (1816-1900).[75] He was the son of a banker in Macclesfield, where he was born, educated, and for a time engaged in business. He took his course at Oxford, and was ordained in 1841. He filled several unimportant churches, and then was made honorary dean of Norwich, in 1871. In 1880 he was appointed bishop of Liverpool, a newly formed diocese, and filled with marked industry and fidelity his responsible office to the end of his useful life. Bishop Ryle wrote a good many tracts, pamphlets, and short books on a number of different questions. One of his most useful books, to which frequent reference has been made in this volume, is his *Christian Leaders of the Last Century*. Besides that, he published a number of sermons and other devotional works. He was one of the leaders of the Low Church party, thoroughly evangelical in doctrine, and greatly influential. As a preacher Bishop Ryle was not distinguished for remarkable powers in any direction. He was a safe, sensible, earnest, and cultivated man, but with no special gift of genius or oratory. His thought moved in customary evangelical grooves, but with ease and force. His style is simple and sweet, not marked by high eloquence, but a purity and loftiness of tone which comports well with his mental and spiritual qualities.

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[74] *The Sins of Society*, sermons by Father Bernard Vaughan, S. J., London, 1908.

[75] *Expository Thoughts on the Gospel*, New York, 1866; *Boys and Girls Playing*, and other sermons to children, N. Y., 1881; Sketch and sermon in *Anglican Pulpit of To-day* (anon), London, 1885—a good and useful collection, hereafter referred to as *APT*.

Far more eloquent than Ryle was the distinguished bishop and archbishop, William Connor Magee (1821-1891).[76] He was the son of an Irish clergyman of the Anglican Establishment, and grandson of Dr. William Magee, archbishop of Dublin, and author of a once notable work on the Atonement. Magee was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and after ordination filled several posts in Ireland, but was called to England and rapidly rose in popularity and power. He was for a time rector at Bath, and in 1856 went to London as incumbent of Quebec Chapel. From 1860-1868 he returned to Ireland, where he filled several important appointments, and whence he was called, in 1868, to be bishop of Peterborough. He had a seat in the House of Lords just in time to make a great and famous speech against the disestablishment of the Irish Church. This great deliverance established his fame as an orator of the first rank. Though he did not carry his point, his speech was commonly conceded to be the ablest on that side of the question. He was an extemporaneous speaker, gifted with the fire and eloquence of his race. His published sermons and addresses naturally do not indicate the height of his powers, but they suggest what he was. A few months before his death, in 1891, Bishop Magee was raised to the archbishopric of York, but did not long survive the receiving of this high honor. Magee was noted for his genial wit, which sometimes passed into sarcasm. His thinking was clear and forcible, though not great. His style is flowing and easy, oftentimes rising into eloquence. He was evangelical in sentiment, and very highly regarded among his countrymen. Liddon has spoken of Magee as the greatest orator of his time. By many he was considered as second only to Gladstone or John Bright. Besides his sermons, he published some addresses and two lectures on preaching, in which he defended the extemporaneous method of delivery, but insisted on earnest preparation, both general and special. This theory unfolds his own practice. Like many preachers of this kind, the impression of his actual work is far greater than that of his published sermons, though these are marked by sound thinking, earnest purpose, a clear order and a pleasing style.

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[76] See *Our Bishops and Deans,* Vol. II, p. 139 ff.; *Christ the Light of All Scripture and Other Sermons,* Lond., 1892; sketch and sermon in *APT;* Brastow, *MP,* p. 210; *WGS,* VII, p. 1.

William Boyd Carpenter (1841-),[77] one of the liberal evangelicals in the latter part of the century, was graduated from Cambridge with honor in 1864. He held several places in London, and attained rapid success and reputation as a preacher. In 1882 he was made canon of Windsor, and in 1885 bishop of Ripon. He discharged his duties with great acceptance, and besides his popular sermons, he wrote some valuable articles on distinguished preachers of past ages and a judicious treatise on preaching. He gave the Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge in 1878, and the Bampton Lectures at Oxford in 1887. His sermons were usually delivered without notes and in a very effective manner. His published discourses are largely expository in treatment and lay emphasis upon the evangelical doctrines, especially upon the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Besides his more notable sermons and lectures, Dr. Carpenter published a very pleasing set of addresses to children.

Among the High Churchmen of this period we may first mention Edward Meyrick Goulbourn (1818-1897).[78] He was a native of London, educated at Eton and Oxford, where he became a Fellow of Merton College in 1841. In 1850 he followed Tait as Head Master at Rugby, holding the place for eight years. He then became vicar of St. John's Church, Paddington, London, where his preaching became very acceptable. In addition to his scholarship and highly trained mind, he had a pleasing delivery and a very winsome style. In 1866 he was made dean of Norwich, but retired in 1889, spend-

[77] *Permanent Elements of Religion* (Bamp. Lec.), London, 1889; *Truth in Tale* (to children), London, 1885; Brastow, p. 212; *APT*, ser. XV.

[78] See *OBD*, II, p. 295 ff.; sketch and sermon in *APT; Thoughts on Personal Religion,* Am. ed., N. Y., 1864.

ing the evening of his days at Tunbridge Wells. Among his numerous sermons and other devotional writings, his best known volume is *Thoughts on Personal Religion,* published in 1862, really a series of sermons. These admirable devotional discourses are distinguished by delicacy and elevation of thought, deep piety, and an easy, delightful style. This well-known classic of devotional literature has fed the spiritual life of thousands of readers.

The most celebrated High Church divine of this period was Henry Parry Liddon (1829-1890).[79] The English mind, language, and culture at their best in various epochs have made notable contributions to the literature of every department of human thought. The pulpit of the Anglican Church has richly shared this wealth of intellectual power. Our own age has shown no exception in this regard, and among the foremost of modern naturally gifted and highly cultivated English divines easily stands H. P. Liddon. He was a son of Captain Liddon, of the Royal Navy, and was named Henry Parry in honor of the great Arctic explorer. He was born at North Stoneham, Hampshire, the eldest of ten children. His parents moved to Devonshire, where he received his early schooling, and was a playful but high-minded boy. He attended the famous King's College school in London for two years, and entered Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1847, where he took his degree with distinction in three years. He had already been inclined to High Church principles, and after Newman's defection he was identified with the High Church party and was a stanch supporter of Pusey. He obtained a theological scholarship in 1851, and soon after that was ordained. For several years (1854-59) he was vice-principal of Cuddesdon College. Here he taught young preachers, and had great influence upon his pupils, but his pronounced High Church opinions were not altogether acceptable to the authorities and led to his retirement. Returning to Oxford, he became vice-principal of St. Edmund's Hall,

[79] *University Sermons* (first issued under title, *Some Words for God*) ed., London, 1869; 4 vols. of sermons on the Church festivals; *Sermons on Old Testament Subjects,* London, 1891; etc.; *WGS,* VII, p. 123; art. by Scott-Holland in *DNB;* account in Donaldson's *Five Great Oxford Leaders;* OBD, II, p. 153 ff.; Wilkinson, p. 217; Brastow, *MP,* p. 202.

where he was greatly active with Pusey and others in promoting High Church sentiments. He held various preaching appointments during these years, and was already recognized as a great power in the pulpit. In 1866 Liddon was chosen to take the place of another man without the usual time for preparation as Bampton Lecturer. The subject of his lectures was *The Divinity of Christ*. This work has been recognized as one of the completest and most satisfactory discussions of that subject in modern times. Its thorough conviction, ample learning, acute and profound reasoning, and eloquent style have given it a high and permanent place among the great theological treatises in the English tongue. Certainly one sees and feels various defects, both in the thinking and the expression, but, allowing for these, the treatise remains an acknowledged masterpiece. In 1870 Liddon was made Ireland Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, and also a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, where he took his turn as preacher twice a year and drew great crowds. This double service suited Liddon exactly. He was a competent theological scholar, a brilliant and kindling teacher, and a preacher of renowned ability. He retained his canonship at St. Paul's for twenty years, declining higher honors, but resigned his professorship in 1882, on the death of his friend Pusey, whose life he desired to write. His health began to fail in his later years, and he took a tour abroad in 1885. Several bishoprics were offered him, but he declined. He died suddenly, September 9, 1890. Most appropriately, he lies buried in the crypt chapel at St. Paul's. On his tomb there is a recumbent figure of him well presenting his refined and noble face.

Liddon was one of the recognized leaders in the High Church party, the lifelong friend and admirer of Pusey. In the troubles over ritualism in the case of Mr. Mackonochie, Liddon sympathized with his friend, but counseled moderation. On the other hand, he became involved in a controversy with Capel, a Catholic priest, who very cleverly maintained that the ritualistic party in the English Church was so near to Rome that they had as well follow Newman and come in. Liddon strongly defended himself and, in general, the Puseyite position.

He had no sympathy with Broad Church views, and several times refused to preach at Westminster Abbey on Stanley's invitation, because that eminent Broad Churchman insisted on inviting to preach there such men as Maurice and even Colenso, the heretical bishop of Natal. The correspondence between Liddon and Stanley is interesting, as showing how mutual respect and even admiration may exist between men of such divergent views and also how frank and yet polite each could be. It is needless to say that Liddon was squarely opposed to the rationalistic teachings of the modern German criticism. Some one has said "that his typical abhorrence was a misty Teutonism." Canon Scott-Holland, in his delightful article in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* says: "In private life Liddon's companionship was an uncomparable and unfailing delight. . . . Intensely domestic and lovable and unaffected by any worldly ambition, he was totally free from the peculiar moral weakness to which a great popular preacher is proverbially liable. His most striking characteristics were a passionate chivalry, a burning courage, and a delicious humor." And Archdeacon Farrar, in his chatty book on *Men Whom I Have Known,* tells that he once heard an intelligent woman ask Liddon how he could keep from being self-conceited over his preaching; it was so good, and he was so much praised for it. His answer was to the effect that the awful responsibilities involved in the work were surely enough to counteract such feelings and keep a man humble. It was a frank and manly answer. He knew he had great gifts; he felt his responsibility for them. Though so well fitted for domestic life, Liddon was never married, but was much beloved in the families of his kindred, where he was a genial companion and a liberal giver.

The qualities and worth of Liddon's preaching are foreshown in his noble abilities, admirable culture, and great earnestness of conviction. It is needless to say that his sermons defend and expound pronounced High views of the church and its ordinances. His sermons show great elevation—mental, moral, spiritual. This loftiness is exemplified even in the details. The reader feels on every page that he is dealing with a great soul. Naturally, the sermons are marked by a clear and broad candor. There is no evasion of difficulties, but every disposition to treat objectors and their objections fairly. Liddon might be mistaken, but he could not be insincere. In stating objections to his own views, he endeavored to put them as plainly as he could, and then meet them with all his strength. And he was a man of might, capable, clear-headed, well-informed, logical, intense. To these splendid qualities were added the charm of a handsome face, a graceful action, and ringing voice, although he read his sermons. Magnetic power went forth from him and mastered his audiences. His sermons were usually very long, but the delighted listener cared not to note the time. Thousands gathered at St. Paul's Cathedral when he was announced to preach, and though from many points in that vast building hearing was difficult, in some places almost impossible, the listeners strained their attention to catch his eloquent words. As to the permanence of Liddon's influence there are doubtless some drawbacks. Both the length and loftiness of his discourses, their lack of popularity and ease, their extreme High Church opinions, with opposition to modern criticism, all count against the permanence of Liddon's influence as a preacher. But on the other hand, the splendid qualities of his style, the sincerity of his conviction, and the masterful grasp and power of his mind will cause him to be read as one among the models of nineteenth century Anglican preaching.

The High Church group, along with and after Liddon, who is its highest pulpit representative, contains an unusually large number of cultivated, thoughtful, spiritual, and effective preachers. What is remarkable about this group is that, including so many eminent scholars and men of books, it should also exhibit so remarkable a degree of success in the pulpit. All the men now to be named, and some others with them, are worthy of careful study and should receive, if it were possible, more extended biographical and critical notice than our present limits permit. Perhaps the most thoughtful and profound of the group was James Bowling Mozley (1813-1878),[80] a Lincolnshire man, and educated at Oxford.

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[80] Art. in *DNB; Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford,* etc., New York, 1876; Brastow, *Rep. Mod. Pr.,* p. 309 ff. —a good study; *WGS,* Vol. V, p. 207 ff.

He was a thoughtful student and received many honors. He was a student of Oriel, and a Fellow of Magdalen College. He remained with the Pusey group when Newman went over to Rome. He filled some places as a preacher, being made canon of Christ Church and University preacher. In 1865 he delivered the Bampton Lectures on miracles, one of the most masterly discussions of that difficult subject. Canon Mozley published a number of sermons, particularly a volume called *University Sermons*. They are marked by profound thought, great candor, and, considering their depth, an unusually clear style. One of these on *The Reversal of Human Judgment* has been pronounced by some critics as the most thoughtful of modern sermons; and Mozley has well been called "the Butler of the nineteenth century." The comparison is apt, but Mozley is far superior to Butler in literary art.

Richard W. Church,[81] born at Lisbon, spent much of his early life in Italy, but was educated at Oxford, and a brilliant student. He is notable as the historian of the Oxford movement, was preacher at St. Mary's, and later dean of St. Paul's. Dean Church was a very thoughtful and useful preacher and writer on a variety of subjects.

Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828-1879)[82] is usually reckoned among the High Churchmen notwithstanding his liberal views of the Episcopate. He was born at Liverpool, and educated at Cambridge. He was the most eminent modern English scholar in the department of patristic literature. Owing to his liberal views, preferment came rather slowly, but he was finally made bishop of Durham. He was active and earnest as a bishop, taking part in moral reforms, an earnest advocate of total abstinence, and sympathetic with the work of the Salvation Army. His sermons are not overburdened with scholarship, but are practical and clear. The sermon delivered on his consecration as bishop of Durham is on *The Vision of God* (Rev. 22:4). After a neat allusion to Butler as the greatest of the bishops of Durham, he proceeds to discuss his theme, considering the threefold vision of Righteousness, Grace, and Glory. The sermon is admirable in spirit, excellent in style, and effective in presentation. Here also should be named another great Cambridge scholar and the successor to Lightfoot in the bishopric of Durham, the distinguished Cambridge graduate and New Testament scholar, Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901).[83] Westcott served, after his graduation, as Assistant Master at Harrow, as canon of Peterborough, Professor of Theology at Cambridge, and canon of Westminster. In addition to his eminent service as a scholar and teacher, he was a preacher of considerable merit, taking active part in practical affairs. He published a volume of very judicious and strong sermons on the *Social Aspects of Christianity,* as well as sermons of a more directly spiritual kind. Another famous Cambridge scholar and prelate was Edward White Benson (1829-1901),[84] who was a schoolfellow of Lightfoot and Westcott, was Assistant Master at Rugby, and filled various offices till his appointment as archbishop of Canterbury, in 1884. He scarcely ranks so high in the pulpit as others of this group, but is worthy of note among them.

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[81] Sketch and sermon in *APT;* Brastow, *Mod. Pul.*, p. 199; *The Gifts of Civilization and Other Lectures and Sermons,* London, 1880.

[82] Brastow, *op. cit.*, p. 198; *The Contemporary Pulpit Library, Bishop Lightfoot* (anon.), with preface by Westcott, London, 1894; *Sermons by Bishop Lightfoot,* London and New York, 1890 (reported).

Recurring to the Oxford group,[85] we find among these the distinguished historical scholar, canon, and later bishop, William Stubbs (1825-1901), long professor at Oxford, and sometime canon of St. Paul's. He was made bishop of Chester in 1884. His qualities as a preacher appear well in a sermon on humility, which is a simple, manly, spiritual plea for this virtue, well illustrated by various examples. Later distinguished members of this group are Henry Scott-Holland (1847-), educated at Eton and Oxford. He filled various offices, and became canon of St. Paul's in 1884. He took great interest in social questions, published some volumes of sermons, and contributed some of the essays to *Lux Mundi.* With him and still living should be named Charles Gore, who was also an eminent scholar at Balliol College, Oxford, Fellow of Trinity, President of Cuddesdon College, select preacher at Oxford, Bampton Lecturer, canon of Westminster, and bishop of Birmingham. Bishop Gore's numerous sermons and writings ally him distinctly with the High Church party, but clearly under the movement of the modern spirit. In intellect and culture he ranks among the leaders of his Church. Here also should be placed Canon W. J. Knox-Little,[86] who was born in Ireland, and educated at Cambridge, was rector at St. Albans, and later canon of Worcester, and preacher at St. Paul's, where, even during the week-days, great crowds were drawn to hear his earnest preaching. Among his sermons is a notable one on *Thirst Satisfied* (Ps. 42:3), which shows the inadequacy of human and earthly things to satisfy the soul. It should find its true fullness in God through Christ. This familiar thought is presented to a modern audience in an eminently modern and effective way.

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[83] *Life and Letters,* by his son, 2 vols., London, 1903; *APT,* sketch and sermon; *Social Aspects of Christianity,* London, 1887; *The Incarnation and the Common Life* (various discourses), Lond., 1893; *The Victory of the Cross* (sermons), London, 1888.

[84] Sketch and sermon in *APT,* and a vol. of sermons in *Preachers of the Age,* London and New York, 1892.

[85] Sketches and sermons in *APT,* and notices in Brastow, *op. cit.;* brief notices in Camden-Pratt's *People of the Period,* etc.

Passing now to the Broad Church group of modern English preachers, the first name which occurs among them is that of the admired and distinguished Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881).[87] This elegant scholar, accomplished gentleman, liberal-minded prelate was born in Cheshire, the second son of Edward Stanley, bishop of Norwich. His father's mother was an Owen of Penrhyn, Wales, whence his middle name and his prized Welsh blood. His family was highly connected, and he married the daughter of an earl. All that English culture in school and society offered was absorbed by him. A brilliant student at Rugby under Arnold, and afterwards at Oxford, he laid broad the foundations of his culture. Honors and promotions in the Church rapidly followed his ordination. He was honorary chaplain to the queen, often preached at Oxford, but took most pride in that post which he filled with such distinction, and by which he is best known, dean of Westminster Abbey. It was here that he did the principal work of his life. Besides his *Life of Arnold* (a masterpiece of biography), his *Lectures on the Jewish Church* (influenced chiefly by Ewald), his charming descriptive work on *Sinai and Palestine,* and other notable writings, he published a number of volumes of sermons. These are not distinguished by oratorical gifts, but generally by the three excellent qualities of clearness of thought, breadth of mind and sympathy, and a very agreeable and forcible style. Some of his memorial sermons especially show all these traits. Notable among them, one on Thomas Carlyle.

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[86] *The Journey of Life,* vol. of sermons in *Great Preachers of the Age* series, London and New York, 1892.

[87] *Life and Letters of A. P. Stanley,* by R. E. Prothero, 2 vols., London and New York, 1894; *Sermons in the East* (preached before the then Prince of Wales, Edward VII, during his tour in the East), New York, 1864; sermon in *WGS,* VI, p. 53.

Another famous dean of Westminster was the versatile, brilliant, intense, and popular Frederic William Farrar (1831-1903).[88] He was born in India, where his pious father was chaplain at Bombay. He was educated at King William's College, Isle of Man, and at King's College, in London, where he studied under Maurice and Plumptre. Later he studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he lived hard and supported himself. After graduation, he served as teacher, first at Marlborough, and then at Harrow; later at Marlborough again. All the while he was preaching to his boys, as well as at other places, and engaged in some of those numerous theological writings by which he has become distinguished. In 1876 he was appointed by Mr. Disraeli canon of Westminster and rector of St. Margaret's adjoining. His preaching and other public and parochial services attracted great throngs to St. Margaret's. In 1883 he was made archdeacon of Westminster, an office which he filled with distinction for a number of years. At last, in 1895, he was appointed by Lord Rosebery dean of Canterbury, where his labors were less exacting. He

[88] *Life,* by his son, R. A. Farrar, London and New York, 1904; numerous writings and sermons, particularly the vols. on *The Silence and Voices of God,* N. Y., 1877, *Eternal Hope; The Fall of Man,* Lond., 1893, and *Sermons on the Lord's Prayer,* New York, 1893. *WGS,* VII, p. 229.

took great interest in this great old cathedral, and here peacefully ended his busy days. As a preacher Dr. Farrar was very remarkable. He did not carefully polish his sermons; they often showed hasty preparation and a too exuberant rhetorical style. He was inclined to vehemence and extreme statements, but he had a well-stored mind, an ardent temperament, and retentive memory, was apt in quotation and illustration, and powerful in appeal. These qualities, notwithstanding his faults, give him a secure place among the most important and influential preachers of his day.

Later representatives of the Broad Church group included many notable men, among whom was Frederick Temple (1821-1902).[89] He was a distinguished graduate of Oxford, and became Head Master at Rugby, then bishop of Exeter in 1869, bishop of London in 1885, and finally archbishop of Canterbury after Dr. Tait. His liberalism provoked some opposition to these various promotions. Dr. Temple was a man of high character and a strong, pleasing preacher, as several of his sermons which have been read show; yet he would not rank among the greater preachers of the age. Mention should also be made of J. M. Wilson, who also was first distinguished at college and as a teacher at Rugby, and then at Clifton College. He published a number of sermons and other discourses, and gave lectures on pastoral theology at Cambridge. The sermons indicate great breadth of view, with simplicity and clearness of expression.

Toward the close of the century there were a number of able and distinguished Anglican preachers, some of whom are still living, and whom it is not worth while to classify according to their church affinities. These are all animated by the modern spirit to a greater or less extent in its three elements of criticism, socialism, and mysticism. A solid scholar and thoughtful preacher is J. E. C. Welldon, educated at Cambridge, long time Master of Harrow, translator of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Appointed bishop of Calcutta, he resided for awhile in India, but ill-health enforced his return. He has preached

[89] For Temple and most of the following such notices and sermons as are to be found in *APT,* Pratt's *People of the Period,* Brastow, etc.; Temple's *Rugby Sermons,* 3 vols., London, 1870-76.

in recent years as a canon of Westminster Abbey and dean of Manchester. A manly and excellent series of discourses to boys, delivered at Harrow and later published, are noted for simplicity, directness, and strength. It is one of the writer's most pleasant recollections to have heard two sermons from Bishop Welldon at Westminster Abbey in the summer of 1903. A large man, with no grace of delivery or charm of voice, he yet impressed the hearers by the quiet earnestness of his manner, the strength and candor of his thought, the straightforward directness of his style, and the evident spirituality of his mind.

Quite different from Welldon is Canon Hensley Henson, preacher at St. Margaret's. Somewhat radical, gifted with a brilliant style, with an eager and intense spirit, he has attracted large audiences, and has taken some delight in saying unexpected things. Canon Henson was born in 1863 in Kent, received his university education at Oxford, where he also was Fellow of All Souls, and lectured on English Church history in 1886. He filled various appointments in the Church, and was select preacher at Oxford on several occasions. Small in stature, and apparently of feeble constitution, with a thin voice, he has not much of a presence to aid the effect of his brilliant and eloquent discourse, but there is a flashing eye and a magnetism of manner which holds the attention, though he reads closely. There was also Alfred Ainger, Master of the Temple, who was born in London in 1837, and trained at King's College and at Cambridge. His afternoon services as preacher at the Temple attracted large audiences, and besides he has greatly distinguished himself as a literary critic. Distinguished leaders in the newer mysticism are Bishop H. C. G. Moule, of Durham, and Prebendary Webb-Peploe, of London, who, besides their official work, have preached with great acceptance, and published books bearing upon the development of the spiritual life. Altogether, the Anglican pulpit at the turn of the century maintained its high plane of cultivated intellectual power, of profound interest in the moral welfare of society, and in thoughtful appeal to the higher spiritual life.

This closing period of the century also shows among the various Dissenting bodies a large number of important preachers, and though there are a few only who stand out as do Parker and Maclaren above all the rest, those who come next to the masters are neither few nor weak. The Congregationalists are well represented by a considerable array of worthy names, among whom we may take first that of the honored and admired pastor of the Surrey Chapel in London, Christopher Newman Hall (1816-1902).[90] He was born at Maidstone, Kent, his father being proprietor of a newspaper there. Hall was educated at various preparatory schools, and took some honors later at the University of London. He early entered the Congregational ministry, and filled one important place—at Hull—before coming to the chapel made famous by Rowland Hill in a previous generation. For some years he ministered at this historic place, but it began to prove unsuitable for the congregation, and the new Christ Church Chapel, on Westminster Bridge Road, still on the Surrey side of the Thames, was erected. Here Hall preached to the end of his life. He published many sermons and several notable tracts, of which one, *Come to Jesus,* attained a remarkable circulation in many different languages. Hall's sermons are conservatively evangelical, Scriptural, edifying. They breathe an earnest piety and concern for the spiritual good of the hearer, are well analyzed, and couched in a smooth and easy style, with good illustration and warm appeal.

Greater than Newman Hall in intellectual force, though less than he in emotional power, was the strong man and thinker, Robert William Dale (1829-1895),[91] the colleague and then successor of J. A. James at Carr's Lane Chapel, in Birmingham. Dale was born in London, the son of a small tradesman, not especially successful in business, and of a vigorous but anxious mother. The parents were members of the Tabernacle Church at Moorfields. The boy got some primary education in various London schools, and assisted awhile at one of them as teacher. More teaching and reading went on with the years, some youthful writing, some special preparation at a Congregational college for ministers, then the association, first as assistant, and then as colleague, and then as successor to James at Carr's Lane; and the work of a long and busy and useful life. Pastor, publicist, writer, theologian, lecturer, preacher—all in one active, strong, intellectual, conscientious, faithful man. Who can estimate the value of a life like this? And Dale's was a profoundly worthy life. As preacher he was patient and thorough in thought, careful in interpretation, clear and strong in style. He felt himself, and others also perceived, that he emphasized the intellectual aspects of truth rather to the hurt of the emotional and applicatory; but he was deeply in earnest to convince and so persuade men of the essential verities of the Christian faith, and to make these fruitful in life.

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[90] See Camden-Pratt's *People of the Period;* Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 830; *WGS,* VI, p. 85; *Sermons* (with a sketch of Surrey Chapel, etc.), London and New York, 1868.

[91] *Life,* by his son, A. W. W. Dale, London, 1898; numerous writings; *Sermons on the Ten Commandments,* London, 1895; *WGS,* VII, p. 103.

The greatest figure, however, among the Congregationalists of the period is confessedly that of the rugged, powerful, world-famous Joseph Parker (1830-1902).[92] In Parker, as in a number of other preachers who have mightily moved the men of their times, we have a conspicuous instance of what is currently but very inaccurately called the self-made man. He owed little to his origin and little to his opportunities for technical education, but by the sheer force of a mighty will and a powerful native intellect, he rose from humble surroundings and through many difficulties to a commanding position among the great preachers of the world. Joseph Parker was born at Hexham, in Northumberland. His father was a stonemason and a rugged, hardworking man; his mother a tender, loving woman, whose gentle nature and influence were not lost upon her somewhat rough but affectionate son. Both parents were earnest Christians and Congregationalists. The boy grew up full of force and self-assertion, a leader in play, somewhat overbearing, but courageous and resolute. He got

[92] *Life,* by Wm. Adamson, D. D., London and New York, 1903; numerous writings; sermons in many volumes and editions, as, *The City Temple Pulpit,* New York, 1882; *Sermons and Notes,* 2 vols., New York, 1882; *These Sayings of Mine,* New York, 1881; *The People's Bible* (notes of sermons on the whole Scripture), 27 vols., New York, 1886 and on; *WGS,* VII, p. 199.

common school education in his youth, but never had any college or university training. From his boyhood he was inclined to religion, largely under the influence of his pious mother. In later life he writes: "I remember the Sunday night when, walking with my father and a most intelligent Sunday school teacher, I declared my love to Christ and asked Him to take my child-heart into His own gracious keeping. The whole scene is ever before me. The two men, father and teacher, explained to me what they knew of the power and grace of Christ, and by many loving words they tempted my tongue into the first audible expression of thought and feeling. It was a summer evening, according to the reckoning of the calendar, but according to a higher calendar, it was in very deed a Sunday morning through whose white light and emblematic dew and stir of awakening life I saw the gates of the Kingdom and the face of the King." Soon after Joseph joined the church a difference arose in the congregation, and he with his parents separated for a time from their old church and attended a Methodist congregation. Later, however, they returned, and even during their temporary separation Joseph taught a Sunday school class in the Congregational church. This Sunday school teaching and some speaking showed his dawning talent and led him into the ministry. He was recognized as a youthful local preacher and preached his first sermon when a boy of eighteen, standing on the cross beams of a saw-pit in the open air. The sermon was naturally a crude affair, but it was delivered with characteristic conviction and energy. Writing of it years later, he says, "Some persons are kind enough to think that even now I am not wholly destitute of energy, but I can assure them that at eighteen volcanoes, tornadoes, whirlwinds, and other energetics cut a very secondary figure when I was on the saw-pit."

He could not be satisfied to carry on his father's work, and determined definitely to enter the ministry. Returning to the Congregational body, he married a fine, good girl, and took his first pastorate at Banbury, on a salary of about $600 a year. The church was greatly run down, but under his vigorous, even if inexperienced, ministry it prospered greatly and was built up into a comparatively strong congregation. The chapel proved too small, and a larger one was built at considerable expense. This, too, soon overflowed. Meanwhile the young preacher was studying, writing, thinking, and growing, both in pulpit power and the administration of affairs. Many calls to other places came, but he refused them, until at last after some hesitation he felt constrained to accept charge of the Cavendish Street Church (Congregational) in Manchester. Here he wrought with growing power for eleven years (1858-1869). The promise of his earlier ministry was amply redeemed. In the great manufacturing town congregations grew, the church was developed in all activities, and the powerful influence of Parker's strong and vigorous ministry was felt throughout the city. His fondness for the pen continued, and a number of writings flowed from his busy brain. Here, however, his first great sorrow came upon him in the loss of his first wife. This was in 1863. In 1869 came an urgent call to take charge of an old but now declining church in London. It was in that street called The Poultry in the City.

After much consideration Parker decided to accept the call, on the condition that a new site and new building should as soon as possible take the place of the old. The old location was sold, and finally the renowned City Temple was built near Holborn Viaduct. This remained the scene of his great ministry to the end of his life. The City Temple was opened in 1874. Parker was not, strictly speaking, a great pastor, not giving his time much to visiting, but, like Spurgeon, he was a masterful leader. His fondness for writing never forsook him. A great many books have come from his prolific pen which it is not necessary here to describe. One of the most interesting of these was a series of lectures which he gave early in his London life to students for the ministry. It bears the title *Ad Clerum,* and is a striking and sensible treatise, derived largely from his own experience, upon the art of preaching. How he found time to write so much along with his administrative cares and the preparation of his remarkable sermons is to be explained by his boundless energy and the native gifts of his mind. In all his work the pulpit was preeminent. He was a master of assemblies, and his preaching was abundantly fruitful in the lives and thoughts of his hearers. His second marriage, shortly before coming to London, with Miss Emma Common, proved a very happy and helpful one. She was a winsome and active woman, and identified in many ways with his work. Though fond of children among his kindred and congregation, he was never blessed with them in his own home. His long and active ministry in London was crowded with the varying details of a busy city pastor's life. He lived at Hampstead a number of years, coming into the city for his church work. He paid a visit to America, where he was warmly received, and preached in Plymouth Church. He was spoken of as successor to Henry Ward Beecher, whom he greatly admired, but naturally preferred to remain in London. His services were in much request in England and Scotland, and during the week he would often accept appointments for services in other places. His Thursday noon addresses attracted large congregations to the Temple, and were attended by numbers of visitors from other countries. Through pen and pulpit and personal influence, Joseph Parker rounded out a life of eminent service, passing away in November, 1902.

In character Parker combined the elements of his origin and up-bringing. The sturdy and somewhat rough and overbearing nature of his Northern ancestry never forsook him, but the winsome gentleness derived from his mother found place alongside of his outward harshness. He was a true friend, a loving husband, and always fond of children, with whom he could be as sportive and gentle as he was often stern and brusque with men. Perhaps his greatest fault was his undisguised self-conceit, which often appears in men who are trained in the rough school of experience as he was. As a preacher Parker was gifted with many of the greatest qualities. Depth of conviction, intensity of feeling, energy of utterance were his. His thought showed a fine combination of conservatism with independence. In the main, he held, but not slavishly, the essential evangelical doctrines. His strong common sense kept him from vagaries, while his sturdy independence allowed no man to do his thinking for him. As a student and expositor of the Bible he was great. He loved to set forth the truth in continuous exposition. His *Peoples' Bible* is the fruit, both of his textual studies and his homiletic habits. Many volumes of expository sermons came from his study, but he was successful also in topical preaching, and some of his addresses were sublime and powerful. He could be terrible in refutation and invective. While not a deep philosopher, he had an essentially masculine mind, and he thought thoroughly into his subjects. His imagination was rich, soaring, but for the most part kept in control and not betrayed into false excess. His diction was varied, ranging from the familiar and conversational to the impressive and elaborate. Illustration, argument, appeal, all glowed in the manner of his treatment. He knew men and his times, their needs, and the power of the gospel. It was his task and his delight to apply the divine remedy in thought, feeling, and purpose to the perennial needs of men as realized in his own generation.

A suggestion, at least, of Parker's manner in his early prime may be found in the following extracts from a striking and original sermon on *The Future Considered as Known and as Unknown*.[93] Selecting two texts which present this double aspect of his theme, he states the first thought as follows: "Let me suggest in the first place that we owe a great deal, both in the way of stimulus and in the way of education, to the very mysteriousness of the future. What poetry is there in a straight line? What enjoyment is there in a road that is never bent into curves or broken into undulations? It is expectancy, call it hope or fear, that gives life a rare interest; hope itself sometimes brings with it a sting of pain, a fear now and again brings with it even something of weird pleasure. Hope turns the future into a banqueting house. Ambition forecasts the future with great plans of attack and defense. Fear anticipates the future so as to get from the outlook restraint and discipline. Life that has no future would be but a flat surface, a stiff and cold monotony, a world without a

[93] Fish, *XIX Cent.*, p. 830.

firmament—a mere death's ground occupied by people not yet quite fit for burying! But with a future it is a hope, an inspiration, a sweet and gracious promise; it is, too, a terror, for we know not what is behind the cloud, nor can we say what foe or friend will face us at the very next corner! We live a good deal in our to-morrows, and thus we spend money which does not fairly belong to us; yet how poor we would be if we could not turn our imagination to some account, and mint our fancies into some little gold just to clink in our hands that we may scare our immediate poverty away! . . . The Past is a worn road; the Future is a world in which all the ways have yet to be made. I would bind you, then, to a general estimate of the future, as being, by the very fact of its being future, a high educational influence—an influence that holds you back like a bit in your foaming lips, and an influence that sends you forward with the hunger of a great hope, relieved by satisfactions which do but whet the desire they can not appease. Thank God that there is a future; that there are days afar off; that there are clouds floating in the distance, beautiful enough to be the vesture of angels, solemn enough to be the sheaths of lightning!" After discussing his theme, he closes with the thought of how the future, both as known and unknown, should lead us to trust in God, and concludes with this paragraph: "I will hide myself in the everlasting, and then the future will come upon me without fear or burdensomeness; even to-day I shall be master of to-morrow, and even death will be but a shadow on the sunny road that leads up to heavenly places. I would live as one who is called to immortality in Christ Jesus, and for whom all the future has been graciously arranged. I am no longer at the mercy of accident, casualty, misfortune; my King, my Redeemer, He whom my soul trusteth, has gone on before to prepare a place and time for me. So I will arise, and speed after Him with burning and thankful love, knowing that how devious soever the way, and how bleak and cross-cutting soever the wind, there is sweet home at the end, the gladness of which shall throw into oblivion all hardship and weariness. I do not ask to know the mere detail of the future. I know enough of time unborn to say unto the righteous, it shall be well with him; to say to the penitent at the cross that he shall share the Lord's paradise; to say to them who mourn, the days of your tears shall be ended, and the time of your joy shall be as a sea whose shore no man can find! Is it dark with thee, my friend? It has been quite as dark with myself, and yet I have seen light descending on the rugged hills, and making those hills as steps up to heaven. Art thou afraid of the coming days, lest they bring with them edged weapons, pain, grief, loss, friendlessness, and desolation? Put thy hand into the palm wounded for thee, the palm of the one Infinite Saviour. He knows all—He is the Treasurer of the future—the great dragon is tamed by the fire of his eye—and they who trust Him with all their love shall be set amidst the safety, the peace, and the glory of His eternal Zion."

Coming after these three mighty ones in the end of the nineteenth and passing over into the twentieth century we have a number of able and distinguished Congregational preachers who must regretfully be passed by with only brief mention. Robert F. Horton, pastor at Lyndhurst Road Chapel, Hampstead, ministers with fine mental and spiritual force to a large congregation, has written some notable books, published several volumes of sermons; and while somewhat "broad" in some of his views, presents the essence of the gospel in Christ and is a mystic of the modern school. Reginald J. Campbell, successor of the great Parker at the City Temple, London, began by exciting curiosity and hope; but has shown, both in his spoken and published utterances, a vagueness of thought and unreliableness of theology which have disappointed the judicious, though he has attracted a congregation of those to whom his breadth of sympathy, indefinite thought, and pleasing manner make appeal. C. Silvester Horne, pastor at the Tottenham Court Road Chapel, the historian and leader of his people, is also a preacher of acknowledged gifts and influence. G. Campbell Morgan, widely known on both sides of the Atlantic as a leader of the modern mystical school, a writer of delightful devotional works, and a vivid and judicious expounder of the Word, is also a preacher of wonderful gifts, holding and instructing large congregations with a magnetism and eloquence that need no other aids to make them impressive. P. T. Forsyth is the incisive professor and writer on subjects of the keenest modern interest in theology and preaching, and carries his fine gift of striking utterance and fresh thinking into his sermons. J. H. Jowett, sometime pastor at Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham, as the notable and worthy successor of James and Dale is now (1911) pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. His well-poised evangelical theology, modern culture, and fresh and virile thinking are aptly mated with a style of admirable finish, perfect transparency, and terse vigor. Jowett was regarded by not a few as being, after the death of Maclaren, the leading preacher of England.

The Methodists had a number of men of power in their pulpits in England at the close of the nineteenth century. Three stand out as specially distinguished. Hugh Price Hughes (1847-1902)[94] was born at Carmarthen, Wales, where his father, himself the son of a Methodist preacher, was a surgeon of excellent standing and character. Hugh received good early training and was the subject of conversion in his youth. Soon he began to exhort, and while away at college wrote to his father that he had decided to preach. The father was delighted, and Hugh received the necessary further training required for entrance into the Conference. He passed a very creditable examination for ordination, and was soon on the road to honors and usefulness in the great body of English Methodists with whom he had cast his lot instead of remaining in Wales. He followed the rounds of an itinerant minister in his church, serving with great success at some of the more important charges. He had a specially successful work at Oxford, where a great revival was due to his labors. Hughes took a deep interest from his early life in all the modern movements for social and industrial improvement. He was never a partisan in politics, but used his influence not in vain on moral questions when these arose. He was a fluent and brilliant speaker, not widely learned nor profoundly thoughtful, but strong, brave, intelligent, and earnest in advocacy of evangelical sentiments and high moral living. A volume of sermons from him on *The Ethical Teachings of Christianity* contains a series of short discourses which are clear and vigorous in thinking and expression. He does not escape some one-sidedness and dogmatism—does not always appear to have thought all around a subject before giving his positive opinion upon it. Yet he is popular and impressive, driving home the practical and ethical side of religion with force and spirit.

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[94] See Camden-Pratt, *People of the Period;* a sketch by "H. K.," London, 1903; and a volume of sermons mentioned in the text in the *Great Modern Preachers* series.

Mark Guy Pearse (b. 1842)[95] was born at Camborne, destined for the medical profession, but instead felt his call to be a Methodist preacher. He has filled positions of importance as preacher, leader, and occasional speaker in his own country, and has on several occasions visited the United States. On one of these visits the writer had an opportunity to hear a strong and spiritual sermon from him. His manner was somewhat dictatorial, but the substance and style of the discourse were both of high order. He also was much concerned in current moral reforms, and spoke on them with pungency and effect.

More classic and cultured than the two preceding is the keen and brilliant William L. Watkinson (b. 1838).[96] He is a native of Hull, where he received his early training. His sermons show an admirable culture, broad and deep, which is probably quite as much the fruit of years of eager reading as of academic foundations and impulses. Dr. Watkinson has filled many of the most important charges in his denomination, doing exceptionally fine work in a pastorate at Liverpool. He has also been editor of the leading Methodist journal, besides filling other posts out of the pulpit. On a visit (several years before this was written) to the United States, Dr. Watkinson came to several of the theological seminaries, including that of the Southern Baptists at Louisville, and delivered courses of lectures to the students. These were marked by his well-known incisiveness of thought, aptness of illustration, wisdom of counsel, and beauty of style. Besides the lectures, he was heard with delight in the pulpit. Dr. Watkinson has no particular grace or impressiveness of manner or voice, but there is a charm about his look and easy utterance which goes well with the excellent qualities of his expression already indicated. Among his several volumes of sermons two have come under the writer's notice. The earlier of these, *The Blind Spot and Other Sermons,* contains discourses marked by those fine qualities of insight, style, and illustration which have already been pointed out; and the other, *The Supreme Conquest,* contains the title sermon and other discourses preached during the visit to America mentioned above. If anything, these enhance the impression of the venerable preacher's noble gifts. A deep spirituality, as well as the fine intellectual qualities of the true preacher of Christ, appears in all Dr. Watkinson's work.

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[95] Brief notice in Camden-Pratt; *Sermons for Children*, London, 1876, clear and sprightly talks.

[96] See *WGS*, VIII, p. 180; and the volumes of sermons mentioned in the text.

The Presbyterians in England claim several preachers of merit during this period, among whom perhaps the best known was John Watson, of Liverpool (d. 1907), better known in literature by his pen-name of Ian Maclaren. Besides his stories and some theological writings, his sermons also have been widely read. He was a preacher of decidedly broad views, but was effective, and heard with interest. The distinguished editor of the *British Weekly,* Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, eminent as literary critic, man of learning, brilliant theological writer and apologist, is also a preacher of recognized ability and power. He was born in Scotland, and served various churches there before coming to England. A volume of his published sermons, *The Lamp of Sacrifice,* shows clear and strong thinking, evangelical views, yet responsive to the modern spirit, and a fine, strong, appealing style.

In Scotland the number of well trained and effective preachers was very great. Modern thought, both in philosophy and Biblical criticism, made great inroads upon evangelical traditions in the Scottish pulpit. A volume of *Scotch Sermons,* to which a number of leading preachers contributed, showed wide departures from the traditional faith; and the controversy over Professor W. Robertson Smith made a sharp issue between the orthodox and progressive element. Preaching was also affected by the union of the United Presbyterians and Free Churches with the unhappy divisions and litigations which followed.

Among the preachers brief mention should be made of John Ker (d. 1886), an eminent professor and preacher of the United Presbyterian Church. Other distinguished professors of the modern period who have also been noted as preachers are Doctors Stalker, Iverach, Rainy, Orr, and Denney. The blind philosopher, poet, and mystic, George Matheson, was heard as a preacher with great attention, and his books of brief devotional thoughts have been an inspiration and comfort to thousands. At Free St. George's Church, Edinburgh, Alexander Whyte has ministered for many years to the edification and delight of a large congregation. His books on *Bible Characters,* originally consisting of sermons, have been read with great interest and profit by many readers. His sometime associate, Hugh Black, now living in New York, is a soulful preacher and the author of pleasing books. The distinguished professor of Old Testament literature, George Adam Smith, a teacher and author of broad critical views, published also some sermons characterized by great spiritual force, poetic quality, and a vivid and popular style of address.

Returning to England, our view of British preaching in this period will close with a brief survey of some of the leading Baptist preachers of the age. William Landels (1823-1899)[97] was born near Berwick, on the Scotch side. His father was a small farmer, and the boy was brought up to economy and hard work. He did not receive much schooling, but by dint of hard study overcame the deficiencies of his education. Converted in a Methodist revival, he soon after began to preach, and became a Baptist in 1846. He was pastor in Birmingham, later at Regent's Park Church, in London, and finally at Dublin St. Church, Edinburgh. Dr. Landels was rather broad in his theology, and had a painful controversy with Spurgeon over doctrine. He was a strong and successful preacher who left his impress upon the thought and life of his people.

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[97] *Life,* by his son, T. D. Landels, London, 1900; sermons on *The Young Man in the Battle of Life,* London and New York, (undated).

Among those who have lived and worked over into the twentieth century, we should name the prolific writer, modern mystic, active pastor in various places, F. B. Meyer, whose spiritual sermons and other writings have been a benediction to many. The venerable Archibald G. Brown, long pastor in the East End of London, and most recently at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, was through long and strenuous years a powerful and successful preacher. John Clifford, born 1836,[98] the distinguished Nonconformist leader, and pastor of Westbourne Park Chapel, has been for a long time one of the most forceful personalities and impressive pulpit orators of his time. He was born in Derbyshire, baptized at fourteen, received some academic training, and came to London as pastor of Praed St. Chapel in 1858. This has been his only pastoral charge, though the name was changed on removal. Dr. Clifford is noted for the vigor and incisiveness of his manner, the thoroughness of his thought, the devoutness and courage of his ministry. Though somewhat broad in his views, he has presented in speech and writing the great essentials of the Christian faith, and has been in later years a recognized leader of the Nonconformist forces. Among the younger men at the close of the century, J. T. Forbes, of Glasgow, the magnetic and thoughtful preacher; W. Y. Fullerton, of Leicester, an energetic and successful pastor; Thomas Phillips, who is doing a great work at the famous Bloomsbury Chapel, in London; and John Wilson, of Woolwich, for thirty-three years pastor and preacher, honored and beloved, are worthy of larger mention than could here be made.

Chief among the mighty of his own denomination, and towering above all sectarian distinctions, stands the great figure of Alexander Maclaren (1826-1910).[99] It would be interesting, if space permitted, to dwell in a comparative way upon the three great representatives of the English Baptist pulpit during the nineteenth century: Robert Hall, Charles H. Spurgeon, Alexander Maclaren. Alike as they were in so many essential things, they were strikingly unlike in personal characteristics, mental quality, and pulpit powers. Hall was a great metaphysical thinker, Spurgeon a moving, popular preacher, Maclaren a profound and instructive Bible scholar—each in his own way great, strong, and famous.

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[98] *WGS*, VIII, p. 123; account in Camden-Pratt, etc.

[99] *Alexander Maclaren, the Man and His Message*, by John C. Carlile, London and New York, 1901; accounts in magazines, etc.; Wilkinson, p. 115; notably an article by Rev. Jas. Stuart in

Alexander Maclaren was born in Glasgow, the son of a merchant who was also a Baptist preacher. David Maclaren was highly esteemed in his little congregation as an expounder of the Word of God, and a man of high character. In 1836 he went to Australia to take charge of an important business enterprise, leaving his family in Edinburgh. During his father's absence Alexander was converted and baptized into the fellowship of the Hope St. Baptist Church, Glasgow, when about eleven years old. On the return of David Maclaren from Australia he took charge of the business of his company in London, where the family thenceforth resided. In 1842 Alexander entered the Baptist College at Stepney, in London. Here he was much influenced by Dr. David Davies, the eminent Hebrew scholar, and became from the first a close and enthusiastic student of Hebrew and Greek, as well as of other subjects. He was a shy and modest, but very painstaking and accurate, student. It is interesting to note that outside of his college he perhaps owed most for his development to the preaching of Henry Melvill and Dr. Thomas Binney. He used to say that Dr. Binney taught him how to preach. Maclaren stood examinations at the London University for his arts degree, and won prizes in Hebrew and Greek. Besides his collegiate studies, he read widely in literature, being especially fond of the English poets.

In his last year at college Maclaren was invited to supply the Portland Baptist Chapel at Southampton, a small and run-down church. The people were pleased

Review and Expositor (Louisville), for Jan., 1911; many separate volumes and editions of his sermons and complete ed. of *Sermons,* Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. Single sermons in Fish, *XIX Cent.,* p. 888; *WGS,* VII, p. 65.

with the young preacher and determined to wait for him to finish his course. He was then regularly called and ordained, and began on a salary of sixty pounds a year. He was a faithful preacher and student from the first, not especially devoted to pastoral and social work, though not wholly neglecting it. Through life his first emphasis was on the pulpit and on the study as a means to its enrichment and power. Regarding this work at Southampton, in a bright address to young students, he long afterwards said: "I thank God that I was stuck down in a quiet, little, obscure place to begin my ministry; for that is what spoils half of you young fellows. You get pitchforked into prominent positions at once, and then fritter yourselves away in all manner of little engagements that you call duties, going to this tea-meeting, and that anniversary, and the other breakfast celebration, instead of stopping at home and reading your Bibles, and getting near to God. I thank God for the early days of struggle and obscurity." We have here an interesting light on the studious and spiritual growth of the young preacher. It was also during this brief ministry, in March, 1856, that the young pastor married his cousin, Marion Maclaren, of Edinburgh. Twenty years after her death, in his old age, Maclaren wrote of her to a friend: "She was my guide, my inspiration, my corrector, my reward. Of all human formative influences on my character and life, hers is the strongest and best. To write of me and not to name her is to present a fragment."

The little church prospered and grew, but a man of Maclaren's gifts and powers could not be kept in so small a field. In 1858, after urgent solicitation, he accepted the pastorate of the Union Chapel at Manchester, and this remained the scene of his labors till old age and infirmities led to his retirement, in 1903. Though it was a Union Chapel, the membership was predominantly Baptist, and Maclaren himself firmly held the distinctive principles of that denomination. His career in Manchester shows the wide influence which one who is chiefly and almost solely a preacher can exert. True to the principles of his earliest ministry, Maclaren continued through life to be pre-eminently a student and preacher. He paid, of course, some attention to the care of his flock as a pastor; he took part in the municipal and intellectual life of his city; he engaged in the larger movements of denominational and religious life; but his first and highest distinction is that he was a mighty expounder of the Word of God, primarily in the pulpit, then through his published sermons, and incidentally through helpful and scholarly commentaries and other expositions. All sorts of honors came to Dr. Maclaren. He was the recipient of notable kindnesses and appreciation in Manchester on several occasions. He was twice president of the Baptist Union, and president of the Baptist World Congress, in London, in 1905. He received the degree of D. D. from both Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. In 1896 the citizens of Manchester had his portrait painted for their art gallery, and on the presentation of the portrait the Anglican bishop of Manchester made the address and said, "In an age which has been charmed and inspired by the sermons of Newman and Robertson, of Brighton, there were no published discourses which, for profundity of thought, logical arrangement, eloquence of appeal, and power over the human heart, exceeded in merit those of Dr. Maclaren." Many attempts were made to draw Dr. Maclaren from Manchester, and though he disliked the climate and sometimes complained of that and of the heavy work, he kept on and was not allowed to resign, though often feeling like it, until, in 1903, he was made pastor emeritus and retired from the active ministry. On the fifth of May, 1910, he passed peacefully away, full of years and honors, confessedly one of the strongest and most helpful preachers of his time.

No critical or descriptive account can do justice to the excellence and power of Maclaren's preaching. He has been widely recognized in his own and other lands for those outstanding qualities which have given him his eminent place among the great preachers of the world. First of all, he had the physical outfit of an impressive speaker—an erect figure, good action, a flashing eye, an expressive countenance, a carrying voice. The character lying back of the utterance was one of singular purity, depth, simplicity, and humility. Of course, he had his faults, but these were not such as to damage the effect of his public work. His beautiful home life, his delightful friendship, his fidelity in his charge, all supported his public ministry. His training for his task was, as we have seen, admirably adapted to accomplish just the work that he did. A keen, trained, disciplined intellect, accurate knowledge of the original languages, easy acquaintance with the best Biblical scholarship, and, above all, an ardent love for the Bible, made him an incomparable explorer into its storehouse of truth and a wonderful expounder of that truth to others. But though primarily a student of the Bible, he was not a man of one book, but of many. The traces of his wide and much enjoyed reading, especially in the poets, abound throughout his sermons. He kept in touch with the progress of thought, and rejoiced in all the uplifting social and humane movements of his age. But he was no one-sided optimist; he saw and felt sadly and keenly the sinful needs of his generation, and endeavored with all earnestness to apply to those wants the saving and sanctifying power of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Dr. Maclaren's theological position was candidly and thoughtfully evangelical. His sermons show how his heart and mind were anchored on essential Christian truth. In contents and form these sermons are models of modern preaching. The exegesis of Scripture, as has been indicated, is thorough and accurate. The analysis, while not obtrusive, is always complete, satisfying, clear. Robertson Nicoll somewhere has remarked that a man who reads one of Maclaren's sermons must either take his outline or take another text! Maclaren's style has all the rhetorical qualities of force, clearness, and beauty. It is not obtrusive or strained, is eminently natural, smooth, dignified, and at times eloquent. The tone and spirit are all that could be desired. Piety towards God, reverence, good taste, and a deep yearning for the spiritual good of his hearers animate his discourse. Maclaren's sermons have, next perhaps to Spurgeon's, been the most widely read of all in their time; nor are they likely soon to lose readers. They are so complete as expositions of the Bible, so lofty in tone, so free from that which is merely temporary and catchy, both in thought and style, that they can not but appeal to the minds of men long after the living voice has ceased to impress them upon living hearts.

It is fitting that with one in every way so worthy of a lingering regard this survey of modern European preaching should conclude. Our long journey has reached its goal. We have followed through a little more than three centuries the history of the Christian pulpit in all the countries of Europe except the East and Russia. From the days just after Zwingli, Luther, and Calvin, on the Continent, and Latimer and Knox in Britain, on through the changing epochs of the modern age to the verge of our own century we have pursued our studies. If the reader's task has been considerable, the author's has been large and weighty. Oftentimes he has been tempted in sheer discouragement to lay the burden down; and now that his undertaking is done, the sense of relief and the joy of achievement are mingled with regret at leaving a fascinating study, and with disappointment over the inadequacy and imperfection of the work. Yet both the labor and its result have deepened the conviction that the task should have been attempted, and that it is worthy of more research and a far better setting forth than it has here received.

We have seen how preaching in modern Europe has been intimately related with all those elements and forces which have produced and maintained the intellectual, moral, and religious progress of the most enlightened peoples. Sovereigns, statesmen, warriors, merchants, laborers, artists, writers, philanthropists, philosophers, thinkers, and leaders in every walk of human society have contributed in their several ways to that progress, or sometimes through fault and failure hindered or retarded its course. So also the Christian preacher. He has contributed his part to the general sum of good, or he has by fault or failure hindered where he ought to have helped. We have found him in every land, speaking in every tongue, now at the courts of kings, now in the homes of peasants, sometimes in the open air to thronging crowds, but most often in his own peculiar place in cathedral, church, or chapel, where in the midst of Christian worship he has lifted his voice to speak of the things of God and the soul.

Our survey shows what variety has existed in the preaching of modern Europe. Different periods, countries, languages, customs, creeds, tastes, methods, personalities, have had their necessary and most interesting influences in preserving the history of preaching from the dullness of a dead monotony. Nor has the law of action and reaction been wanting. Times of flourishing and of power have been followed by seasons of loss and decay, and these in turn have given place to happier days.

The many men and sermons that have been studied can not fail to impress us with the dignity and importance of preaching as a force in the development of modern Europe. Making no extravagant claims, and conceding every just allowance that candid criticism may require, our study has brought before us an inspiring history. It presents, when seen whole and large, a spectacle of high endeavor and noble achievement in the loftiest sphere of human effort—the region of the spirit. Here we have seen strong intellect, ample culture, strenuous toil, lofty character, self-sacrificing life again and again consecrated to the high and holy purpose of so presenting the truth of God to men as to win them out of sin and loss to righteousness and eternal life. Men of the highest sort in natural gifts and trained powers have in these later centuries, as well as in the middle and earlier and back to the first, heard the voice of One who said, "As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand."

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No mention is here made of the numerous works of general reference of which constant or occasional use has been made in the preparation of this book. Such works include histories of the lands, peoples and epochs treated; histories of the Church, of Doctrine, and similar topics; histories of philosophy and of literature; encyclopaedias, general, ecclesiastical and biographical; and many works and helps of a miscellaneous character. To save space the lives and sermons of individual preachers are also omitted. Both these and many of the general works mentioned are referred to in footnotes and can be found by reference to the index. The bibliography includes only those works which treat of the history of preaching in Europe from the close of the sixteenth to that of the nineteenth century. A few literary or critical studies, where they bear on preaching, are also included.

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